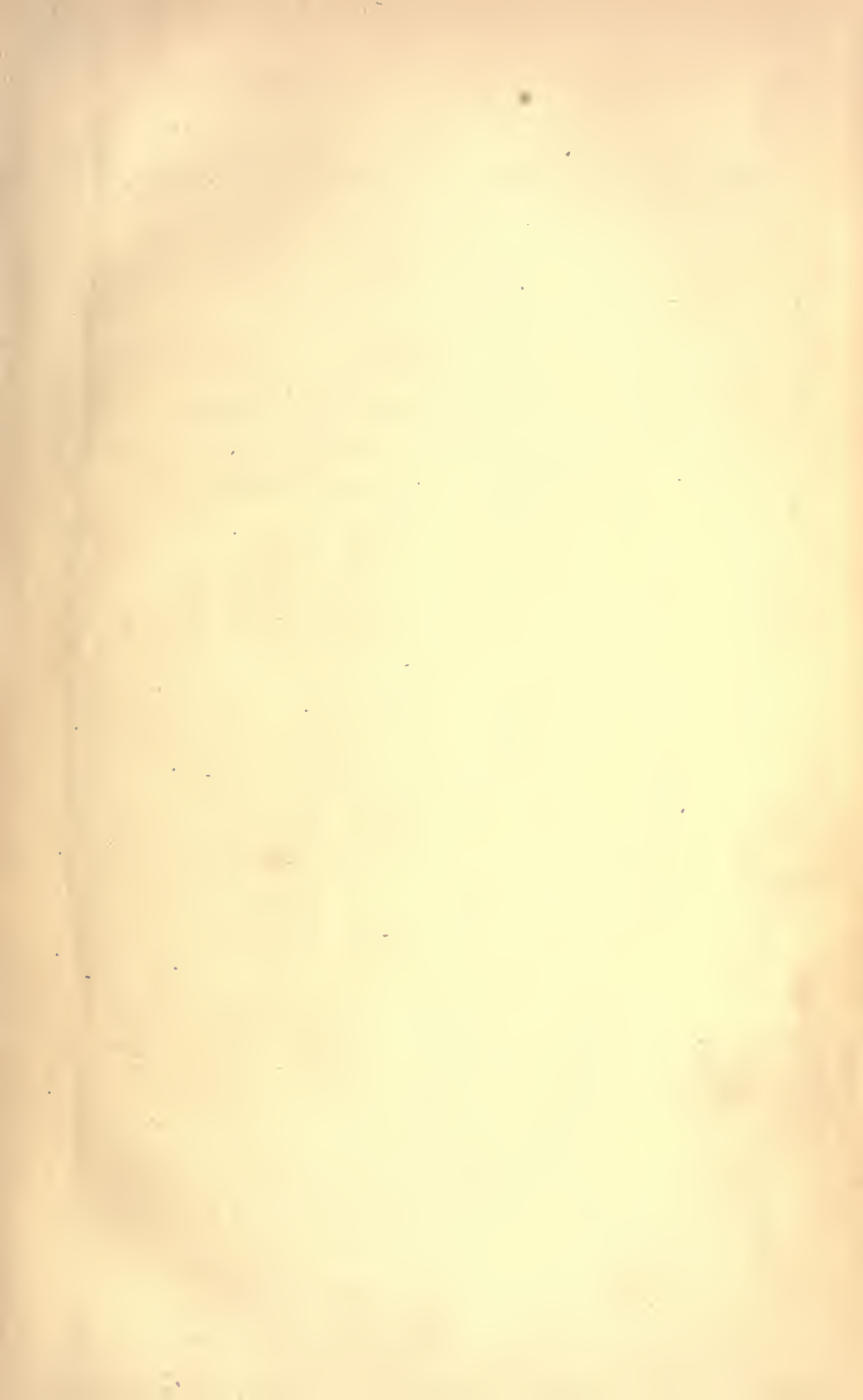


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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

EDITED BY

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GUSTAV GRUENBAUM

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

VOLUME XXXV

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NUMBER 1

SCHILLER AND THE GENESIS OF ROMANTICISM

PART I

In two papers previously published in this journal¹ I have shown that the conception of "Romantic" poetry was developed by Friedrich Schlegel as a consequence of his preoccupation during his first period (1793-6) with the problem of formulating the distinguishing characteristics of classical, or ancient, and of modern art. The æsthetic qualities which, after he had learned to admire them, Schlegel named "Romantic," were simply the qualities which he had earlier defined, and condemned, as the attributes of *das eigentümlich Moderne*. During his period of "classicism" Schlegel, as I have also pointed out, adhered to an æsthetic theory in which the (supposed) example of Greek practise, and abstract principles derived by analogy from the Kantian epistemology, were curiously interwoven. Art must aim at "objective" beauty, must conform to æsthetic laws which are based upon the essential constitution of the human mind as such, and are therefore the same for all peoples and in all ages. Modern poetry, in its typical manifestations, is degenerate because it is "interessante Poesie," that is, because it appeals to the varying subjective "interest" of individuals or of special types of mind; because it takes for its favorite theme "das Charakteristische," that is, the individual person or unique situation, rather than the generic type; and because in its endeavor to represent the fullness and variety of life, it forgets the fundamental truth that "all art consists in limitation," by austere adherence to which Greek poetry had been able to achieve æsthetic perfection.

¹ "On the Meaning of 'Romantic' in Early German Romanticism," Pt. I, November, 1916. Pt. II, February, 1917.

All this is close akin to Schiller's æsthetics of the same period. Schiller at this time, as Walzel has remarked, fully shared the *Gräkomanie* for which he afterwards ridiculed Schlegel; and it was in its "objectivity" that, for him too, the superiority of ancient art lay.² "Objective" beauty, though it depends upon an appeal to the senses and requires a sensible medium, is "independent of all *empirical* conditions of sensibility, and remains the same even when the subjective condition (*Privatbeschaffenheit*) of the individual is altered. . . . It is pleasing, not to the individual, merely, but to the species." Like the valid judgment in the Kantian logic, the work of art must attain "necessity and universality." "Das Gebiet der eigentlich schönen Kunst kann sich nur so weit erstrecken, als sich in der Verknüpfung der Erscheinungen Notwendigkeit entdecken lässt." But nothing is "necessary" in the constitution of any individual mind except its "generic character." The poet, therefore, must address himself exclusively to those feelings which are uniform and common to the race; and in order to do this, he must, at least for the moment, strip himself of all that is peculiar and distinctive in his own personality. "Nur alsdann, wenn er nicht als der oder der bestimmte Mensch (in welchem die Gattung immer beschränkt sein würde), sondern wenn er als Mensch überhaupt empfindet, ist er gewiss, dass die ganze Gattung ihm nachempfinden werde." Schiller's rage against the unique, the individual as such, goes so far, in this "classical" period of his æsthetic opinions, that he does not shrink from asserting the singular paradox that "every individual man is the less man, by so much as he is individual."⁴ And in "objective" art the thing portrayed, as well as the mind of the artist, must be generalized, purged of all that is specific or idiosyncratic: "in einem Gedicht darf nichts wirkliche (historische) Natur sein, denn alle Wirklichkeit ist mehr oder weniger Beschränkung jener allgemeinen Naturwahrheit."⁵

In the *Briefe über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen* (published in *Die Horen* in the beginning of 1795) Schiller's position is in some respects a transitional one. But he still insists upon the "objectivity," "universal validity," and immutability of æsthetic standards; regards the quieting of the passions as a

² *Zerstreute Betrachtungen, usw.* 1793.

³ From the review of Friedrich Matthiesson's *Gedichte*, 1794.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

criterion of beauty; reiterates the already familiar thesis of the "disinterestedness" of æsthetic enjoyment; denies æsthetic value to "didactic" or "philosophical" poetry; defines the creation or perception of beauty as at once complete freedom and rigorous subjection to law; characterizes art as a kind of "play"; and assigns to the Greeks the rank of "supreme masters" in art. In making the "æsthetic" result from the interaction of two antithetic elements or impulsions in the human mind, the *sinnlicher Trieb* or *Stofftrieb* and the *Formtrieb*, Schiller again was merely devising a terminology of his own to express an antithesis which was prominent in Schlegel's early æsthetic essays. The *Stofftrieb* has "life in the widest sense for its object" and causes the artist to seek "the most many-sided contact with the world."⁶ The *Formtrieb* "seeks unity and permanence" rather than fullness and variety of content; it "imposes harmony upon the diversity of the manifestations of man's nature"; it gives laws which are not subject to change, and is the source of all "necessity and universality" in our judgments of whatever sort. Just so did Schlegel contrast the craving for *Stoff*, which he conceived to be the weakness of modern taste, with the predominance of the sense of form in Greek art: "Im Grunde völlig gleichgültig gegen alle Form, und nur voll unersättlichen Durstes nach Stoff, verlangt auch das feinere Publikum von dem Künstler nichts als interessante Individualität."⁷

Schiller, it is true, already regarded both these "impulsions" as necessary in any valid operation of the mind, whether it be a logical judgment or an act of æsthetic creation or appreciation. Arguing as he did from the analogy of Kant's theory of knowledge, he was, of course, pre-committed to this view. There are, he observes, two extremes in æsthetic theory, both faulty in their one-sidedness. There are those who "fear to rob beauty of its freedom by a too severe analysis"; but these fail to reflect "that the freedom in which they are entirely right in placing the essence of beauty is not lawlessness, but a harmony of laws, not caprice but the highest internal necessity." There are, on the other hand, those who "fear lest through a too bold inclusiveness, the distinctness of the concept of beauty may be destroyed"; these forget that "this distinctness of beauty which they are equally right in

⁶ Letter 13.

⁷ *Ueber das Studium* usw.; Minor, *Jugendschriften*, I, 91.

demanding, consists, not in the exclusion of certain realities, but in the absolute *inclusion* of all; so that it is not limitation (Begrenzung) but infinitude." This seems a negation of the maxim in which Schlegel summed up the essence of classicism: *alle Kunst ist beschränkt*. But for Schiller, too, in point of fact, "form" is still the paramount consideration in art: "nur von der Form ist wahre ästhetische Freiheit zu erwarten. Darin also besteht das eigentliche Kunstgeheimnis des Meisters, dass er den Stoff durch die Form vertilgt."⁹

Thus throughout the first half of the seventeen-nineties Schiller and Friedrich Schlegel, in spite of minor differences, employed the same general categories in their reflection upon æsthetic questions and adhered to the same type of æsthetic doctrine—to a doctrine characterized by an insistence upon "objective" æsthetic standards, by a conviction of the priority of "form" over "content," of unity over expressiveness, in art, and by a belief in the superiority of ancient art, as the most adequate realization of these standards. Meanwhile there were at work in Fr. Schlegel's thought from the first two forces which became powerful predisposing causes of his eventual conversion from the "classical" to the Romantic ideal. The first of these was the influence upon him of the very philosophy from which he and Schiller had derived the principal theoretical justification for their classicism. That justification, as I have pointed out, consisted largely in a transfer to the field of æsthetics of certain conceptions and categories which they had found in Kant's epistemology. But there was a curious duality about the Kantian influence; it tended in two quite opposite directions. An æsthetics constructed out of analogies taken from the theoretical philosophy of Kant, and from one portion of his moral philosophy, would, indeed, seek to confine art within the strait-jacket of "laws of universal validity," uniform for all peoples and all times, and to attain this uniformity by the avoidance of all themes and moods which are "characteristic," *i. e.*, individual or local or peculiar to a special historical situation. But there was another part of Kant's ethics which suggested, by analogy, a very different standard of æsthetic values. In its final formulation, the categorical imperative is represented by Kant as an ideal capable, not of actual realization, but only of an endlessly progressive approximation.

⁹ Letter 18.

⁹ Letter 22.

The object of a will that is capable of being determined by the moral law is the production in the world of the highest good. Now, the supreme condition of the highest good is the perfect harmony of the disposition with the moral law . . .—a perfection of which no rational being existing in the world of sense is capable at any moment of his life. . . . Since, nevertheless, such a harmony is morally required of us, . . . the pure practical reason forces us to assume a practical progress towards it, *in infinitum*, as the real object of our will. . . . A finite rational being is capable only of an infinite progress from lower to higher stages of moral perfection.¹⁰

Fichte had, by 1794, converted this Kantian conception of the moral ideal as an endless pursuit of a forever unattainable goal into a metaphysical principle, and had represented the very nature of all existence as an infinite and insatiable striving of the Absolute Ego, whereby it first sets up the external world as an obstacle to its own activity, and then gradually but endlessly triumphs over this obstacle. The notion of infinity thus took precedence in philosophy over that of the finite and determinate, the category of Becoming over that of Being, the ideal of activity over that of achieved completion, the mood of endless longing over that of quietude and collectedness of mind.

Now, *this* Kantian principle, when transferred from ethics to æsthetics, was obviously irreconcilable with those critical standards which were of the essence of the young Schlegel's "classicism"; it implied that the "laws of beauty" are relative and variable from age to age, and that art is subject to a continuous evolution. What, therefore, we find in his æsthetic writings from the beginning is a conflict between the two tendencies, both alike chiefly Kantian in their origin—a conflict in which the ideal of classical "objectivity" at first has on the whole the upper hand, but only precariously and by means of palpable inconsistencies. In what is probably the earliest of Schlegel's attempts to define the essence of classical and of modern culture (*Vom Wert des Studiums der Griechen und Römer*, 1794) we already find him attempting to "explain ancient history by means of a theory based upon the most recent philosophy," i. e., upon the Kantian. There are, he observes, two possible ways of conceiving the general course of history—as a movement which returns upon itself in repeated cycles, or as an endless and unceasing progression. The first of these conceptions, the *System*

¹⁰ *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft*, 219-221.

des Kreislaufes, satisfies the better the demands of what Kant called the theoretical reason; it does so, Schlegel apparently means, because it alone enables us to conceive of the content of history, in Kantian terms, as a "completed synthesis," as a genuine unity. But "the only way of representing history which would satisfy the *practical* reason," with its necessity for seeking a perpetually nearer approach to an unattainable perfection, is the *System der unendlichen Fortschreitung*. Thus, upon Kantian principles, "it is manifest *a priori* that there must exist two types of culture, according as the *representative* faculty or the *conative* faculty (das vorstellende oder das strebende Vermögen) is primary and preponderant: a natural and an artificial culture; that the former must come first in time, and is a necessary antecedent to the latter; and that the *System des Kreislaufes* is possible only in the natural type of culture, the *System der unendlichen Fortschreitung* only in the artificial type."¹¹

Thus the culture of the ancients is based upon the former, modern culture upon the latter, conception of the historic process. The underlying common factor in the civilization of the Greeks and Romans, the thing which gives unity to their history, is the manifold influence upon their thought and life of the *System des Kreislaufes*, in other words, of the assumption that no continuous forward movement, in any province of human activity, is to be expected or desired. This, "more or less definitely expressed, was not only the view of the greatest Greek and Roman historians, but was also the universal mode of thought of the people—which erred only in this, that it regarded the outcome of their own history as having universal validity, as if it were the outcome of the history of all mankind." The circularity of ancient civilization is shown, among other ways, by its inevitable decline. Having a finite goal, it was able to attain that goal completely; but after it had done so, it could change only for the worse.

Since modern civilization is, on the other hand, informed by a wholly different conception of history, its art and all the other manifestations of its distinctive spirit cannot and should not be

¹¹I accept Walzel's identification of the version of this essay printed by him in DNL, 143, with the original text, though the possibility that this version may represent one of the two later revisions does not seem to me to be absolutely excluded. The internal evidence, however, is on the whole in favor of the earlier date.

mere attempts to reproduce the alien excellence attained by the ancients. We moderns "must learn that it is not our vocation to live *wie Bettler von den Almosen der Vorwelt*." Every age, like every individual, is an end in itself, and has "an unalienable right to *be itself*." "Through the satisfaction of the demands of the practical reason, which alone determines the direction of modern culture, the power and perfection of ancient culture gains its highest worth; and if *our* history must remain ever uncompleted, our goal unattained, our striving unsatisfied, yet is our goal infinitely great." This has the air not only of a declaration of independence of "classical" standards, but even of a bold proclamation of the superiority of the æsthetic and moral ideals of the modern world. Yet the greater part of the essay is rather a glorification of the ancients. "The study of the Greeks and Romans is a school of the great, the good, the noble, the beautiful, of *humanity*; from it we may regain free abundance, living power, unity, balance, harmony, completeness, which the still crude art of modern culture has belittled, mutilated, confused, deranged, dismembered and destroyed." "The most eminent Greeks and Romans of the best period are a sort of supermen (*wie Wesen übermenschlicher Art*), men in the highest style."¹² Here, manifestly, is a doctrine imperfectly at unity with itself, a *Gräkomanie* which is trying to keep house with its own negation. If modern art has a fundamentally different meaning and ideal, it was an obvious inconsistency to demand that the modern artist should gain his inspiration from ancient models: and if the modern ideal of *unendliche Vervollkommnung* is the higher, not even the best embodiments of a distinctively "classical" culture could properly be regarded as exemplifying the full possibilities of human nature.

The same unstable equilibrium in Schlegel's standards is illustrated in another of his essays, of about the same date, which deals more specifically with æsthetic questions (*Über die Grenzen des*

¹² Cf. also the following (*op. cit.*, p. 263): "In der Geschichte der Griechen und Römer sind die Stufen der Bildung ganz bestimmt, die reinen Arten entschieden und vollkommen, das Einzelne so kühn und vollendet, dass es das Ideal seiner Art, der Grieche der Mensch *κατ' ἑξοχήν* ist, die Gründe einfach, die Ordnung fließend, die Massen gross und einfach, das Ganze vollständig. Sie ist der Kommentar der Philosophie, der ewige Kodex des menschlichen Gemüths, eine *Naturgeschichte des sittlichen und geistigen Menschen*."

Schönen).¹³ While, here too, the superiority of the poetry of the ancients is emphatically asserted, and while the classical ideal, with its insistence upon form, measure, restraint, the Delphic *Μῦθὲν ἄγαν*, both in art and conduct, is extolled, it is nevertheless also remarked that classical art, since its excellence was rather the result of instinct than of reflective insight, was not merely incapable of progress, but was predestined to aberration and degeneration. The very defects of modern art, on the other hand, are the ground of hope, *unsere Mängel sind unsere Hoffnungen*; for those defects arise from the predominance in it of man's self-conscious intelligence (*Verstand*), "dessen zwar langsame Vervollkommnung gar keine Schranken kennt." And when this faculty "has accomplished its task of assuring to mankind a permanent basis and giving to it an unchangeable *direction*, there will then be no more occasion to doubt whether man's history is forever to return upon itself like a circle, or is endlessly to progress from better to better." The whole essay leaves a singularly confused impression upon the reader; for the author seems unable to decide between the two æsthetic ideals which alternately present themselves to his mind. He craves, in fact, *both* achieved perfection and the potentiality of progress, both inner harmony and unappeasable self-dissatisfaction; and since modern art by its very essence, as he conceives it, lacks the one type of excellence, and ancient art lacks the other, he seems unable to pronounce definitely in favor of either.

What, amid these waverings and inconsistencies, it is, for our present purpose, important to note in the early writings of Fr. Schlegel is that they contain ideas (along with their opposites) which closely approximate certain of the characteristic conceptions of Schiller's later essay *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*. In them already we find the following antitheses, each pair being parallel to, or correlative with, all of the others:¹⁴

Klassische Kunst—moderne Kunst
 Natürliche Bildung—künstliche Bildung
 Vorstellendes Vermögen—strebendes Vermögen
 System des Kreislaufes—System der unendlichen Fortschreitung.¹⁵

¹³ First published in *Der neue Teutsche Merkur*, May, 1795; Minor, *Jugendschriften*, pp. 21-27.

¹⁴ *Jugendschriften*, I, 22.

¹⁵ It is also to be remarked that Schlegel already saw in the introduction

The second force which drove Schlegel towards his later, or Romantic, position need only be mentioned here, as I have already called attention to it in one of the papers previously published. It was the influence of a quality of his own natural taste and temperament. However much, under compulsion of the theory to which he was committed, he might deplore the modern world's craving for "content," for "the interesting," for "the characteristic" and individuated, and its relative indifference to the laws of pure form, it was none the less true that in his nature what Schiller had called the *Stofftrieb* was exceedingly powerful, not to say preponderant. His curiosity about life and human nature was far too keen to make it likely that he would be permanently content with a theory of art which required the poet to portray only generalized types, and forbade him to let any disclosure of his own personality or his own mood slip into his compositions. One example, among many which might be cited, of this inner incongruity between the temper of Friedrich Schlegel's mind and his early æsthetic theory, may be seen in his essay "On the Female Characters in Greek Poetry." While insisting that the Greek poets were true to the principles of fine art in refraining from the attempt to paint with portrait-like detail "interesting men and women as individuals," Schlegel cannot forbear to lament that no such individualized and realistic portraits of Greek character have come down to us.¹⁰

Schlegel's Romantic doctrine of art, then, was already implicit in these two characteristics of his first period: (a) in the implication of the analogy from the Kantian ethics to æsthetics, *viz.*, that art should be characterized by a constant enlargement of its boundaries and an endless progression towards an unattainably remote ideal, rather than by any definite perfection of form attainable by adhering to immutable laws and narrow limitations of aim; and (b) in his temperamental admiration for such a poet as Shakespeare and his strong though suppressed desire for a poetry which, imitating Shakespeare, should take all of life for its province, and make the abundance and fidelity of its expression of life the sole

of Christianity the prime cause of that change of ideals and of conceptions of the historic process which differentiates modern from classical art. But this is a subject that calls for separate treatment. Cf. *Vom Wert des Studiums der Griechen und Römer*, in DNL, 143, p. 261, and *Jugendschriften*, I, 99; II, 42.

¹⁰ *Jugendschriften*, I, 39.

criterion of artistic success. Yet Schlegel, until 1796, never wholly yielded to this temperamental inclination and never recognized the full consequences of the Kantian analogy or its inconsistency with his classicism and his standards of *objektive Schönheit*. On the contrary, in his long disquisition "On the Study of Greek Poetry," completed in 1795, his "Objektivitätswut," his rage against the aberrations of the moderns, his reverence for "the *a priori* laws of pure beauty," his conviction that poetry can be true to its vocation only by the most rigorous limitation of the range of its themes and of its methods—all these seem stronger than ever. Some impulsion from without was necessary to enable him to take the one step farther which was required by the concessions he had already made, and so to pass definitely to the position to which he was to give the name "Romantic."

In another instalment of this study I shall present the evidence which shows conclusively that this impulsion came from Schiller's essay "Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung," especially the second part of it, published in *Die Horen* in December, 1795. But I shall at the same time attempt to make clear the precise logical relation between Schiller's conception of "sentimentalische Dichtung" and Schlegel's ideal of "romantische Poesie"—a relation in which there is even more of difference than of similarity.

ARTHUR O. LOVEJOY.

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UN "ROUSSEAUISTE" EN AMÉRIQUE

(*L'Abeille Française*, de Joseph Nancrede)

C'est à l'Université du Vermont, à Burlington, que nous avons mis la main un jour sur *L'Abeille Française*, de Nancrede, un ouvrage rare et intéressant à plus d'un point de vue. D'abord, c'est sans doute le premier livre de classe français composé spécialement à l'usage des écoles américaines—plus spécifiquement pour les étudiants de Harvard. Ensuite, il est l'œuvre d'un de ces nombreux Français, qui, aux jours de la Révolution, passèrent l'océan, soit comme réfugiés politiques, soit comme soldats; Nancrede est un esprit parent de celui de Moreau de Saint-Méry dont nous avons

parlé dans la *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France*, en 1917.¹ Enfin c'est un document fort curieux pour l'histoire de la diffusion dans le monde, des idées de plus en plus désignées sous le nom général de "rousseauistes." C'est de ce point de vue que nous l'étudierons spécialement.

Un mot seulement sur l'homme, pour dire qu'on n'a, et qu'en n'aura probablement jamais que des renseignements fragmentaires sur la personne de Nancrede, avant et durant son activité aux Etats-Unis. M. Baldensperger les a réunis, avec sa sagacité coutumière, dans un article du "*Harvard Advocate*":² *Le premier Instructeur français à Harvard, Joseph Nancrede*. Il a bien fait voir que si les affirmations des biographes qui en font un officier de l'armée de Rochambeau et un blessé de Yorktown, sont sujettes à caution (ainsi que le *de* dont il fait précéder son nom pendant quelques années), sa nomination de professeur à Harvard (11 oct. 1787), ainsi que son mariage avec une Américaine, Hanna Dixey, 11 oct. 1788, repose sur des documents authentiques.

Pour assurer le succès financier de son livre—publié en 1792—Nancrede avait dû recueillir des souscriptions. Les noms de ses 85 "patrons" sont donnés en appendice. Relevons ceux de: Son Excellence John Hancock, John Q. Adams, Hon. James Lowell, Rev. Joseph Willard, D. D., Rev. Thaddeus M. Harris, Dr. John Warren; MM. Coolidge, Parkman, Sargent, Thayer; Elisa Ticknor. C'était l'aristocratie bostonienne.

Voici maintenant la page de titre:

L'ABEILLE³ FRANÇOISE

OU

NOUVEAU RECUEIL

¹ xxiv, 568-584.

² 5 déc. 1914.

³ Il y a 352 pages + v (table) + 3 (liste des souscripteurs). Quant à ce titre ABEILLE, on lit dans le *Dictionnaire historique de la langue française* . . . publié par l'Académie fr., Paris, 1858, ceci:

ABEILLE . . . s'emploie absolument aussi et par une fiction . . . pour désigner un esprit actif et curieux qui porte un goût délicat et fin dans ses recherches, un sage discernement dans ses études. On a appelé *l'abeille du Parnasse*, une personne dont la mémoire est remplie de bons vers: *l'abeille des bibliothèques*, un homme connu pour le bon choix de ses lectures. La première de ces expressions, et d'autres analogues où entre le mot Abeille ont servi de titres à certains recueils. . . .

DE MORCEAUX BRILLANS, DES AUTEURS

FRANÇOIS LES PLUS CÉLÈBRES

Ouvrage utile à ceux qui étudient la langue Française et amusant pour ceux qui la Connoissent

A l'usage de l'Université de Cambridge

PAR P. J. G. DE NANCREDE

Maître de langue Française en cette Université

L'Amérique doit être l'asile de tous les hommes: les Américains doivent être en rapport avec tous les habitants de la terre; ils doivent chercher à se faire entendre de tous, et sur-tout de ceux avec lesquels ils ont plus de communication, tels que les François.

Brissot. Voyages, Tome I.

Les hommes ne se haïront plus
quand ils s'entendront tous

D'Alembert,

A Boston, De l'imprimerie

DE BELKNAP ET YOUNG.

Rue de l'Etat, vis-à-vis la Banque Nationale

M DCC XCII

(Published according to Act of Congress)

* * *

Le contenu de *L'Abeille* est arrangé surtout par genres littéraires: Contes et Fables (13-28), Pensées ingénieuses (29-42), Dialogues (42-105), Lettres (105-161), Mélanges (161-352). Ces derniers occupent, comme on voit, les deux tiers du volume.

L'Introduction, imprimée sur deux colonnes, l'une en français, l'autre portant la traduction anglaise (p. 311), commence ainsi:

*"Les soins dont on vient d'honorer l'étude de la langue française à l'université de Cambridge, sont une suite nécessaire de son utilité et de son importance. Ils sont un heureux présage de l'empire qu'elle va acquérir dans ce nouveau monde. . ."*⁴

Les pages consacrées à une rapide revue des causes historiques qui donnent à la langue française son importance dans le monde civilisé, trahissent un homme qui peut avoir du style:

⁴Dans le corps du volume, Nancrede introduit un morceau de sa plume, intitulé "Université de Cambridge," où on lit ces mots: "Le cœur d'un François palpita en retrouvant Racine, Montesquieu, l'Encyclopédie dans un endroit où fumoit il y a 150 ans le calumet des sauvages" (227).

" . . . Paris fixa les idées flottantes de l'Europe . . . L'imagination de Descartes régna dans la philosophie, la raison de Boileau dans les vers; Bayle plaça le doute aux pieds de la vérité, et Bossuet la mit aux pieds des rois. Les passions parlèrent leur langage sur la scène françoise, et l'on vit le grand Condé pleurer aux vers du grand Corneille, et Louis XIV se corriger à ceux de Racine. C'est alors que parut Molière, plus comique que les Grecs, ce Télémaque plus antique que les ouvrages des Anciens, et ce La Fontaine qui sans donner à la langue des formes si pures lui prêtait cependant des beautés plus communicables."

Aux productions de l'esprit s'ajoutent encore celles de l'industrie, et le XVIII^e siècle apportera à son tour de nouveaux progrès. Voici Fontenelle qui "acueillit la philosophie anglaise"; voici Montesquieu, Buffon, l'Encyclopédie, Voltaire; voici Raynal qui "traçoit aux deux mondes les crimes de l'un et les malheurs de l'autre, appelant les puissances de l'Europe au tribunal de l'humanité pour y frémir des barbaries exercées en Amérique. . . ."

* * *

Malgré ses mots d'admiration sans bornes pour les auteurs du XVII^e siècle, Nancrede n'emprunte à ceux-ci que de rares morceaux. Corneille, Racine, Molière, LaFontaine, Descartes, Bossuet, etc. manquent. Il y a seulement une lettre de Fléchier, et quelques pages de Fénelon—pour lequel Nancrede professe toujours une profonde admiration; c'est tout. Sa rubrique "Pensées ingénieuses" n'amène ni le nom de La Bruyère, ni celui de La Rochefoucauld; mais plutôt ceux de moralistes grecs et latins dont il traduit lui-même les passages.

Nancrede souligne en somme les deux tendances fondamentales du XVIII^e siècle français, la raison et le sentiment, mais avec préférence marquée pour la seconde. Voltaire et Montesquieu sont les principaux représentants de la raison, Rousseau du sentiment; et d'ailleurs la *raison* de Voltaire et de Montesquieu n'est considérée qu'en tant qu'elle s'accorde avec le sens moral, si cher à Rousseau; et il s'agit non pas tant du *sentiment* romanesque que de ce sentiment qu'on pourrait bien appeler plutôt "raison supérieure," la raison rousseauiste visant à la moralisation de la société.

Rousseau détient le record des citations; il est représenté par quinze fragments. Certains de ceux-ci sont fort longs, surtout deux

de la *Lettre sur les Spectacles*, et le texte presque complet des *Quatre Lettres à M. de Malesherbes*.

Mais Nancrède, loin de se borner à Rousseau, emprunte sa littérature moralisatrice partout où il la trouve; Helvétius lui fournit un morceau sur la "Courte durée des états despotiques" (204-206), un autre, *Combien il est difficile de donner une éducation vertueuse aux Etats despotiques* (211-213), et un autre encore sur la *Pauvreté, source des grandes vertus* (247-8).

Toute la rubrique des "Anecdotes" respire ce même esprit. En voici une, *Le tourment des Rois* (13)—un laboureur est devenu roi par hasard et contre sa volonté; mais il fut le meilleur des rois; ou une autre, *Le tyran*—qui se termine par ces mots: "Un roi doit nourrir son Peuple de sa propre substance parce qu'il tient son royaume de son Peuple. Tout citoyen est soldat sous un Roi juste" (18).

Nancrède semble aussi ne pouvoir citer assez de passages célébrant les joies de la vie de la Nature. Ici c'est un Dialogue, *Le bonheur champêtre*—entre un seigneur et un villageois (Marmontel, 42-44). Là, c'est une Fable Orientale *Le voyage de la Mecque* traduit de Saadi par Saint-Lambert—et qui est comme un petit *Discours sur l'origine de l'Inégalité*. S'adressant aux "fidèles disciples d'Hali, de Brama ou de Zerdus," Saadi médite ainsi:

"... Quand Dieu commanda au soleil de porter le jour dans l'immensité des cieux et de répandre sa fécondité sur le globe terrestre, il dispersa les hommes et leurs compagnes au Nord, au Midi, à l'Orient, à l'Occident, et il leur dit: Jouissez des éléments et des délices de l'âme . . . (Mais) l'homme oublia les paroles du Très-Haut, . . . des esprits pervers semèrent la défiance d'un bout du monde à l'autre et la crainte arma les nations contre les nations. . . . Rois, califes, sultans, princes de la terre, fermez l'oreille aux discours de vos flatteurs. Écoutez la nature, elle vous crie que nous sommes tous les membres d'un seul corps. O arbitres des hommes, descendez en vous-mêmes, lisez dans vos coeurs, et vous y retrouverez les paroles du Très Haut: elles y sont gravées . . ." (p. 23-24).

Il y a ensuite (302-5), signé M . . ., un *Discours d'un Vieillard solitaire à un jeune Homme que l'Infortune avait réduit au désespoir*, et qui est comme une réédition de la "Lettre de Rousseau sur le Suicide" dans la *Nouvelle Héloïse*. Ailleurs *l'Hymne à l'Etre suprême sous le nom de Jupiter, par Cléanthe, philosophe*

stoïcien, conservée par Stobée et traduite par Thomas n'est qu'une autre façon de prêcher la religion a-dogmatique du Vicaire Savoyard. Et quand, à la page 316, on lit une traduction (probablement par Nancrede) de Gessner, *La matinée d'automne*, on se demande pourquoi Nancrede n'a pas reproduit simplement la description du soleil levant par Rousseau lui-même.

La manière la plus directe de saisir l'esprit que Nancrede cherchait à inspirer aux étudiants de Harvard, est de lire les *Observations sur les Dialogues par le traducteur—lui-même—de Milord Littleton* dont il fait précéder les extraits de ce groupe (p. 101-104), et qui sont des développements ampoulés de la grande phrase d'*Émile*: "Il ne s'agit pas de savoir ce qui est, mais seulement ce qui est utile":

"... Le grand point est d'indiquer aux hommes les routes trop ignorées ou trop négligées du vrai bonheur et de la vertu. Un auteur qui n'amuse que l'esprit est un bouffon presque aussi inutile qu'un singe. . . ."

Que d'auteurs, dits "classiques," de *Dialogues*—continue Nancrede—qui n'ont pas compris leur devoir! Lucien perd son temps à "tourner en ridicule sa religion ridicule"; tandis qu'il n'a "pas assez de bonne foi pour respecter les chrétiens, il ne respecte pas même les moeurs." (Ne semble-t-il pas que l'on entend l'auteur de *la Lettre sur les Spectacles* ou de *la Nouvelle Héloïse* morigérant les Philosophes?) Platon, "est continuellement dans le pays des abstractions, parlant plus souvent à l'imagination qu'à la raison des hommes et traite la vertu comme ses idées éternelles avec un jargon sublime qui n'est pas absolument de l'éloquence." "L'illustre Fénelon fait des dialogues bien estimables quoique peu estimés d'une nation à qui on reproche plus d'esprit que de raison. . . ." Nous avons après lui Fontenelle: "cet homme trop célèbre qui est à la tête des corrupteurs de l'Eloquence Française, et il avait tous les talens nécessaires pour cela: . . . une âme glacée, un coeur froid, l'esprit subtil mais sans chaleur, de vastes connaissances dans tous les genres, mais surtout dans la petite métaphysique de l'amour; il avait trop d'esprit pour bien écrire" (102-103).

L'Anglais, Littleton,—si Rousseauiste lui—a toutes ses préférences: "Ah! celui-ci n'a point de Héros galants qui parlent avec toute la finesse possible le fade jargon des ruelles, parcequ'il ne voulait pas amuser des caillettes ou les hommes qui leur ressem-

blent; . . . C'est une leçon continuelle de sentiments généreux et de grandeur d'âme . . . il juge les actions, les vices, les erreurs, les vertus, comme le Philosophe et la Vérité les jugeraient. . . . Jamais écrivain ne représente mieux la gloire d'un homme de bien et la honte d'un méchant; c'est là, je crois, le vrai but de l'art d'écrire" (193-4).

Nancrède traduisit ensuite quelques Dialogues et incorpora cette traduction dans son livre.

Nous avons vu déjà que les titres seuls suffiraient à trahir le Rousseauisme moralisant de Nancrède. En voici quelques-uns encore, tirés de la partie: "Mélanges": *Cause de Suicide parmi les Romains*; *Ce qu'on appelle aujourd'hui Esprit dans le monde* (par D'Aguesseau—et qui commence: "Penser peu, parler beaucoup, ne douter de rien, n'habiter que les dehors de son âme et ne cultiver que la superficie de son esprit . . ."); *Différence de la Probité et de la Vertu*; *Parallèle entre Caton et Cicéron*; *Humanité*⁵; *Pauvreté, source des grandes vertus*.

A l'occasion, cependant, les sévères Bostoniens durent être un peu surpris du choix de telles anecdotes. Ainsi la suivante, empruntée au *Voyage littéraire* de M. Guys: Un matelot avait épousé une jeune et jolie femme. Un jour il ne revint pas de longtemps. Un riche "Bourgeois" la voyant mourir de faim, lui offrit de la secourir contre "un prix que l'honnête femme lui refusa sans hésiter"; mais ses deux enfants allaient périr; le marchand revint à la charge, et elle fut obligée de capituler "devant le barbare"; elle lui "permit de venir souper pour passer ensuite la nuit avec elle." Au moment psychologique la dame prend son enfant au berceau, "et le pressant contre son sein, les yeux remplis de larmes, elle lui dit: Tette, mon enfant, et tette bien; tu reçois encore le lait

⁵Cette anecdote a une certaine actualité: "Un Chymiste Romain, nommé Poli, avait découvert une composition terrible, dix fois plus destructive que la poudre à canon. Il vint en France en 1702 et offrit son secret à Louis XIV. Ce prince qui aimait les découvertes chymiques eut la curiosité de voir la composition et l'effet de celle-ci. Il en fit faire l'expérience sous ses yeux. Poli ne manqua pas de lui faire remarquer les avantages qu'on en pouvoit tirer pendant une guerre. 'Votre procédé est ingénieux, lui dit le Roi, l'expérience en est terrible et surprenante, mais les moyens de destruction employés à la guerre sont suffisants; je vous défends de publier celui-là: contribuez plutôt à en faire perdre la mémoire; c'est un service à rendre à l'humanité.' Ce fut sous cette condition que ce monarque accorda une récompense digne de lui au Chymiste" (227).

d'une honnête femme. Demain, que ne puis-je, hélas! te sévrer! Demain tu n'auras plus que le lait d'une malheureuse. . . ." Le 'Bourgeois' attendri comprit ce qu'avait d'odieux sa conduite.

Tel le livre de Nancrède. Ne peut-on pas penser qu'il a joué une part au moins dans la formation des idées de la jeunesse républicaine à laquelle il était destiné? Il est vrai que le prestige de la France souffrait en ce moment—par suite surtout de la conduite absurde de Genest à Philadelphie; mais c'était là un accident dont l'effet ne devait être que passager. En tous cas, en 1798 Nancrède enseigne toujours le français à Harvard, et il a fait lire son livre toutes ces années. Il avait même essayé, et réussi, à atteindre un public plus grand que celui de Harvard. En effet, dès le 28 décembre 1791, l'usage d'un local lui est accordé à Boston pour y professer quatre fois par semaine. Et il établit dans la même ville (nous ne savons à quelle date) une librairie et maison d'édition—49 Marlborough Street—qu'il transporta plus tard à Philadelphie (date incertaine aussi); et dans son commerce de livres il encourageait clairement la diffusion des mêmes idées que dans son *Abeille*: l'humanitarisme sentimental. Entre autres choses, il publia en 1797, les *Aventures de Télémaque* . . . nouvelle édition comparée soigneusement avec les meilleures éditions françaises. Revue et corrigée par Joseph Nancrède. L'édition est dédiée "A la jeunesse américaine des deux sexes" et le texte est donné en français et en anglais.

Ajoutons qu'à la fin du second volume, il y a une liste de 34 titres: "Books published by Joseph Nancrède, No. 49 Marlborough Str. Boston" Presque tous ces volumes sont en anglais; on y trouve: *The Studies of Nature, transl. from the French of J. H. B. de St Pierre, by H. Hunter, D. D., 3vol.*; *A Vindication of Divine Providence . . . by the author of Studies of Nature*; *Botanical Harmony delineated* (par le même); *Paul et Virginia, a sentimental narration founded on fact . . .*; *Condorcet, On the Mind*; *Necker, On the Influence, of Religious Opinions*; *History of Jacobinism*; *The Prisons of Paris*; etc.

* * *

Si on compare tout ceci avec ce que nous avons dit de Moreau de Saint-Méry, on ne peut qu'être frappé chez les deux hommes du même zèle pour les choses de l'esprit, du même souci de répandre les idées françaises, et enfin—ce qui est plus remarquable—une

orientation pareille dans le genre des livres poussés. Ainsi dans le catalogue de Saint-Méry figurent deux fois les *Oeuvres Complètes* de Rousseau, plus une collection d' *Oeuvres choisies*, et une collection d' *Oeuvres posthumes*; on trouve aussi *Les Incas*, et les *Contes Moraux* de Marmontel; on trouve quatre fois *Télémaque*." . . . Que ce soit d'ailleurs à eux ou à d'autres qu'on le doive surtout, il est certain que cette note rousseauiste de la littérature française s'accroît avec les années en Amérique. Le *Télémaque* en particulier demeura fort en honneur.⁶ Et si Madame de Staël joua dès le début du XIX^e siècle un rôle plus considérable que Rousseau, son maître, elle le doit probablement au caractère des *Confessions* de Rousseau, qui choquèrent les Puritains.

ALBERT SCHINZ.

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FIELDING'S *CHAMPION*—MORE NOTES

The following notes¹ on the titles, the hours of publication, the centres of publication, and the early struggles of the *Champion*, in which Henry Fielding was actively concerned between November 1739 and June 1741, will supplement the materials regarding the *Champion* that I have printed in the *Mod. Lang. Review*, VII, 97, 374, VIII, 165; the *New York Nation*, January 16, 1913, LIII; and *Englische Studien*, XLVI, 355.

I. In the *Daily Post* and the *London Daily Post* of Monday, November 12, 1739, appears the following:

On Thursday next will be publish'd, for the first Time, / (To be continued every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday / Morning) / THE CHAMPION; or, BRITISH MERCURY. / By the celebrated Capt. HERCULES VINEGAR, of / Hockley in the Hole. / Containing Essays on various Subjects, and the / freshest Advices, both Foreign and Domestick. / —Quod optanti Divum promittere

⁶ De fait Fénelon est presque du Rousseau avant la lettre, surtout le *Télémaque*. On s'en aperçoit tous les jours (Cf. Masson, *La Religion de J.-J. Rousseau* (1916), E. Seillières, *Mme. Guyon, Fénelon, Précurseurs de Rousseau* (1918).) On sait comme Rousseau lui-même estimait Fénelon, qu'il appelait avec Catinat: "les deux plus vertueux des modernes." Et il disait à Bernardin de Saint-Pierre: "S'il avait vécu, j'aurais cherché à être son laquais pour mériter d'être son valet de chambre."

¹ This article was accepted for publication October, 1917.

nemo / Auderet Volvenda dies en attulit. / Virg. / Printed for T. Cooper at the Globe in Pater-noster-Row. /

Later notices with substitutions for the first line are in these papers for November 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22. Several of these notices state that the first issue of the *Champion* was "distributed gratis."

In the *London Daily Post and General Advertiser* of Monday, December 3, 1739, appears:

There having been an extraordinary Demand for the Champion, or British Mercury, of last Saturday, the said Paper is now re-printed, and may be had of T. Cooper in Pater-noster-Row.

This may be merely a "puff."

In the *Craftsman* of April 26, and May 3 and 10, 1740, appears a long notice regarding the *Champion*, showing a change of the title, the hour of publication, and the place of publication, and indicating that it has faced difficulties:

IF NEWS-PAPERS, are only calculated to kill Time, the present Set (the *Craftsman* and *Common Sense* excepted) will answer that End very effectively. But, if to inform, or even to entertain is the Tenure of their Charter, a new one is absolutely necessary to save it from being forfeited beyond Redemption.

On this Presumption, a paper called the *CHAMPION*, was, a few Months ago, set up; which had, at least, something of Novelty, if no more, to recommend it. But, having a vigorous Opposition on all Hands to struggle with (Book-sellers, who were Sharers in the Profit of other News-Papers; Coffee-men, who thought they were encumbered with too many already; Place-men, because it made War on their Patron; Patriot-writers, because it might possibly interfere with their own; and Hawkers in Fee with them all) it made its Way but slowly, nay was actually given out for Dead, long ago.

And no sooner was it received with Approbation by some, and Indulgence by all unprejudiced Readers, but the *London Evening-Post*, &c. and many of the Country-Papers began to enrich themselves with its Spoils; which (tho' their Sanction may be no Proof of its Merit) argued, at least, that it was not unacceptable to the Publick.

Rather, therefore, than give Way to such Piracies any longer, it has been thought expedient to alter the Time of publishing the Paper, called the *CHAMPION*, from Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday Mornings, to the Evenings of the same Days, when it will be punctually sent to such publick or private Houses, as shall order it in, by

J. Graham, under the Inner-Temple-Gate, opposite Chancery-Lane, in Fleet-street, where Advertisements and Letters to the Author are taken in.

It will contain, as before,

- I. AN ESSAY on the Manners or Politicks of the Times.
 - II. Frequently, new Articles of Intelligence.
 - III. The News of two Days, Foreign and Domestick, stated and digested in a peculiar Manner.
 - IV. Extracts from, or Remarks upon such Books, Poems, Pamphlets, &c. as are worthy the Notice of the Publick.
- Price only THREE HALF-PENCE.

The copies of the earliest original issues of the *Champion* in the list below bear the title *The Champion; or, the Evening Advertiser*. The title would, then, appear to have been adopted in April 1740.

In my article on "The 'Champion' and Some Unclaimed Essays by Henry Fielding," in *Englische Studien*, XLVI, 365, I have noted and commented on the announcement in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of April 1743, page 191:

From the *Champion*, April 7, No. 3. *The Title of this Paper is alter'd and now runs thus: The British Champion; or, the Impartial Advertiser. And tho' the Printer is the same, it appears to have new Authors.*

So the title was again changed, a new numbering was begun (see also below), and other writers probably appeared, at the opening of April 1743.

II. It is important to list the following extant copies of original issues of the paper:

1) Library of the Historical Society of Wisconsin—*The Champion; or, the Evening Advertiser*, Saturday, August 30, 1740 (wrongly listed in the printed Catalogue of Newspapers as of May 30, 1740), No. 125, only the first leaf, leading article signed "Lilbourne" (James Ralph).

2) New York Public Library—*The Champion; or, the Evening Advertiser*, By Capt. Hercules Vinegar of Pall-mall, June 10 and 12, 1740, Nos. 90 and 91, both leading articles with Fielding's signature (see my note in *Modern Language Review*, 7. 97) "C," Printed for J. Shelley, at the Bible in Ship-Yard near the Ship Tavern; October 11, 1740, No. 143, leading article signed "W," Printed for C. Chandler, Bookbinder, at the Bible in Ship-Yard

near the Ship Tavern, without Temple Bar; May 7, 1741, No. 232, leading article signed "Janus," publisher, etc., as above; November 11, 1742, number cut off, four letters, several fictitious signatures, Printed for J. Huggonson, in Sword-and-Buckler-Court, over-against the Crown-Tavern on Ludgate-Hill;— *The British Champion; or the Impartial Advertiser*, by Capt. Hercules Vinegar of Pall-mall, August 4, 1743, No. 54, leading article unsigned, Printed for J. Huggonson on Ludgate-Hill; August 18, 1743, number cut off, three letters, no signature, publisher, etc., as above; September 10, 1743, No. 68, letters, various signatures, Printed for B. Cowse, Publisher, at the Globe in Pater-noster-Row; September 15, 1743, No. 70, no signature, publisher, etc., as above.

3) British Museum—*The Champion; or, the Evening Advertiser*, 1740, September 2; 1741, March 24, May 19, July 23, October 1, 15, 24, 31, November 3, 5, 7, 10, 12, 14, 17, 19, 21, 24, 26, 28, December 1, 3, 5, 8, 10, 12, 15, 17, 19, 22, 24, 26, 29, 31; 1742, complete to end of July, except for March 27, April 13, 15, 17, May 1, 11, 15, June 1, 3, 5, 8, 15, July 3, 17; 1742, August 10, 14, 17, 19, 24, 28.

It is to be noticed that the cut of Hercules slaying the Hydra, with Westminster Bridge and St. Paul's in the distance, appears at the head of all the issues noted above. The paper consisted of four pages, each with three columns of matter.

III. That the *Champion* in its early days did have such difficulties as are mentioned in the *Craftsman* advertisement of April and May 1740, is indicated in Fielding's retrospective article of June 12, 1740:

"... we were a long Time in the World before we were taken much Notice of, and the *London* and *General Evening Post*, two Papers of most extraordinary Merit, were read in many Coffee-Houses, where the *Champion's* Name was never heard of. . . . Notwithstanding an Opposition which was carried on in the most unprecedented, and by the meanest Methods, such as desiring Coffee-Houses not to take our Paper in, *dealing with* Hawkers not to spread it through the Town, and, if asked, to deny there was any such Paper extant, of which we have many Proofs, with many other excellent Devices known only to the Adepts of the present Age; notwithstanding all these, we have at length arrived at a Success and Reputation which may justly make us vain, When I look back on the Precipice of Oblivion (if I may so call it) whence this Paper so narrowly escaped, (our little Stock being at

one Time almost exhausted) I must own myself in a more than ordinary Manner elated with my present good Fortune: . . ."

On January 10, 1740, in an article that develops into an attack on Walpole, Fielding humorously meets the disapproval of the public:

"I have read your late Advertisement, which you would do well to insert in your next Collection of Puffs. I mean from the Stile only; for I am far from doubting but you have met with Opposition, nay, I declare I myself have been, and will still be your Opposer; nor would I have you flatter yourself, tho' I think you have sailed in the Teeth of Opposition (as the Poet terms it) to about No. 20, you will be able either by huffing or puffing to carry it much farther. I would therefore advise you to lay down in Time, and if you think you shall be ashamed or afraid to shew your Head afterwards, lest People should fall upon you for your Abuses in the Course of your Writings, even shoot the Pit, and march off as your Betters have done before you."

The supposed correspondent then declares that Hercules Vinegar's recent removal from Hockley-in-the-Hole to a more polite residence near St. James's² does not improve him; and continues:

"It is not, Friend, as you would insinuate in your Advertisement, out of any private Spleen or Pique against you that you are opposed; nor are your Opposers such as desire to establish the Characters of Authors, or set up a Paper."

I have not yet found the "Advertisement" here referred to. It obviously contained complaint of ill-treatment. It probably gave notice of the pretended removal of Vinegar to "near St. James'," first indicated in the issue of December 11, 1739, when probably the words "of Pall-Mall" were first substituted for "of Hockley-in-the-Hole" after Vinegar's name in the heading of the paper.

On January 15, 1740, Fielding writes:

". . . 'till my Removal to a polite Part of the Town, the World paid very little Respect to those excellent Discourses with which I obliged them, possessing themselves with an Opinion, that nothing worth their reading, could possibly come from *Hockley in the Hole*."

A piracy by the *London Evening Post*, of the class referred to in the *Craftsman* advertisement quoted above, is noticed in the *Champion* Index of April 8, 1740:

² See *Champion* of Dec. 11, 1739, and my article in *Modern Language Review*, viii, 165.

"The *Printer* and *Publishers*, lately taken into Custody for exhibiting *stollen Goods*, (from the *Champion*) as their own, after a proper Examination, have been discharg'd: The last on their Parole, and the first on putting in Bail for his Appearance. 'Tis believ'd however, that the Affair came to this speedy Issue on a *Compromise*: The *London-Evening Post* appearing last *Saturday Night*, like the *Jay* in the Fable, stripp'd of his *borrow'd Feathers*."

The action of the authorities against the *Post* did not arise from the piracy. The next paragraph in the *Champion* reads:

"The *extraordinary Blot*, in the last *Craftsman*, has been more observ'd and talk'd of, than any Eclipse foretold in the *Almanacs*: Some Persons believing it was artfully done, to excite the greater Curiosity (which Mysteries never fail to do) and others, prudentially, by way of *Self-Defence*."

On "Blot" is the note (Collected Edition, 1741, 2. 87):

"Over an Article taken from the *Champion*, suppos'd to be obnoxious; and the same for which the *Printer* and *Publishers* of the *London-Evening* were taken up."

This obnoxious article was perhaps Fielding's "C" article, signed "Vander Bruin" and attacking Walpole, printed in the issue of the *Champion* for Tuesday, April 1. No copies of the original issues of the *Champion* for the first week of this month are accessible. The collected edition of 1741 prints for April 3 a long poetical piece by * * (Ralph), and for April 5 Fielding's *Apology for the Clergy, Chapter II*, as the only other leading articles of the week. According to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, page 191, and the *London Magazine*, page 179, the *Craftsman* of April 5 contained little more than extracts from a book *Reflexions upon the Finances and Commerce of France*, judged by the magazines as not worth reprinting.—One wonders why the *Champion* was not prosecuted.

Imitators of the *Champion* are warned in its Index of April 19, 1740.

The following item in the Index of June 5, 1740, may be but "puffing": "The Clerks of the road not relishing a certain Newspaper, called the *Champion*, it is not permitted to visit the Country by the Post, for fear, perhaps, it should quarrel with the *Gazetteer upon the Road*."

JOHN EDWIN WELLS.

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ADDISON IN YOUNG'S CONJECTURES

The long digression at the end of the *Conjectures on Original Composition in a Letter to the Author of Sir Charles Grandison*, in which Young embalms the famous report regarding the exemplary end made by Addison (the moral lustre of which Horace Walpole did his cynical best to tarnish), has given rise to much groping speculation. Why, it is asked, did he labor the passage to the extent of twelve pages; and why did he tack it on as a tail-piece to a "letter"?

In the absence of direct evidence, the answer to these questions must, in the nature of the case be pretty largely conjectural. It is in this sense that I put forward the following considerations.

On the appearance of Night IV of *The Complaint* there was supplied a general preface, in which it was stated that "the occasion of the poem was real, not fictitious." That little statement, I believe, indirectly forced the publication of the death-bed passage sixteen years later. As I have tried to show elsewhere,¹ the reading public seized upon the most affecting incident in the poem, the interment of Narcissa, as the "real" occasion referred to, and, vaguely remembering his family bereavements, built up about the poet a legend of grief and personal affliction that hardly withstands the impact of facts. The true "real" occasion was the sudden, unexpected death at Bath, April 23, 1740, of the poet Thomas Tickell, whom M. Walter Thomas, Professor of English Literature at the University of Lyons, identifies as the Philander of the poem.² It was Tickell, it will be remembered, who confided the death-bed report to Young, as recorded in the *Conjectures*, and so furnished him with what I believe to be the real subject of the *Night Thoughts*.

Read in the light of this idea, the following passage from the *Conjectures* takes on a new significance:

"How finely pathetic are those two lines, which this so solemn scene inspired?"

¹ *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.* XXXIV, 130 ff.

² *Le Poète Edward Young*, Chap. VI, pp. 147-9. This is an admirable study and deserves to be more widely known.

'He taught us how to live: and oh! too high,
A price for knowledge, taught us how to die.'
—Tickell.

"With truth wrapped in darkness, so sung our oracle to the public, but explained himself to me: He was present at his patron's death, and that account of it here given, he gave me before his eyes were dry: *By what means Addison taught us how to die, the poet left to be made known by a late and less able hand.*"

The words that I have italicized appear to me to be a direct reference to the *Night Thoughts*, and the following passages seem to me to bear out this view.

On other themes I'll dwell.

Themes, too, the genuine growth
Of dear Philander's dust. He thus, though dead
May still befriend—What themes? Time's wondrous price,
Death, friendship, and Philander's final scene.

On this, or similar, Philander! thou
Whose mind was moral, as the preacher's tongue;
And strong to wield all science worth the name;
How often we talked down the breezy stream,
And cooled our passions by the breezy stream!
How often thawed and shortened winter's eve,
By conflict kind that struck out latent truth,
Best found, so sought.

His flight Philander took! his upward flight,
If ever soul ascended. He had dropped,
(That eagle genius) O had he let fall
One feather as he flew; I then had wrote,
What friends might flatter; prudent foes forbear;
Rivals scarce damn; and Zoilus reprieve.
Yet what I can, I must; it were profane
To quench a glory lighted at the skies,
And cast in shadow his illustrious close.
Strange! the theme most affecting, most sublime,
Momentous most to man, should sleep unsung!
And yet it sleeps, by genius unawak'd,
Panim or Christian; to the blush of wit
Man's highest triumph! man's profoundest fall!
*The death-bed of the just! is yet undrawn
By mortal hand! it merits a divine:
Angels should paint it, angels ever there:
There on a post of honour, and of joy.*

Dare I presume, then? but Philander bids;

And glory tempts, and inclination calls—

I pause—

And enter, aw'd, the temple of my theme.

Is it his death-bed? No: it is his shrine.

Night II.

The italics in the above passage are mine.

For know I'm but executor; he left

This moral legacy; I make it o'er

By his [Philander's] command; Philander hear in me;

And heaven in both. . . .

Night IX.

Surely, without actually naming the source, never was poet more explicit regarding the genesis and subject of his work. The real occasion of the poem, he says in effect, was the death of Tickell; the subject, a legacy from Tickell, the exemplary end of the Christian as illustrated by the death of Addison.

But the public had somewhat missed the point of the poem. They saw in it chiefly a series of moral reflections growing out of the successive family losses of the priestly and witty satirist. The report had remained locked in the poet's breast. He owed it both to the living and to the dead to set the public right, to draw aside "the long-closed curtain of Addison's death-bed" and reveal his "grand work," a "monument more durable than those of marble." However, after allowing the public to enjoy its own interpretation so long uncorrected, the poet could scarcely issue a separate work baldly setting forth the facts. Bernard Shaw might have done such a thing, but not Young. What better, then, than to seize the opportunity to bring it in incidentally (in the Baconian sense), and let the truth steal upon the public unawares? Just the opportunity he needed, he found in the "letter" to his friend Richardson, as the following passage would seem to indicate:

"Yet had not this poor plank (permit me, here, so to call this imperfect page) been thrown out, the chief article of his patron's glory [i. e., Addison's] would probably have been sunk forever, and late ages have received but a fragment of his fame. . . . Let us look farther to that concluding scene, which spoke human nature not unrelated to the divine. To that let us pay the long and large arrears of our greatly posthumous applause."

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THE "JULIUS CÆSAR OBELISK" IN THE *ENGLISH FAUST BOOK* AND ELSEWHERE

Among the additions made by a certain P. F. or P. R. *Gent.* in translating the German *Faustbuch*¹ are certain details describing the sights of Rome as viewed by that famous conjuror. The particular passage to which I wish to call attention concerns the obelisk indissolubly associated with the name of Julius Cæsar. The lines as they stand in the *English Faust Book of 1592* are as follows: "Hard by this [the Campo Santo adjoining St. Peter's] he [Faustus] visited the Church yard of S. Peters, where he saw the Pyramide that Julius Caesar brought out of Africa; it stood in Faustus his time leaning against the Church wall of Saint Peters, but now Papa Sixtus hath erected it in the middle of S. Peters Church yard; it is 24. fathom long and at the lower end sixe fathom foure square, and so forth smaller upwards, on the top is a Crucifixe of beaten golde, the stone standeth on foure Lyons of brasse."²

To the editor, H. Logeman, the description as it stands is "sheer nonsense: a *pyramid*, of the dimensions given, *leaning* against a wall after having been brought over from Africa and then found *erected* in some other place is hardly imaginable."³ The confusion which Logeman attributes to the writer, and of which he is ready to assume more, is due in part to his own confusion of the obelisk with the Cestius pyramid. In the first place the word *pyramids* was used in the Latin description of Rome referring obviously to obelisks and the word was brought over into the English variously as *pyramid*, *grave*, *pylour* (*pyler*), or *beryall*. Thus the objection which Logeman makes to the word *pyramid* falls to the ground at once. He mentions the fact, however, that Pope Sixtus the fifth "caused an *obelisk* to be erected in front of S. Peter's," and then continues, speaking of the pyramid of Cestius, "the transfer of this pyramid took place in 1586, under the greatest difficulties. The work was begun on April 30th but it was not until September 10th that the colossal monument was lowered on to its new pedestal."⁴

¹ *The English Faust Book of 1592*, edited by H. Logeman, Amsterdam, 1900.

² *Ib.*, p. 56.

³ *Ib.*, Notes, p. 147 f.

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 148.

This description applies, however, not to the Cestius pyramid, for Logeman was perhaps again misled by that word, but to the obelisk reset at the order of Pope Sixtus the fifth.

P. F. is, as a matter of fact, giving an accurate description of the removal of the obelisk, which, before 1586 or "in Faustus his time," was in a leaning position very near the sacristy of St. Peter's. The engineering work was accomplished by Domenico Fontana, the architect of Pope Sixtus, and we have his own description of his feat. The frontispiece of Fontana's book, printed in 1590, shows the author holding in his hand the obelisk surmounted by the crucifix.⁵ The addition of the latter was one of the many instances of Sixtus' Christianizing of pagan monuments, such as transforming Minerva into "Roma Christiana" by changing her spear to a crucifix, and placing a statue of St. Peter on Trajan's Column. Even the height given is approximately correct.⁶ Twenty-four fathom would be one hundred forty-four feet, if a fathom equals six feet or the span of a person's outstretched arms. The "sixe fathom foure square" would then refer to the square pedestal, thirty-six feet on a side. If Logeman had visualized the measurements given as a possible test for the application of them, he would have perceived that a pyramid six times as high as side of its square base could not refer to the substantial squattiness of Cestius' monument. "And so forth smaller upwards" may readily describe the gradual tapering of the obelisk in proportion to its base. The four brazen lions at the corners⁷ were, according to Bellori (1672), modelled by the unfortunate Prospero Bresciano, as Baglione already states in his *Lives* of the artists in Rome from 1572-1642. The idea of the lions with the stars was taken from the coat of arms of Sixtus, and the figures were placed there to conceal the ancient blocks, replaced by Fontana to sustain the actual weight.

So much, then, for the accuracy of the English gentleman, P. F. This would, however, not prove that he had himself seen the obelisk in place, for the transference of it to its new position had awakened international interest.⁸ He may well have read of the

⁵ J. A. F. Orbaan: *Sixtine Rome*, London, 1910, p. 133 ff.

⁶ The height of the whole is 132 feet, of the shaft alone, 83 feet.

⁷ These details are from Orbaan's work, p. 169.

⁸ *Ib.*, p. 165.

event or heard of it from an English traveller from Italy, for the two countries were in active communication at that time.

This "obeliscus Vaticanus" was brought from Heliopolis in 39 A. D. by Caligula and placed upon the *spina* of the *circus Vaticanus*,⁹ where it stood, the only obelisk in Rome never overthrown,¹⁰ until 1586. This permanence *in situ* afforded the opportunity for legend and tradition to gather about it.

The striking features by which this monument was well known in Elizabethan literature and even earlier were its connection with Julius Cæsar and its position supported by the four lions of brass. This detail of the lions is matter familiar to tradition long before they were in place as papal emblems.¹¹ The obelisk is mentioned by Ralph Higden in his *Polychronicon*. He is in turn indebted to one "Magister Gregorius" whose *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*¹² was a famous mediæval guide book for pilgrims: "Inter omnes pyramides mirabilior est pyramis Julii Caesaris, habens in altitudine ducentos quinquaginta pedes, in cujus summo fuit sphaera aenea cineres et ossa Julii continens. . . . Hanc autem pyramidem super quatuor leones fundatam peregrini mendosi acum beati Petri appellant."¹³ John de Trevisa in his translation of 1387 has the same passage reading as follows: "Among the pilers Julius Caesar his piler is most wonderful and hath in heithe two hondred feete and fifty; and the coppe ther of [in] a rounde thing of bras, wher on beeth Julius Cesar his askes and his bones. . . . This arche and piler is i-founded and y-sette upon foure lyouns. Pilgryms ful of lesynges clepeth this arche and piler Seynt Petres nedle." Besides this version of Trevisa, Babington's edition gives a second one in English by "an unknown writer of the fifteenth century" who renders this passage in practically the same form.

Gregorovius discusses this legend of Julius Cæsar's ashes and considers it as old as the year 1000.¹⁴ This Vatican obelisk, he

⁹ Platner, *Ancient Rome*, p. 515.

¹⁰ Gregorovius, *History of Rome*, translated by M. A. Hamilton, I, 53.

¹¹ The foundation of this tradition I have been unable to ascertain.

¹² The *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (VI, I, 882) discusses the inscription on the obelisk and adds a citation from the *Mirabilia* which differs radically from Higden's and contains no mention of the "four lions." Higden must therefore have added freely to his source or else must have used another version.

¹³ Higden, *Polychronicon*, ed. Babington, I, 224 f.

¹⁴ Gregorovius, *History of Rome*, III, 520 f.

believes, was therefore called *Memoria* or *Sepulcrum Caesaris*, as the Mausoleum of Hadrian was called *Memoria*.¹⁵ The obelisk is thus designated in the bull of Leo IX in the year 1053, where it is also called *Agulia*, a name which it still retains in Italian. That term, he thinks, might have been corrupted into *Juglia*, whence the myth arose.¹⁶

The belief that the sphere contained Cæsar's ashes might have given rise to the supposition that he also brought it from Africa, as P. F. states in the *Faust Book*. From that source it appears again in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*. Mephistophilis in describing for Faustus the delights of Rome, the bridges and the Castel S. Angelo, concludes:

Besides the gates and high pyramides,
Which Julius Caesar brought from Africa.¹⁷

At a somewhat later date (1633) we find in Thomas Heywood's *English Traveller* a narrative mentioning

And then in Rome, of that great pyramis
Reared in the front, on four lions mounted.¹⁸

Miss Fisher in an article on *Shakespeare and the Capitol*¹⁸ regards this as an indebtedness to the *Polychronicon*, although it might equally well be a reminiscence of Fontana's feat in 1586.

A summary of these various items is made by John Evelyn, who was in Italy in 1644. He describes the fountains in the Piazza of St. Peter's and then continues: "Next is the Obelisq transported out of Egypt and dedicated by Octavius Augustus to Julius Caesar,

¹⁵ *Ib.*, p. 527.

¹⁶ Two other explanations might be suggested. The inscription on the base of the monument might have been misread,

DIVO · CAESARI · DIVI · IVLII · F · AVGVS·TO ·
TI · CAESARI · DIVI · AVGVS·TI · F · AVGVS·TO ·
SACRVM.

(CIL. VI, 1, 882)

or a famous name was popularly associated with a famous monument. A parallel instance of such association would be the tradition that Julius Cæsar built the Tower of London, which occurs twice in Shakespeare, *Richard II*, v, 1 and *Richard III*, III, 1.

¹⁷ Marlowe, *Doctor Faustus*, Sc. VII.

¹⁸ Heywood, *English Traveller*, I, 1.

¹⁹ *Modern Language Notes*, June, 1907.

whose ashes it formerly bore on the summit; but being since overturn'd by the Barbarians, was re-erected with great cost and a most stupendious invention by Domenico Fontana, architect to Sixtus V. The Obelisk consists of one intire square stone without heiro-glyphic, in height 72 ft. but comprehending the base and all 'tis 108 ft. high. It rests on four lyons of gilded copper. . . . It is reported to have taken a year in erecting, to have cost 37,975 crowns, the labour of 907 men and 75 horses."²⁰ Thus Evelyn is still perpetuating the legend of Julius Cæsar's ashes, despite Fontana's proof that the supposedly hollow sphere was cast all in one piece.²¹

It is thus evident that the obelisk now at the central point of the vast Piazza in front of St. Peter's has had a history worthy of so prominent a position. During the Middle Ages it alone of many similar monuments remained standing, and it was renowned in travel literature, since the sphere surmounting it was believed to contain the ashes of Julius Cæsar. Its removal in 1586 to its present site brought it again into active interest, traces of which made their way into contemporary English literature.

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THE PSYCHOLOGY OF BECKY SHARP

Becky Sharp's case has not always been rightly understood. She has been represented as a clever, successful little schemer, greedy for gold and social position.

Becky was preëminently an unsuccessful woman. At school she was disliked and unhappy. She felt like a forlorn cat who longs for a sunny spot in which to stretch herself. She hoped to find such a comfortable berth as the wife of Amelia Sedley's brother Joseph. But as usual just at the point of attainment she missed her aim by overshooting the mark.

Old man Crawley, or to speak more respectfully, "Baronet of Queens Crawley," was dead in love with her. As the petted young wife of that old sport she would have lived in plenty and been

²⁰ Evelyn, *Diary*, ed. by Wheatley, London, 1906, I, 139.

²¹ Orbaan, p. 157.

mistress of all she surveyed. But she swerved from this purpose and reached out for Rawdon Crawley, the son—not because she was in love with him. Becky was never in love with anybody. But her caprice turned her in that direction. She got Rawdon but she lost his irate father's money. Rawdon was not clever, hence Becky dictated for him a letter to his maiden-aunt who was intending to make him her heir, with the result of permanently alienating the aunt.

So Becky, who was cleverer than anybody, goes from blunder to blunder, is finally spurned by her husband and resorts to drinking beer in an attic.

What was the matter with Becky? Becky had the artistic temperament minus a heart. The artistic temperament guided by a heart is tactful, because it has warm sympathies. In spite of misunderstandings and hard knocks it wins real friends and faithful supporters. It is capable of learning from the experiences of life and of developing a character. Becky cared not to make a true friend, and she never had one.

She was the daughter of a vagabond artist and an opera-girl. Her pranks had been the delight of her father and his friends as they sat over their gin and water. Thus she danced through life turning from one bauble to another, with a peal of scoffing laughter, crushing them in her steely little grasp.

She loved adventure for its own sake. Many a professional beggar prefers this precarious existence to earning an honest living by some sure means. Becky liked to gamble for her daily bread. Had she succeeded in gaining the fat and peaceful berth in life it pleased her at times to assume as her goal, never would she have found contentment and satisfaction in any such lot. She would have fled with her mocking laugh to resume her mothlike whirl about the flame of a happiness which always eluded her and which she never really expected to attain. For Becky was a confirmed pessimist and cynic.

She had no heart; she could not understand the deep places of life, the things that make it all worth while. She was ambitious, talented and superior in wit to most of the people who surrounded her. But, in spite of this, she did not preempt the secure position of a successful social autocrat, at which a good many clever and ambitious women arrive.

For Becky was by nature a Bohemian. She was perhaps nearer happiness as a child with her dissolute father or in her later days drinking beer with students in an attic than she had been in any of the experiences which lay between.

Becky was a gambler. Neither money nor position was the real lure, but the excitement of the game.

She might possibly have found success behind the footlights as an interpretive dancer, or as a music-hall singer. Among the staid and serious folk of late Victorian society she was an anachronism. No one realized this better than Thackeray. He pulls the wires of this little puppet with a relish. Like a taunting spirit she is made to jeer and dance her way through the slow moving throngs of the novel—always on the brink of disaster she flings out her slender arms and tosses her flaming locks in gay abandon.

She is as evasive as a will-o'-the-wisp: the hand which reaches out to grasp her holds the cold mist and nothing else. A will-o'-the-wisp lover, a will-o'-the-wisp wife, a will-o'-the-wisp mother was Becky. No one who looked to her for human feeling ever found a ray of comfort in her. She wounded in deadly fashion her school chum Amelia. She baffled and bruised her husband. She broke her child's heart. Yet, clever as she was, she did not understand in the least the pain she inflicted. For these were heart-issues, and of the heart Becky knew nothing and wished to know nothing.

Some years ago there hung in one of our public galleries an imaginative portrait of Becky Sharp. She is represented as a plump, phlegmatic little morsel, fair-skinned and red-headed, with a commonplace, sensuous face, and wearing a red gown. This is a shallow conception of Becky. From her deep-set eyes should have beamed a radiance which dazzles but does not warm; a subtle mobile little face had Becky, changing at every caprice of her active mind, a small, graceful head crowned with pale yet flaming locks, each hair instinct with vitality. She does not need a red gown, there is red enough in her hair. Give her flying draperies of vivid green to match the green of her eyes, and on her tiny feet put pointed shoes such as Puck might wear when he skims the forest glades in *Midsummer Night's Dream*.

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REVIEWS

Victor Hugo, Ruy Blas, edited by H. L. HUTTON. Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1919. 316 pp.

Molière, l'École des femmes, edited by HÉLÈNE HARVITT. New York, Oxford University Press, 1919. xxvi + 146 pp.

The first of these volumes gives evidence of careful work, not only in the text and notes, but in the introduction, where an unusual amount of attention is paid to the dramatic significance of various portions of the play. It will be helpful to teachers who know little of the theater, though the unnecessary detail into which the notes are carried will often discourage, rather than assist the student.¹ The book's chief fault lies elsewhere. If we were to have a new edition of *Ruy Blas* after the satisfactory college text published by Professor McKenzie in 1909, which Mr. Hutton does not mention, or even the older edition by Professor Garner, with which he is acquainted, it should have been in order to give students the results of the latest scholarly investigations. Unfortunately Mr. Hutton and his collaborator, Mr. Parry, have made use of nothing published in France during the last fourteen years. They neglect the very important articles by Rigal and Lanson in the *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*,² a journal that should be in the hands of anyone who undertakes to publish a modern French text. Had Mr. Hutton read the first of these articles, he would not have confined himself, in studying the sources of the play, to Mme d'Aulnoy, Vayrac, Lesage, and Bulwer, whose relations to the tragedy have been discussed by Morel-Fatio, Biré, and others. He

¹ So simple a construction as *lui continue de rêver* should be left for explanation to the teacher. Certainly it does not deserve ten lines in the notes (p. 280). Such comment as that the word *godelureaux* is found in *le Gendre de Monsieur Poirier* (p. 242) is superfluous, while the remark (*ibid.*) that a comparison is drawn in *Gil Blas* between an abandoned wife and Penelope is positively misleading, for it implies that Hugo needed the guidance of Lesage to arrive at this literary commonplace.

² Vol. xx (1913), pp. 753-788, *la Genèse d'un drame romantique: "Ruy Blas,"* and vol. xxii (1915), pp. 392-401, *Victor Hugo et Angelica Kauffmann*.

would have learned of the influence of Gaillardet's *Struensée ou le médecin de la reine* (1833) on the portion of the play that concerns the relations between the queen, Ruy Blas, and the nobles, as well as Hugo's indebtedness for much of his fourth act to the farcical trilogy of M. de P——y (Pompigny?). If he had known Lanson's article, he would have seen that the account of Angelica Kauffmann's marriage to a Swedish adventurer, easily accessible to Hugo, is far more likely to have been the source of his intrigue than the *Lady of Lyons*, with which it was difficult for him to be acquainted. Had he read still more widely, he would have perceived the structural importance of the third act, which, according to Hugo, contains the germ of the tragedy, as I pointed out in *Modern Philology* nearly three years ago.³

P. 8. It is misleading to say that the first three scenes of *Polyeucte* exemplify the introduction of comedy into tragedy. Pp. 15 and 240. Hugo is twice taken to task for having Ruy Blas wear in the second act the lace which he had worn as a lackey and by which the queen identifies him, although Hugo nowhere states that he wore this lace while still a lackey. All we know is that he wore it when he hurt his hand, not necessarily more than three days before the second act begins and probably some time after he had given up his livery, which he does in the course of the first act. P. 18. The editor describes the hero's love as "pure of sensual emotion," yet Ruy Blas faints at the thought of admitting the king to the queen's bedroom. P. 28. Mr. Hutton is not, as he implies, the first writer to note the dramatic importance of Casilda's plan for enabling the queen to leave the palace.⁴ P. 263. It would be better to translate *pourpre*, as McKenzie does, by royal purple, than merely to refer to the occurrence of the word in *Hernani*. P. 270. It is inexact to say that Crispin was introduced into French comedy by Poisson about 1654, for the first character so called in the plays of this author is the Crispin of his *Baron de la Crasse*, played for the first time on July 14, 1662. P. 275. "*Ouïr*: archaic; now used in a few set phrases: 'daignez ouïr nos vœux,' 'j'ai ouï dire.'" These phrases are obsolete. P. 276. "*C'est fort*, 'it's too bad!'" The meaning is nearer McKenzie's translation, "it's extraordinary," though this is, of course, too elegant. P. 280. *A maison borgne*

³ Vol. xiv, pp. 641-646, "The Genesis of *Ruy Blas*."

⁴ Cf. *R II L*, vol. xx, p. 785.

is less respectable than a "shabby-looking" house. Indeed it is less respectable than a *maison louche*, a fact that the editor fails to perceive.

There is a more general criticism that may be made of this, as of other college texts. Why does a man who, if writing a scholarly article, would be careful to mention his indebtedness to earlier writers, fail to do so when he edits a text book? One does not expect references to authorities for interpretations that depend only on general knowledge, but when, for instance, Garner notes that the application to the Virgin of the term *stella m̃aris* is first made by St. Bernard,⁵ cites Prescott for instances of Spanish horses shod with silver, or the Prince de Joinville to explain how Hugo coined the word *trognonne*,⁶ the earlier editor deserves more from his successor than a simple listing of his book in the bibliography. I do not mean to imply that Mr. Hutton's scholarship lacks independence. On the contrary, he shows far more than most editors of texts. He has in the cases I have cited adopted a system that is in fairly general use, one that must be given up, if the editing of texts for schools and colleges is to attract our best scholarship.

Unlike Mr. Hutton, Dr. Harvitt knows where to go for recent bibliographical information and how to be concise. She has not attempted to better the standard text of the *École des femmes*, nor to add to scholarly opinion concerning it, but she has devoted herself to preparing a useful edition of the play for English-speaking students, a thing that has not been attempted since Saintsbury's edition appeared in 1888. The text of the *Grands Écrivains* edition is carefully reproduced. To the important notes there found are added others based on more recent scholarship, notably in the case of the sources of the *Maximes du mariage*. The introduction is meagre. The sketch of Molière's life contains barely more than an incomplete list of his plays. Little is said of his family and his relations with Louis XIV, nothing at all of the

⁵ A statement that is incorrect, as Dr. Blondheim has pointed out to me, for the expression goes back to St. Jerome. He wrote *stilla*, which must have been taken for *stella* long before St. Bernard. Cf. Herzog-Hauck, *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, Leipzig, 1903, vol. XII, p. 310.

⁶ Cf. the notes on lines 789, 899, and 1946 in both editions.

difficulties of his first theatrical venture, his acquaintance with Racine, the circumstances of his death. What is more serious, no effort is made to point out his importance in the history of the French stage and of universal comedy. The play receives more attention than its author, but not enough. The brief comment published after the title of each work listed in the bibliography does not take the place of a comprehensive résumé of critical judgments. A teacher who feels the need of a more ample introduction may well prefer to use Saintsbury's edition.

P. vii. A student may be led by the order of the sentences to believe that Molière lost his father between the time that he studied law and the founding of the *Illustre Théâtre*. P. x. Instead of merely stating the play's relationship to Italian masques and mediæval French farces, the editor should have pointed out in what respect it resembles each of these types. P. xii. The "recurrence of the same series of events" is not the only comic element in the play. P. xiii. Some mention should be made of the relationship existing between this play and the *École des maris*. P. xiv. "Before *l'École des femmes*, the right of comedy was not yet acknowledged to handle the serious aspects of vital questions"; but the *École des maris* and to a certain extent the *Précieuses* had already established this right. P. xv. The editor gives a list of properties reproduced incompletely from the one given by the decorator, Laurent, which is itself incomplete. It would have been more interesting to give Laurent's account of the scenery, "deux maisons sur le devant et le reste une place de ville."

Pp. 111 and 131. As the notes that refer to the prose portions of the text, the *épître*, *préface*, and *lettre d'Agnès*, are without numbers, one cannot tell at a glance to what line each refers. P. 112. "There is no other example in Molière of the phrase *dans demain*"; it may be of interest to learn that this construction, overlooked by Haase and Livet, does exist elsewhere in the seventeenth century, if not in Molière, in two of Hardy's plays, *Mariamne*, act iv, scene 2, and *Coriolan*, act i, scene 2, examples which confirm the translation given by the editor, "no later than tomorrow." P. 114. The editor follows the explanation given by Voltaire and Despois when she affirms that Molière's enemies objected to *tarte à la crème* since "one should not use such common words," an explanation that is unsatisfactory because there was no

general idea at the time that comedy required a *style noble*. The phrase should probably be classed with others which were criticized by Molière's rivals and to which an objection can more easily be understood, the *potage*, the *le-*, and the *enfants par l'oreille*. P. 124. There is no need for representing Molière as "unintentionally and unconsciously" incorporating lines from *Sertorius* into his play. He was quite capable of purposely parodying a play written by Corneille and represented by a rival troop. P. 125. Neither "frills," nor "puffing" is a satisfactory translation of *canons*. P. 130. *Et* is translated "besides," "from the first." It cannot mean the latter, for *d'abord* follows in the same line. I should prefer "for" to either of them, not an unusual meaning of *et* in Molière.⁷ P. 143. The translation of *morveux* by "good-for-nothing" does not indicate the youth of a person so described.

The editor sometimes notes departures from modern usage in orthography and order of words, but there are many instances in which she fails to do so.⁸ In lines 173, 4, the rime should be explained; in line 250, the hiatus noted. The importance of lines 272-276 in preparing the dénouement should be indicated. In line 746 *un peu* should be translated; 1056, the pun noted; 1058, the gender of *dot* commented upon; 1059, the departure from modern usage in *lorsque l'on le voit* pointed out. A few typographical errors occur. For *Cresse*, p. vii, read *Cressé*; for *fois*, p. 122, *foi*; for 1243, before *un monstre*, p. 138, read 1242; for 3 on the first line of p. 116 read 2. Finally, we may thank Dr. Harvitt for the two quaint illustrations she has published with her book, a portrait of Molière as Arnolphe and one of Mlle de Brie as Agnès.⁹

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⁷ Cf. Livet, *Lexique*, vol. II, p. 266.

⁸ Cf. lines 146, 688, 1023, 1030, 1709, etc.

⁹ Dr. Harvitt has furnished the following list of *errata* and corrections, which, through some misunderstanding was not used by her publishers: p. 50, title, *ou* should appear in characters of the same size as the rest of the line; p. 52, lines 796 *et seq.* should be on a vertical line with l. 795; p. 58, l. 901, no punctuation after *jamais*; p. 64, l. 1013, none after *fait*; l. 1015, a comma after *voir*; p. 70, l. 1108, a period after *soit*; p. 81, l. 1314, no punctuation after *biens*; p. 111, omit the first definition of *si peu fait à*; p. 118, l. 239, this definition should appear under l. 240 and *vice versa*; p. 128, l. 773 and l. 782, substitute for the definitions given "of an amorous

Main Currents of Spanish Literature. By J. D. M. FORD. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1919. vii + 284 pages.

Professor Ford's new book consists of eight lectures given before the Lowell Institute in Boston. Its title appears to challenge comparison with George Brandes' noted studies, but the latter have little in common with the work before us except the title. A much closer parallel might be drawn with Fitzmaurice-Kelly's *Chapters on Spanish Literature*, which is a collection of ten semi-popular lectures. Some of the same ground is covered in both books; thus, each contains a chapter on the *Romancero*, each discusses at length Lope, Calderón, Cervantes, and nineteenth century novelists. But the English scholar selected relatively circumscribed themes in order to give them a somewhat literary treatment. Professor Ford's aim is to present a bird's-eye-view of the entire extent of his field. His mode of presentation is not that of a chronological table, nor is it a philosophic summing-up of racial characteristics, though it leans to the former side. Unencumbered by Fitzmaurice-Kelly's disconcerting wealth of reminiscence, omitting all dates but the most necessary ones, and following subjects instead of centuries, Professor Ford has given us a sort of popular introduction to Spanish literature, with just enough information to stimulate the reader to go farther. Everything is particular; the phrase of the preface, "informative as to a large body of fact," tells the exact truth. We find a careful selection of detail, and miss the broad generalizations which a European critic following a similar scheme would certainly have presented. There is no attempt to interpret Spanish letters as the product of a race consistent with itself, nor any classification of minds.

The book is, then, neither literary criticism nor erudition. It is popularization; a straightforward, authoritative recital of elementary facts. So much being said, may I be permitted to

disposition" and "as it is only proper"; p. 131, l. 953, for "veritable . . . soul" substitute "admirable nature"; l. 958, for the definition given substitute "that veritable beast": p. 133, l. 1015, change "was" to "is"; l. 1038, substitute for the definition given "you shall not have the whole laugh on me"; p. 138, l. 1206, change "devilish" to "cruel"; p. 140, l. 1344, change "powerless" to "lifeless"; p. 141, l. 1435, change "trust" to "treasure"; p. 146, l. 1776, for the translation given substitute "but this is not the place for such effusions."

register some differences of opinion with the distinguished author? There is seldom any question of error in fact.

In his chapter on the epic, Professor Ford takes occasion to state once more his well-known position that the *Poema del Cid* and other contemporary popular epics, if such existed, were written in the ballad line, of 8 + 8; that this line was at least partially displaced by the French alexandrine during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, to revert later to the original ballad line. No one can object to the author's holding this opinion, but there is increasing need of active and definite support for it. The *Cid* poems no longer stand alone; *Roncesvalles* has come to take its place beside them, and, with *Elena y María* (though the latter is in shorter lines), greatly increases the burden of responsibility for faulty scansion which Cornu and Ford cast upon the convenient shoulders of the mediæval scribe, who is no longer here to defend himself. Professor Ford will not grant (p. 31) that the *Poema's* metrical structure is "imperfect, because the poet knew not the metrical art." What metrical art? one may ask. The art of Swinburne or that of Walt Whitman? That of Nicolás Moratín, or that of Rubén Darío? The defenders of the ametric theory do not admit that the art of the *juglar* was imperfect, but that it was different. Now that such sound scholars as Hanssen and Rajna have gone on record as believers in the irregular meter of the *Poema*, it is hardly permissible to be contented with a statement of opinion. What is needed is a demonstration of how the *Poema* and *Roncesvalles* can be converted into *romance* verse without too arbitrary changes. The present book was not the place for it, of course, but the author, who is first of all a philologist, seems to be the person indicated to make a really new contribution on the subject.¹

The lecture on ballads is written with much care, and the theoretical portion is moderate and reserved. I for my part have no disposition to argue with any one who declares (p. 45) that

¹ A doubt arises, however, when one reads (p. 17, n. 1) that the Spanish ballad-meter is "trochaic tetrameter." The *verso de romance* is neither trochaic nor a tetrameter. It is not trochaic, because it has only one fixed accent in every eight syllables, and hence no regularly recurring rhythm. It follows that, not being divided into rhythmic feet, it is not a tetrameter.

certain ballads "may well run back to the heroic age which they commemorate." For the *romances fronterizos* the truth of the statement is obvious; for the old epic themes, I have often wished I could believe it. I merely find no sufficient proof of their existence, and consider it wasteful to expend time on vague hypotheses. For that reason I could wish that the pages devoted to an analysis of Professor Lang's *Notes on the Meter of the Poem of the Cid* had been left free for matter of more interest to the general reader, for that article is composed of hardly anything but old hypotheses mulled over under a bias of strong personal opinion. It is a little hard to see how any one, after reading it, and then reading the review which R. Menéndez Pidal has made of it (*Rev. filol. esp.*, III, 338-344), can write that Professor Lang is "one of the soundest of our Hispanists" (p. 8).

A logical account of Cervantes' life and works fills Chapter III to overflowing. The first lecture on the drama has Lope as its protagonist, and the second, Calderón. Both are models of lucid presentation. It is pleasant to note that Professor Ford is responsive to the peculiar beauties of Calderón, whose sun is at this moment in danger of suffering total eclipse behind the waxing fame of Lope.

Henry James spoke once, I believe, of the breath of morality which, like a Boston east wind, makes its presence felt in the novels of George Eliot. The same east wind is active among these *Main Currents*, at times carrying critical judgments a little off their course, and its severest gust is directed against Tirso de Molina's *Burlador de Sevilla* (p. 137). Professor Ford is unable to understand how so "libidinous" a play could have been written by any right-minded priest. It would be easy to cite defenders of Tirso's morality, but instead let me merely remark that to me the *Burlador* is by no means the most repulsive of Tirso's plays (I have no doubt now that it is his); it teaches a consistent moral, and the villain is properly punished in the end, if that is what is wanted. There is a category of *comedias* of Tirso which are ethically and artistically far more repellent. They are those of the "brazen heroine" type, in which a woman deliberately gives herself to a man in order to win him for a husband. Frequently she is herself deceived under cover of darkness, and finds herself united for life to a person for whom she cares nothing, or whom she actually

detests. That a dramatist could repeatedly employ a device so unskilful, improbable, and destructive of the finer feelings is sufficient proof of the low level on which his dramatic art stands, no matter how clever are some isolated scenes. Yet another trait of Tirso's astonishes me more as coming from a priest; I mean his mockery of priests and his parodies on the church litany. But this is not the place to enlarge on these matters. Professor Ford is mistaken, of course, when he says (p. 137) that Tirso was "apparently always in good odor and not under the censure of his superiors." We know that the Consejo de Castilla considered chastising him, and that its censure possibly checked his dramatic activity for a number of years (*Comedias de Tirso de Molina*, ed. Cotarelo, Madrid, 1906, I, xlii; *La Villana de Vallecas*, ed. Bonilla, Madrid, 1916, p. v).

The two chapters on the drama do not reach beyond Calderón, and the gap between him and Benavente is the most conspicuous in the book. The single chapters on the lyric and the novel are all-embracing. To compass in one lecture the Spanish lyric from the *Razón de amor* to Campoamor, the novel from Juan Manuel to Pérez Galdós, is a feat of some virtuosity, but Professor Ford has accomplished it without seeming too hurried. He has done so, of course, only by heroic omissions. It would be easy to quarrel with the amount of space allotted to the various names; half a page to Góngora and two pages to Quintana; a line to the *Lazarillo* and a page to Avellaneda; three lines to Larra and six pages to Fernán Caballero (the last is unpardonable). It is obvious that the speaker was governed partly by the calibre of his audience, and that he chose, like an editor of texts, what appeared most likely to strike its fancy.

Of the thirty-four pages on the novel, twenty-eight concern the nineteenth century. Of them, the portion dealing with living novelists appears to me, I confess, the least adequate in the book. The author defends himself in advance against criticism with discreet remarks anent the difficulty of judging one's contemporaries fairly. But, with due allowance for such difficulties, it cannot appear other than one-sided to consume all of the space given to Sra. Pardo Bazán in a severe arraignment of her early Zolaist works, and not to mention *La Quimera*, *La Sirena negra*, and *Dulce Dueño*. In like manner, the lay reader would derive from the page on Palacio Valdés an impression that he is a disciple

of Zola who occasionally and by mere chance strayed out of the path of naturalism. We are asked to believe, for example, that *Tristán, o el pesimismo* emphasizes "a gloomy and well-nigh pessimistic outlook" (p. 236). Would Professor Ford be led by the title, I wonder, to assert that *Candide, ou l'optimisme* is a novel overflowing with optimism? He has completely missed the key to Valdés' development, the faith in the permanence of good which can be traced in steady growth, through many windings and turnings, to the remarkable confession of belief in *Los Papeles del doctor Angélico*, one of the most luminous—and carefully written—works of modern Spanish literature. The modern Spanish novelists have not yet been adequately studied, it is true, but it should have been impossible to write so superficially of Valdés, even before the appearance of Peseux-Richard's just and penetrating critique (*Revue hispanique*, XLII, 305-480). One is tempted to quote certain recent words of Blasco Ibáñez, which apply to Pardo Bazán and Palacio Valdés as well: "Cuando publiqué mis primeras novelas las encontraron semejantes a las de la obra zolesca y me clasificaron para siempre. Esto es cómodo: así ya no existe en adelante la obligación de pensar ni averiguar."

Precisely Blasco Ibáñez fares a little better at the hands of the lecturer, though he is twice called a Catalanian, a term which he would probably resent, and which no Spaniard would consider applicable to him. Pérez Galdós, however, may rightfully complain of the general character here attributed to him. Even if we grant that the blind patriarch was "unfair," and guilty of "anticlericalism," "bad faith," "injustice," and "unrighteousness" in his polemistic novels—and I am far from granting so much—what must we say after we have read three pages devoted to Galdós and find not the slightest mention of the other spirits that dwell in that many-sided creator? the Galdós lover of the humble, in *Nazarín* and *Misericordia*; the philosopher, in *Realidad* and *El Abuelo* and *Bárbara*; the student of mysticism, in *Ángel Guerra*; the Christian, in *Sor Simona*. Is such criticism even well-documented? It would seem that the bent of mind which enables Professor Ford rightly to estimate the *autos sacramentales* of Calderón and the poetry of Luis de León inhibits him from appreciating so splendidly written a novel as *Doña Perfecta*. Could not a broader literary taste embrace both arts? If little of Galdós survives the next century, it will hardly be because of his anticlericalism, but by

reason of his haste and prolixity. Time is indulgent in matters of religion, but cannot abide long-windedness.

Writers of the generation of '98 are not included in the plan of the book.

The chapter on Spanish-American literature, after some well-conceived pages on the relations between the United States and the republics to our south, is taken up almost entirely with a consideration of four representative men, Olmedo, Bello,² Heredia, and Andrade. The same clear, succinct treatment is employed, but one fancies he detects a little fresher interest, a more recent enthusiasm, in this section. The lecture ends with a feeling protest against Hispanic-American hatred of the United States, a sentiment which the author attributes to organized propaganda of Germanic origin, rather than to the act of certain administrations of ours. These he refuses to believe representative of American thought. They were certainly not representative of the best American thought.

So, with a bitter paragraph, closes Professor Ford's new book. It is the clearest and most readable introduction to Spanish literature for American readers, tho it is hardly the "history of Spanish literature for the general reader" which the publishers claim. A wealth of translations, some from versions already classical, and some original, enliven each chapter, and a full index completes the usefulness of the work. Given its plan, it could not be other than full of gaps. Broader generalization would have atoned for this inherent weakness.³

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² One imagines that Professor Ford was smiling to himself when he wrote (p. 265) that the Bello-Cuervo Grammar is "a standard work of reference hardly less important than the *Gramática* of the Spanish Academy itself." Did he ever chance to read a diverting article by Américo Castro in *España* for Feb. 14, 1918? It contains, among others similar, such phrases as these: "la Gramática de la Academia es una sarta de reglas inútiles expuestas autoritaria y pedantesamente. Las gramáticas de Nebrija y de Bello, cada una en relación con su tiempo, son infinitamente superiores a la gramatiquaja de la Academia."

³ The following misprints have been noted: p. 27, rubric, INFANTES; p. 37, rubric, CHANSONS; p. 72, l. 15, 1571; p. 161, l. 8, *autos*; p. 198, l. 4, 1808; on the same page, the information concerning Espronceda's life is in part out of date and faulty; p. 218, l. 26, 1849; p. 223, l. 26, 1819-89.

The Original Identity of the York and Towneley Cycles. By MARIE C. LYLE. [Research Publications of the University of Minnesota, vol. VIII, No. 3.] Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1919.

This dissertation, the most notable contribution in recent years to the study of the relations between the York and Towneley cycles, presents in admirable form a most plausible solution of that problem. Discarding as inadequate former attempts to account for the more obvious likenesses between these cycles, Miss Lyle bases her deductions not only on the similarities noted by others and additional similarities which she herself points out, but also upon the dissimilarities generally recognized tho less generally considered in this connection.

In her analyses of the individual plays she distinguishes six different groups: (1) plays that are practically identical; (2), (3), (4) plays showing various degrees of similarity in structure and phraseology; (5), (6) plays showing no direct evidence of relationship. This classification does not coincide in detail with that proposed in any previous discussion of the subject, and in its application many more points of contact between the cycles are revealed than have been admitted by such scholars as Hohlfeld, Davidson, Pollard, Gayley, and Cady. Proceeding, however, from the hypothesis that the identical plays of the first group constitute the nucleus of a parent cycle, or common source from which both the York and Towneley cycles derive, the author discovers in her second, third, and fourth groups plays likewise derived from this common source but of which the origin, because of revisions differing in nature and extent in each cycle, has been obscured. The presence of these revisions is for the most part postulated in conformity with such objective criteria as are afforded by metrical tests, Burton's lists, and the *York Memorandum Book*; ¹ and the absence of certain plays from each cycle is similarly interpreted.

¹ Additional confirmation for a few conjectures might have been derived from these sources. The conclusion (p. 72) that the present prolog to the *York Annunciation* is a revision is supported by the fact that the reference to it in Burton's earlier list is an interlinear addition. Similarly, the assumption (p. 59) that the earlier York play of the *Magi* lacked the character of Herod's son is strengthened by the fact that the words "filius herodis" in Burton's description are added in another ink.

Miss Lyle accordingly concludes that "at an earlier period, the York cycle and the Towneley cycles were, as cycles, one and the same."

It is manifest at once that Miss Lyle's parent cycle, unlike Davidson's, pretends to no uniformity in style or verse structure. The presence in it of plays containing at least four different measures—and possibly more (p. 51)—suggests that the common source of the York and Towneley cycles had suffered considerable change before it became independently established in two separate communities. Gayley thought several of the plays in this group decidedly late in date; Miss Lyle is of the opinion that the separation of the cycles "occurred before the end of the fourteenth century, . . . at least before the year 1390." No formal attempt is made to determine the chronological order of the metres in the parent cycle, but the *rime couée* is conjectured to be earlier than the "Burns" measure (p. 67), which, as well as the couplets and quatrains of the Towneley cycle, would seem to antedate the northern septenar stanza. The latter is analyzed in the light of the influence, both textual and metrical, exerted by the Middle-English *Gospel of Nicodemus*, and the conclusion is reached that the plays written in this metre are not to be identified with the earliest strata of the parent cycle, as has been quite generally assumed, but with revisions made just before, and at York also after, the divergence of the York and Towneley branches from their common stem. Some of the plays composed in the northern septenar stanza, therefore, are assigned by Miss Lyle to the parent cycle while others are believed by her to have been revised after the separation.

In the examination of the individual plays a valiant attempt is made in every case to determine which of the two cycles preserves a version more nearly resembling that of the hypothetical original. The evidence is excellently assembled and keenly scrutinized but satisfactory results, as the author herself recognizes, are often unattainable. It seems unlikely, however, that the parent play on the *Massacre of the Innocents* is "now extant presumably in York" (p. 65), since Burton knew *iiij^{or} milites* and *iiij mulieres*, whereas only two soldiers and two women appear at present.² Critics may

² The play also is metrically unique and stylistically late. That "the presence of 'Burns' strophes in the Towneley play [T 26, the *Appearance*

also be inclined to differ with Miss Lyle in the case of several plays where she posits expansion in one cycle rather than contraction in the other; or division into separate plays on the one hand, rather than combination into a single play on the other. These are matters of detail, however, that in no way affect her principal conclusions, and in the main her inferences in this difficult part of her work appear to be sound and well documented.³

The probability that the two cycles have emanated, at least in large part, from a common vernacular original is increased by the results of Miss Lyle's study of the influence of the *Northern Passion* upon the parent cycle.⁴ Her chart shows that the similarities between the plays and this narrative poem are due not to their independent use of it, but to the existence of a common source based upon the poem. It will be found that this conclusion is supported by a recently discovered fourteenth century manuscript of an Old French Passion play,⁵ much of which is verbally identical with the Old French narrative poem on the subject (the source of the *Northern Passion*) and the relation of which to the two fifteenth century manuscripts described by M. Roy (*Le Mystère de la Passion*, pp. 40* ff.) is to be explained by the fact that all three versions are affiliated with a common original derived from the narrative poem.⁶

scene] identifies it as perhaps a part of the parent cycle" (p. 85) is equally uncertain. The irregularity of the metre (there are six different stanzas in a total of only eleven) and the fact that the changes in the metrical structure of the entire Towneley *Resurrection* occur at the points where agreement with the York play ceases suggest revision there as well as at York.

³One or two minor inaccuracies have been noted. On page 31 it is assumed that the fourth incident in York 30 does not occur in the *Northern Passion*; cf. ll. 1061 ff. P. 72, note 46; Hemingway considers the parallel in the York cycle briefly on page 264. P. 90; York 12, ll. 197-9, are hardly an "inquiry concerning the relatives."

⁴The reader should not be misled by the statement on page 4 that the *Northern Passion* is an "immediate" (cf. "fundamental," p. 30) source of the two cycles. Elsewhere (p. 29) Miss Lyle makes it apparent that that rôle must be reserved for the parent cycle.

⁵It is now being edited.

⁶Miss Lyle might perhaps have established the dependence of her parent cycle upon another vernacular source by including the *Cursor Mundi* in her comparisons. Parallels between York, Towneley and the Cotton manuscript insertion (EETS edition, Part III, pp. 985 ff.) are at least suggestive. Cf.

It is to be hoped that Miss Lyle will extend her researches to the other cycles. At present the fact that her comparisons are almost exclusively confined to the York and Towneley plays leaves unanswered a number of questions which arise in connection with the problem in its wider aspects. Conceivably it may be found that subsequent revisions have obscured the original relationship existing between single plays, or groups of plays, in two or more cycles, and that in such circumstances the identity not of entire cycles but merely of parts of cycles need be posited. In any case various resemblances between the York, Towneley, true-Coventry, Chester and Hegge plays obviously of non-liturgical origin—the presence of parts of the *Doctors* in at least four of the cycles, for example—still await a satisfactory explanation.

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Dramatic Technique. By George Pierce Baker. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1919.

Professor Baker's *Dramatic Technique* is written "for the person who cannot be content except when writing plays." It concerns itself only incidentally with historical surveys and critical analyses, making its chief aim to state and explain certain fundamental principles of dramatic technique in terms that can be understood by the novice. Compared with various short handbooks on play-making, this volume stands out for its thoro treatment of perplexing problems and its admirable freedom from dogmatic statement.

The method of procedure is largely inductive. If he wishes to explain, for instance, how to make dramatic exposition at once clear and interesting, Professor Baker does not dictate arbitrary rules to be followed by the novice. Realizing that such an art as writing plays has only a few binding rules but a great many gen-

C. M. lines 232*-5* with *York* 39, ll. 39-41, and *Towneley* 26, ll. 563-8; cf. *C. M.* ll. 242*-4* with *Y.* ll. 82-5 and *T.* ll. 592-4; cf. *C. M.* ll. 331*-6* with *Y.* 40, ll. 67-9, and *T.* 27, ll. 98-9, 102-3; cf. *C. M.* ll. 339*-44* with *Y.* ll. 70-2, and *T.* ll. 118-21, 130; cf. *C. M.* ll. 347*-50*, with *T.* ll. 136-9; cf. *C. M.* ll. 355*-7*, with *Y.* ll. 110-2; cf. *C. M.* ll. 359*-66*, with *Y.* ll. 114-20, and *T.* ll. 183-8; cf. *C. M.* ll. 367*-70*, with *Y.* ll. 123-4, and *T.* ll. 195-6; cf. *C. M.* ll. 393*-6*, with *Y.* ll. 144-7, and *T.* ll. 251-4.

eral principles of success, he guides the reader through a maze of plays in which the exposition is felt to be effective, contrasts these with others less effective, and finally gives the novice a definite idea of both the *how* and the *why* of successful exposition. Except in the hands of a mature critic like Professor Baker, this method would be hopelessly confusing; it involves reviewing hundreds of plays, both good and bad, with clear insight and judgment. It succeeds because the work has been done in this case by one who knows the drama of all ages, and who nevertheless has kept always in mind the fundamental difference between a history and a handbook on technique.

The best features of the volume are the clearness of the early chapters, and the common sense applied throughout the whole book to countless dramatic puzzles. There is no bombastic attempt to show the author's historical knowledge of the drama. If an historical survey is introduced, it is brought in as a definite help toward the solution of some problem of technique. One is reminded of a master jeweller taking to pieces hundreds of watches made in different ages;—not to write a history of watchmaking, but to enable his apprentice to make a watch that shall keep perfect time. Of special value are the chapters on Characterization, Dialogue, and Making a Scenario.

The typography is, in the main, good. On p. 32 the final *t* has been dropped from the name *Tyballt*, and on p. 361 there is a reference to "the bracketed part" of a speech in which there are no brackets. But these and a few other oversights are trifling enough.

Although in a work of such wide scope some omissions are doubtless necessary, I regret especially that "detailed consideration of the one-act play has been reserved for later special treatment." The one-act play is popular today, and it is certainly the best form on which a novice may begin his experimenting. Again, I cannot but wish some rearrangement of material had made possible the introduction of an analysis of the difference between the elusive "closet drama" and the drama proper. The author sets forth with infinite pains the almost self-evident differences between the art of the novelist and that of the dramatist; but he brushes aside, rather than illuminates, the large class of plays interesting to read but hopeless to produce.

If the volume has a serious fault, it is a tendency to ramble.

Certain individual chapters—like the one of eighty pages entitled “From Subject to Plot; Arrangement for Clearness, Emphasis, Movement,”—cover more ground than is perhaps warranted. And this fault is aggravated by the haphazard way of inserting summaries when least needed.

Taking the book as a whole, I am inclined to think it achieves much more than its purpose of being a hand-book of dramatic technique. It contains more sound, incisive criticism, of more plays, than any work of recent years. And tho originally designed as a guide for young playwrights, it cannot but please that wider group of readers whose interest is critical rather than creative.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Hamlet, III, IV, 64

Heere is your husband like a mildewed eare,
Blasting his wholesome brother.

Steevens explains this as an allusion to Pharaoh's dream in *Genesis* 41. He is quoted by Malone (1821), and this explanation is frequently repeated by succeeding editors, including that of one of the best recent editions of the play. I believe that a careful comparison of Hamlet's words with the Bible passage will show that there is no foundation for this traditional interpretation.

In the Bible-story there are “seven thinne eares and blasted with the Eastwind” (*Genesis* 41, 6). Here the sense of *blasted* is evidently close to its primitive meaning,—“injured by a noxious wind.”¹ There is nothing in the Bible-story to lead Shakespeare to confuse this with mildew-blast, with which he was familiar. The seven thin ears swallow up the seven good ears. Clearly this is based on no customary action of nature, but belongs wholly to the realm of dreams, the action perhaps being suggested by the slightly less impossible feat of the seven lean kine. The seven thin ears have themselves been blasted, withered by the hot east wind,—a fact most aptly suggestive, in Egypt, of the famine foretold; but they do not *blast* the others, they *swallow* them,—also equally

¹ This is to be expected in the oriental imagery of the Bible; cf. *Ezekiel* 19, 12: “and the East wind dried vp her fruite”; *Hosea* 13, 15; *Jonah* 4, 5, 8.

suggestive of the relation of the seven famine-years to the seven years of plenty. In Shakespeare, on the other hand, the ear is mildewed,—affected by an infectious disease of plants and animals then commonly attributed to some secret malign influence, as of planets, witches, evil persons, ghosts, etc. (Cf. *Oxf. Dic. s. v. blasting*, *vbl. sb.*: quot. 1616.)² Shakespeare would not have to go beyond the wheatfields of Stratford to learn that such diseases as mildew invariably spread from the diseased head of wheat to the nearest healthy one,—“blasting its wholesome brother.”³ Moreover, the imagery is as simple and suggestively apt to Hamlet’s view of the wrong done his father by Claudius, as it is far removed from either the point or the details of the Bible incident. For Hamlet thinks of Claudius’ destruction of his father as fiendishly malign. It was not common murder, foul as that is, but “this most foul, strange, and unnatural,” “a damned defeat.” The poison he used was “cursed hebanon,” a “leperous distilment” with “vile and loathsome” effect. Claudius is a “kindless villain,” a “canker of our nature,” “a paddock, a bat, a gib” (witches’ familiars). He seduced the queen “with witchcraft of his wit.”⁴ The same idea of malign influence is suggested in the murder scene of the play within the play, where the poison used is “thrice blasted, thrice infected,” and “usurp[s] on wholesome life immediately.” This element does not enter at all into the Bible incident, the significance of the blasted ears and their effect being wholly different there.

This passage suggests an observation regarding the manner of explaining Shakespearean (or other) imagery in notes intended for students. Merely to explain the meaning of an image in general or abstract terms is likely to deprive the student of the value

² *Blast* in this sense was constantly associated with mildew; e. g., B. Googe (1577): “To preserve it from blast and mildew” (*Oxf. Dic. s. v. blast sb.* 6). In the two following, mildew is the cause of blast: Milton *Comus* (1634): “Of sov’ran use ‘Gainst all enchantments, mildew blast, or damp” (*Oxf. Dic. s. v. mildew sb.*); Digby (1640): “Hailstones and Mildews, to batter and prostrate . . . our liberties, to blast . . . our affections” (*ibid.*). Cf. Worlidge (1669): “Blasting hath commonly been mistaken for Mildew” (*Oxf. Dic. s. v. blasting vbl. sb.*).

³ In *K. Lear* III, iv, 123, mildew is the work of the foul fiend Flibbertigibbet; and blast in Shakespeare practically always (except when used literally of the wind) connotes a malignant and pernicious influence. Cf. *Meas. for Meas.* V, i, 122; *Hamlet* I, i, 127; I, iii, 42; I, iv, 41; III, i, 168; *K. Lear* II, iv, 170 (*Q*₁): “. . . infect her beautie, You Fen suckt fogs, . . . To fall and blast her pride.” Here the image is probably that of lodged grain; cf. R. Child (1651): “Rank Land where corn is apt to lodge, and consequently to Mildew” (*Oxf. Dic. s. v. mildew v.*). In *K. Lear* III, vi, 42 (*Q*₁): “and for one blast of thy minikin mouth, Thy sheepe shall take no harme,” there is perhaps a play on the sense of “blowing (a horn),” and that of a disease of animals.

⁴ It need only be suggested that this is not Shakespeare’s idea of Claudius, but Hamlet’s.

of the image altogether. What students need, rather than the substitution of an abstract term for an image, to which they are too prone already, is some suggestion or explanation that will enable them to visualize the image and *at the same time* see its application. Here the mental image of a mildewed head of wheat infecting the one next to it should carry with it simultaneously the idea of the peculiar quality of Claudius' malign attack on Hamlet's father, the figure thus lending all its suggestiveness to that deed. To explain merely that Claudius "destroyed" (Hudson) his brother simply abandons the imagery and substitutes a lifeless term for it. Such a lifeless term also hides the fact that there is no visually imaginable parallel between Claudius' action and Pharaoh's dream.

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ALEXANDER BARCLAY AND THE LATER ECLOGUE WRITERS

Since Alexander Barclay is the author of the first eclogues in English, one would expect him to have some influence upon his successors in that field. There are three of these in the sixteenth century. The first is Barnabe Googe whose "*Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonnettes*" were published in 1563. His *Eclogues*, while modeled upon those of Mantuan, exhibit no indebtedness to Barclay. It is true that there are many points of general resemblance, but there is nothing that has not Mantuan as the common source. Thus in the first *Eclogue*, before the conversation begins, a boy is sent out to drive the flocks to feed. Barclay's younger shepherd is sent on a similar duty (5. 195 ff.). At the end of the tale the idea of a reward for the speaker is brought in. Two *Eclogues* are brought to a close by a threatening storm. In two, also, the shepherds find a pleasant, shady place for their talk. The names of several shepherds are the same as in Barclay. All these, as well as certain other similarities, are also to be found in Mantuan. There are a number of passages, especially in Googe's seventh *Eclogue*, which are slightly reminiscent of certain of Barclay's but this is probably accidental, or due also to Mantuan.

After Googe comes Spenser whose *Shepherd's Calendar* was published in 1579. Despite "E. K.'s" suggestion that Spenser was moved to write eclogues "to furnish our tongue with this kinde, wherein it faulteth," the author of the *Shepherd's Calendar* could not have been ignorant of Barclay's work. In fact, there was a general revival of the early English writers at this time. Hawes' *Pastime of Pleasure* was reprinted in 1555; Skelton's works in 1568; and Heywood's *Spider and the Flie* was published in 1556

and the *Proverbs* reprinted five times between 1560 and 1576. In 1570 Cawood brought out an edition of Barclay's *Ship of Fools*, with the *Eclogues* appended. This was the year following Spenser's entrance to Cambridge. That the young student knew nothing of these earlier works is hardly plausible. Moreover, "E. K." must have had Barclay's prologue in mind when he wrote the dedicatory epistle to the *Shepherd's Calendar*, as Professor Mustard has already shown (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxiv, 8) by pointing out two close parallels, and a similarity in the list of pastoral poets. But here all likeness to Barclay ceases. Although Spenser has drawn largely upon Mantuan, sometimes upon the very eclogues used by Barclay, there is no resemblance to the latter other than that gained by the possession of a common source. Such passages have been examined by O. Reissert in his article "*Bemerkungen über Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar und die Frühere Bukolik*" (*Anglia*, ix, 205). His conclusion is that while both writers go back to Mantuan for their material, they vary widely in the use of it. Spenser apparently owes nothing to his predecessor. Nor is there any indebtedness in the *Shepherd's Calendar* to parts of the *Eclogues* not taken from Mantuan. Reissert states that he had seen only Fairholt's edition of Barclay. This contains only the fifth *Eclogue* with parts of the others scattered throughout the introduction. A comparison of the two pastorals entire, however, shows that there is no more than an accidental verbal resemblance, or one due to the common use of a familiar proverb.

The remaining eclogue writer of the century is Francis Sabie whose *Pan's Pipe* was printed in 1595 (republished with an introduction by J. W. Bright and W. P. Mustard, *Modern Philology*, vii, 433 ff.). This poem shows borrowings from Mantuan among other Latin writers. Among these is a long passage from Mantuan's seventh *Eclogue*, 9-39. This passage is also used in Barclay's fifth, 435-530. There are several lines in this portion of Sabie's poem common to Barclay, and not found in the Latin. Sabie's description of Cain as "hard-hearted, full of hate" (3. 97) may be compared to Barclay's

So the fyrste ploughman was stronge and obstynate,
Frowarde, selfe wyllynge, and mover of debate. (5. 443-4.)

Sabie's

A shepheard was Abram, Lot was a sheep keeper (3. 106.)

to Barclay's list of shepherds who afterwards rose to fame, among whom are Abraham, Jacob, Lot, etc. Sabie's

David sate with his heard, when as a lyon huge
And eke a Beare he slew, this little pretie swaine
Kild a victorious and mightie champion,
Whose words did make a king and al his host to feare
And he ful many yeares raigned over Israell. (3. 118-22.)

parallel Barclay's

The joly harper whiche after was a kynge,
And slewe the gyaunt so stoutly with his slynge,
Was fyrste a shepherde or he hadde dygnyte. (5. 505-7.)

while Sabie's explanation of Moses' mission "to King Pharao" (3. 128) may have been suggested by Barclay's account of how Moses was called to leave his sheep and go

On Goddes message to sturdy Pharao. (5. 488.)

It seems likely that where both writers have used the same passage from Mantuan, Sabie selects certain explanatory phrases from Barclay's copious additions.

It appears, then that Barclay's influence upon his successors is almost negligible. He affected Googe and Spenser not at all, and Sabie but little. And this neglect was not due to an ignorance of Barclay's work which must have been familiar to all three. The reason is probably the overshadowing fame of Mantuan. The popularity of the Latin *Eclogues* was so enormous, throughout England as well as on the continent, that the later poets turned to him for inspiration, form, and material. The result is that while a common source can be found in Mantuan for portions of all the eclogues of the sixteenth century, the first eclogues in English are almost entirely disregarded.

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THE DATE OF PEELE'S DEATH

It is known that Peele was living in January, 1596. In 1598 he is mentioned by Francis Meres as having died. In view of the fact that Clerkenwell, where Thomas Heywood and other actors and playwrights lived, would have been a not unnatural abode for this Bohemian poet, it may be worth while to note that the registers of St. James, Clerkenwell, contain the entry: "George Peele, householder, buried November 9, 1596."

It is true that the reference may be to some namesake more favored in worldly estate than the scholar-poet; but in our general lack of knowledge as to his exact circumstances, this record may deserve consideration.

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TWO OF E. K.'S CLASSICAL ALLUSIONS

Shepherd's Calender, March, l. 16: Flora now calleth forth
eche flower.

Note by E. K.: Flora, the goddess of flowers, but indeed (as saith Tacitus) a famous harlot, which, with the abuse of her body having gotten great riches, made the people of Rome her heyre: who, in remembrance of so great beneficence, appointed a yearly feste for the memoriall of her, calling her, not as she was, nor as some doe think, Andronica, but Flora: making her the goddess of all flowers, and doing yerely to her solemne sacrifice.

April, ll. 122-123: Chloris, that is the chiefest nymph of al.
Of olive branches beares a coronall.

Note by E. K.: Chloris, the name of a nymph, and signifieth greenesse; of whome is sayd, that Zephyrus, the westerne wind, being in love with her, and coveting her to wyfe, gave her for a dowrie the chiefedome and soveraigntye of al flowers and greene herbes, growing on earth.

In *The Sources of Spenser's Classical Mythology* (Boston, 1896), Miss A. E. Sawtelle, under the heading Flora, cites, among other passages, the line from March of the *Shepherd's Calender*, and quotes E. K.'s note without comment. Under Chloris she cites the line from April, and adds: "E. K. (Spenser?) in his note on this passage, says: 'Chloris, the name . . . growing on earth.' For this conception Spenser is plainly indebted to Ovid, *Fast.* 5. 195 ff., where Chloris is identified with Flora, and, as the wife of Zephyrus, has dominion over gardens and fields."

A recent article by W. P. Mustard¹ touches upon both these passages. Professor Mustard notes, as Miss Sawtelle had done, that E. K.'s conception of Chloris goes back to Ovid. Of Flora he says: "This story of Flora is not given by Tacitus. Perhaps it is derived from Lactantius, *Inst.* i, 20. 6."

In the chapter of the *Institutiones Divinae* to which Professor Mustard refers, the story of Flora is immediately followed by the story of Chloris, as told by "the poet" in *fastis*, and the entire passage is copied almost word for word by Boccaccio in his *Genealogia Deorum* iv. 61. Boccaccio's account runs as follows:

Zephyrus ventus est occiduus. * * * * De Zephyro talis recitatur fabula. Nympham scilicet fuisse nomine Chlorin a Zephyro dilectam et in coniugem assumptam eique ab eo in munus amoris

¹W. P. Mustard, "E. K.'s Classical Allusions," in *Mod. Lang. Notes* xxxiv (1919), pp. 193-203.

atque violatae pudicitiae omne ius in flores concessum; eamque ex Clora Floram vocavit. * * * * Dicit Lactantius in libro Divinarum Institutionum Floram feminam magnas ex meretricio quaesisse opes, quarum moriens Romanum populum scripsit heredem, parte servata, quae sub annuo faenore praestaretur, ex quo scilicet faenore voluit ut suus natalis dies singulis annis editione ludorum celebraretur; qui ludi Florales et sacra Floralia a Flora nuncupata sunt; quod quia senatui tractu temporis flagitiosum visum est, cum timore plebis retractare non posset, ab ipso meretricis nomine argumentum sumi placuit, ut rei pudendae dignitas adderetur, et inde finxerunt Floram floribus praeesse, eamque oportere ludis placare, ut fruges cum arboribus aut vitibus bene prospereque florent. Quem colorem secutus Ovidius nympham non ignobilem Zephyro nuptam et dotalitio munere ut floribus praeesset accepisse a sponso. Qui ludi (ut dicit Lactantius) memoriae meretricis conveniunt. Nam omni lascivia et verborum licentia quibus omnis obscenitas effunditur, positis flagitante populo a meretricibus vestimentis, quae ludis in illis mimorum fungeba(n)tur officio, celebrantur.

The marked similarities between the passage in the *Genealogia Deorum* and the glosses of the *Shepheardes Calendar* point to Boccaccio as the immediate source of the information about both Chloris and Flora. As Professor Mustard has noted,² E. K. cites "Boccace" on the Graces, and adopts the identification of Bellona with Pallas which is found in Boccaccio but not in classical authors. I hope to point out in a later study other resemblances between the *Genealogia Deorum* and Spenser's classical mythology.

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PERCY AS A SONNETEER

Thomas Percy's use of the term 'sonnet' in his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* creates the impression that he treated it with much the same ignorant disregard as he did his precious manuscript. Yet he had published a regular Spenserian sonnet the year before that collection appeared, and he published another within a short time. These acknowledged sonnets were not, however, his first ventures in that neglected form. Undoubtedly the sonnet *Occasioned by Leaving B—R—N, July, 1755*, published in Pearch's *Collection*, 1770, as by 'J—— C——',¹ and in the second

² Mustard, *loc. cit.*, pp. 197-198, citing *Gen. Deor.* v. 35; p. 202, citing *Gen. Deor.* v. 48. [Professor Mustard also traces E. K.'s knowledge of "Theodontius" (p. 197), and of the 'reuerend Andalo' (p. 195).—EDD.]

edition, 1783,² as by the same 'Dr. P——' who wrote the *Sonnet To a Lady of Indiscreet Virtue. In Imitation of Spenser*,³ was written by Percy, for the latter sonnet had been published as 'by the Rev. Mr. Thomas Piercy, Rector of Easton-Maudit in Northamptonshire' in Lloyd's *St. James's Magazine* in 1764.⁴ The fact that these two sonnets and the dedicatory sonnet to *The Hermit of Warkworth*, 1771, are in the somewhat unusual Spenserian form, adds to the likelihood that the sonnet of 1755 is correctly attributed to Percy.

Although the last of them has some charming lines, the importance of Percy's sonnets is wholly historical. They are but a part of his well-known interest in earlier English poetry, and they suffered from the timidity that prevented his becoming an original factor in the romantic movement, despite his study of nearly all of its literary sources. Written while he was imitating Runic poetry,⁵ preparing editions of Buckingham and Surrey,⁶ gathering courage to publish the *Reliques*,⁷ they show that he caught the vogue of Milton and Spenser as well as of sonnet-writing. The first sonnet pays tribute to Milton in the formidable title, *Occasioned by leaving B—R—L, July, 1755. The Author telling the ladies that "he looked upon himself in a worse situation than Adam banish'd Paradise" was enjoined by them to give his reasons in verse*, and in the simile on which the poem is based, but the theme is conventional gallantry of the sort usually expressed in couplets or short stanzas. The sonnet *To a Lady* is an avowed imitation of Spenser, though the imitation goes no further than the rhyme scheme and the introduction of the monster, Censure, modelled—not too faithfully!—upon Spenser's monsters. The third sonnet, addressed to his patroness, the Duchess of Northampton, to whom he thus dedicated *The Hermit of Warkworth*, has the same apologetic tone as the preface to the *Reliques*; it tries to bespeak the lady's favour for the 'ancient legendary tale' which he suspects has slight interest 'for the polish'd mind.' Percy evidently regarded his sonnets with no more assurance, and by neglecting to publish the first one as soon as it was written and when he was publishing other poems, he denied himself a more conspicuous place than he now holds among the initiators of the sonnet revival.

¹ III, 281.

² III, 298.

³ III, 289. It is here ascribed to 'T—— P——.'

⁴ III, 363. It is here entitled *A Sonnet, After the manner of Spenser. Addressed to a Lady*.

⁵ *Five Pieces of Runic Poetry*, 1763.

⁶ Prepared in 1761 and 1763 but destroyed by fire in the publisher's warehouse. Nichlos: *Lit. Anec.* III, 753; *Lit. Illus.* VII, 567; Gaussen: *Percy: Poet and Prelate*, 1908, p. 25.

⁷ See preface to the *Reliques*, 1765.

As I have just said, the first quatrain of the sonnet to Elizabeth Percy is really charming:

Down in a northern vale wild flowrets grew,
And lent new sweetness to the summer gale;
The Muse there found them all remote from view,
Obscur'd with weeds, and scattered o'er the dale.

Were the whole poem of equal quality, Percy would be a more important sonneteer, but to have written always so, he must have been a poet as well as an antiquarian, and he must have looked with less condescension on the beauties of old poetry. The truth is, of course, that he had no originality of any sort; he was only a sensitive barometer of the literary tendencies of his time. By happy accident and the insistence of friends he gave a tremendous impetus to romantic poetry, but he was incapable of responding creatively to the poetic inspiration he helped to bring to others.

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A CORRECTION

My article on "The Authorship of *MacFlecknoe*," in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXIII, 449, misstates the number of lines in the *Satyrs upon the Jesuits*. The error does not invalidate the argument, but I take occasion here to correct it. The number of lines in the *Satyrs upon the Jesuits*, exclusive of the Prologue, is 1650, not 1034; and the total number of lines in Oldham exclusive of the Pindarics is 7251, not 6635. Accordingly, '12' in the last line of the text on p. 455 should be '7,' and in Note 8 '34' should be '37' and '18' should be '28.' In Note 4, also, '1100' should be '1716.' The rest of the note, however, holds after this correction, as does the argument as a whole.

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BRIEF MENTION

Edward Young's Conjectures on Original Composition. Edited by Edith J. Morley (Modern Language Texts: English Series; General Editor, W. P. Ker. Manchester, At the University Press; London and New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1918). The purpose of an incidental reference in this periodical (*MLN*, XXXII, 189) was to minimize the tendency to neglect this essay in discussions of essential principles of literary style and authorship. It was not known then (March, 1917) that another edition of the *Conjectures* was so soon to follow Professor Brandl's of 1903 (*Jahrbuch der deut. Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, XXXIX); but Dr. Steinke's edition (1917) was already in the press, and as promptly

as possible after its appearance it was welcomed in *MLN* (xxxiii, 444 ff.). After a brief interval it was announced that an edition of the *Conjectures* was in preparation at the University of Manchester, and this was promptly published in the year 1918. The Manchester edition is in the form of a small, handy, well-made book, moderate in price (\$1.35), and by its place on the list of easily procured texts has gained an obvious advantage over the two preceding editions. Dr. Steinke made a plea for the usefulness of his edition on the ground that Professor Brandl's edition "is too much out of sight and out of reach of the average student and the general reader"; but the *Americana Germanica* is also not a series that goes far to supply a general need. It is a series that does not, it would seem, always find prompt recognition even in scholarly circles, for Dr. Steinke's monograph did not arrive at the University of Manchester—if indeed it be destined to arrive there—in time to become known to Miss Morley. Of course, this may be due to unusual conditions of international exchange. The brief interval between the two editions is also to be considered. Tho adopting a different plan, Miss Morley has not had whatever advantage might have been gained from knowing the American edition of her text.

Miss Morley contributes a brief Introduction (pp. xi-xviii), in which the chief points of Young's critical tenets are clearly rehearsed. It is frankly admitted that the author was less of an innovator than he believed himself to be when he stated that "*Original Composition*" seemed to him to be a novel subject, having "seen nothing hitherto written on it." That the subject was one on which Young had long pondered is shown by passages from his own earlier writings, here arranged in three appendices: A. Extract from the Preface to the *Satires*, 1728; B. On Lyric Poetry, 1728; C. Preface to *Imperium Pelagi*: . . . (1730). Yet it remains true, it is asserted, "that no earlier work had dealt so boldly or in such detail with this aspect of the war between Ancients and Moderns." A consideration of Henry Felton's *Dissertation*, brought to recent attention by Dr. Crane (*Studies in Philology*, University of North Carolina, xv), would have been appropriate at this point. A 'Bibliography' is the remaining feature of Miss Morley's edition. This is "to illustrate the history and influence of the *Conjectures*." It is "not exhaustive," but sufficient to guide the student of the text to the pertinent "Eighteenth-Century Criticisms and References," and to "Modern References." But neither here nor in the Introduction is the student made aware of the marked difference between England and the Continent in the effect produced by the *Conjectures*. As before, the scholar will have most to do with Brandl and Steinke.

Miss Morley's edition will surely increase familiarity with the *Conjectures*, and the wider scrutiny of the letter must result in fresh interest in details of the argument, as well as in the construction of the composition as a literary whole. How the 'digression'

on Addison's death is to be argued into an organic connection with the discussion on originality in literary workmanship, imitation, the nature of genius, etc. is a question that will be more generally asked than ever before. What of the doctrine of propriety of details and of adherence to the tradition of the 'kinds'? What is the *genre* of the piece? Mr. Hack has essayed a correction of the attitude of the critical mind in dealing with questions of this import ("The Doctrine of Literary Forms," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, xxvii, 1916). By the *Ars Poetica* of Horace, it is argued, one is supported in reversing time-honored canons of criticism. In modern æsthetic philosophy one perceives a tendency, owing much to an Italian leader, to under-rate, if not to deny, the sustaining props and advantages that, thru the centuries, literary genius has acknowledged in the convention of tried and developed 'forms.' To resort to analogy, the types of architecture would seem to be denied because of the successful and pleasing tho inconsistent and compromising union and blendings of the features of the strict, historic 'styles.' Did Horace do otherwise than deliberately blend the style of the 'letter' with that of the formal 'treatise'? Surely not; and in doing so he knew that he was not subverting fixed traditions of his art, but merely availing himself of independent adaptations of them. Young's composition is, at all events, a conspicuous example of a deliberately 'mixed style,' which is appropriate enough in a 'letter.'

A beginning of a renewed discussion of the occasion, purpose, and form of the *Conjectures* is made by Professor H. W. O'Connor, in the present number of this periodical. It is urged that Young wrote the 'letter' to clear away mistaken inferences drawn from *The Complaint*, and to quiet his conscience by the performance of what he felt to be a duty to the memory of Addison,—a duty that he had come to see had not been executed with sufficient precision in *The Complaint*.

As a literary whole, organically wrought-out, Young's letter, it has been assumed, defies all critical classification. The difficulty in the way of accepting it as an orderly treatise has been removed by simply regarding the passage on Addison's death as an inorganic, unrelated appendage; and this assumption has persuaded most critics to discontinue the old controversy. But assertion is not proof, nor does the dismissing of a difficulty solve it. Young was, after all, no inconsiderate craftsman, and the burden of proof rests on those who would contend that he was capable of submitting to the public a composition that cannot be understood to have a justifiable purpose and a recognizable design. Besides, it is to be remembered that Young was peculiarly frank in his manner of taking his readers into his confidence with respect to his literary purposes. Thus, for example, in his Prefaces to the *Complaint* much is disclosed of the operations of his mind to guide the reader into an intimate understanding of his work. Specifically, in the first brief

Preface, he declares that a method has been imposed on his mind by a real occasion, and that the poem consequently "differs from the common mode of poetry." This manner of explaining himself is not to be overlooked in the *Conjectures*, for it is there in clear terms and must be duly considered in an attempt to understand the character of the composition and the relation of its parts to the whole.

Miss Morley does not raise the question of the *genre* of the *Conjectures*; she simply regards the composition as a "lively little treatise on the critical problems which were engaging men's minds at the time it was written." The 'treatise' is, of course, marred by "blots": the "lugubrious beginning" and the closing 'digression' on Addison's death. But the beginning has a compensating value in putting us "in touch with the author" and in introducing us "to the prevailing gloom in the moralizings" of the time; this is also true of the account of Addison's death, which, it is acknowledged, "formed the chief inducement for writing" the treatise. In Miss Morley's judgment—and many agree with her—we are, therefore, to believe that the author has, in this instance, composed a treatise of acknowledged excellence, on which his 'chief inducement' for writing it, meaning the chief purpose to be served by it, has had no further effect than to mar the treatise by 'blots,' for which only a frail apology can be made.

Young is so explicit in declaring his purpose as to remove all grounds for the *a priori* assumption that he is to be held accountable primarily for an orderly treatise. His "chief inducement for writing at all," he declares, was "to deliver up to the public this sacred deposit, which by Providence was lodged in my hands; and I entered on the present undertaking partly as an introduction to that, which is more worthy to see the light; of which I gave an intimation in the beginning of my letter: For this is the *monumental marble* there mentioned, to which I promised to conduct you." Here is all required refutation of the charge of being disdainful of literary canons. The purpose in mind, it was decided, could be carried out in the free form of a letter to a friend, the form in which a sufficiently pertinent, tho treatise-like, 'introduction' to the special message would merely deepen the significance of the "chief inducement for writing at all." That the introductory matter—that which precedes the point at which Addison becomes the subject—has been expanded into the greater portion (about three-fourths) of the letter is warranted by the range of the critical principles that were to be set down for the desired approach to the character and death of Addison. The author's self-explanation can be construed to mean nothing else than that he was led to compose this letter by his sense of the definite obligation he felt to be due to the world. His words also admit of the inference that once committed to the introductory discussion of critical principles, he did not resist the pleasure of amplification; and the conjecture is warranted that in this amplification he was consciously laying a basis

for a subsequent study of Addison as "an *Original*." This purpose of a more complete study of Addison's literary character must certainly have become fixed in his mind as a logical and desirable sequel to the letter. It made the post-script inevitable; and this promise of a sequel argues the character, the organic interrelation of the parts, of that which it is to follow and complete. In the letter a brief application of the critical principles to several English authors is so handled as to pave the way to Addison; but here the main point of the communication—Addison's death—set a limit to concrete criticism of one of "the brightest of the moderns." Enough is set forth to justify the exclamatory question, "Who does not approach his character with great respect?" But the complete evaluation of his literary genius and originality was, in the judgment of the devout author, necessarily deferred.

J. W. B.

J. H. Scholte, *Philipp von Zesen*, Overdruk uit het veertiende Jaarboek van de Vereeniging Amstelodamum. Amsterdam, 1916 (107 pp., 4to, with 3 portraits, 2 facsimiles, and 20 reproductions of title pages, etc.).

While Von Zesen has found a place in the history of German literature above all as the author of *Die Adriatische Rosemund* and the founder of the *Deutschgesinnte Genossenschaft* or *Rosengesellschaft*, he is best remembered in the Netherlands by his *Beschreibung der Stadt Amsterdam und derselben Begübnisse* (Amsterdam, 1664). How much this work is appreciated in Holland to this very day may be gathered from the fact that in 1875 a street in Amsterdam was named the *Von-Zesen-sstraat*. Nor were the author's relations with the Netherlands confined to this work. To mention only a few data: he stayed in Holland, especially in Amsterdam, with few interruptions, from 1642 to 1673, and again from 1679 to 1683, so that nearly half of his life was spent there. At various occasions he ventured to write poems in Dutch. The scene of his first and most interesting novel, *Die Adriatische Rosemund*, is laid at the Amstel in one of the elegant suburbs of Amsterdam, and the novel was published in that city ('Amsteltam,' in Zesen's spelling) by L. Elzevir in 1645. Elzevir had previously—in 1644—published his *Liebes-beschreibung Lysanders und Kalisten* (a translation of d'Audigier's novel: *Histoire des Amours de Lysandre et de Caliste*), and agreed to become his publisher in 1645 not only for the *Adriatische Rosemund*, but also for his translation of Mlle de Scudéry's novel: *Ibrahim ou l'illustre Bassa*. and again, fifteen years later, of his *Leo Belgicus*. Other Dutch publishers with whom we find Zesen connected were Johannes Blaeu (*Coelum Astronomico-poeticum*, Amsterdam, 1662) and Joachim Noschen (*Beschreibung der Stadt Amsterdam*, *ibid.*, 1664). Let us add that on May 29, 1662, Zesen married in Amsterdam Maria Beckers, the daughter of Christian and Catharina Beckers, née

Rijntjes, and that on Oct. 20 of the same year, by resolution of the Mayor and the Governors of the City, the citizenship of Amsterdam was conferred upon him.

Such are a few of the facts set forth in Professor Scholte's treatise. Following up Zesen's traces in the Netherlands, both in the literature of the 17th century—above all Zesen's own works—and in various archives, he has been able to furnish us for the first time with a detailed and reliable account of the years spent by Zesen in the Netherlands. He has succeeded, e. g., in finding in the archives of Amsterdam the entry of the banns (under May 13, 1672) of Zesen's marriage, the entry of the resolution, mentioned above, granting to him the citizenship of Amsterdam, and the text of the last will drawn up (on May 3, 1673) by Philip and Maria von Zesen. This, however, is not all. The revision of the biographical material for Zesen's varied career serves as a background for a careful portrayal of his literary activity in its various aspects. The estimate given by Prof. Scholte of Zesen's character and of his aims and achievements in literature avoids the extremes both of exaggerated praise and of disparaging criticism. His judgment will do much toward modifying and reconciling current opinions in this respect.

A special feature of Prof. Scholte's study deserves a word of acknowledgment, namely, the numerous illustrations with which the text is adorned. They are of various descriptions: portraits (mostly representing Zesen himself) of the seventeenth century; facsimiles of documents; copies of titlepages and frontispieces; reproductions of illustrations from Zesen's works; specimens of texts (especially songs with music). No better means could have been chosen for rendering the modern reader familiar with the conditions of life and literature in Zesen's own time.

Altogether we consider Professor Scholte's treatise a model piece of work and a most welcome contribution toward our knowledge of seventeenth-century literature.

K. H. C.

Perhaps the finest tribute that can be paid to the Victorians is to mention them; praise is implicit in their names. At any rate, this is the impression one gets from reading the Hon. H. H. Asquith's admirable Romanes lecture of 1918 on *Some Aspects of the Victorian Age* (Oxford, The Clarendon Press). And this, too, with the exclusion under the conditions of the lectureship of all treatment of politics and religion. The opprobrium that our later age loves to fling at the mid-Victorians is put where it belongs, upon the outward life, which is in "almost paradoxical incongruity" with the inward. "On the whole," says Mr. Asquith, "the general attitude of mind was one of contentment, or at the lowest of acquiescence, which at times took the more challenging

note of an almost strident self-complacency." Yet what is about as remarkable, this complacent age recognized its great men, the poets and the novelists, the prophets and the philosophers, the historians and the scientists, so that "there is no instance (so far as we know) among the Victorians of the premature cutting off, by public neglect or critical vituperation, of some "inheritor of unfulfilled renown—such as was the actual case of Chatterton, or the legendary case of Keats." Browning and Meredith failed of immediate recognition because, as Mr. Asquith happily puts it, they became "by choice or caprice, experimentalists—one might almost say adventurers—in the art of expression. They teased their contemporaries." In surveying his wide field the lecturer avoids the futile path of comparative estimates, which he pokes fun at as a foible of Macaulay's, and the much trodden way of praising admitted greatness. So he devotes a paragraph to Kingsley that he be not utterly overshadowed by the towering heights of Dickens and Thackeray. He groups Carlyle, Ruskin, Arnold, and John Morley as the prophets who brought down on the head of self-sufficient mid-Victorianism "reproof, exhortation, and even denunciation." Carlyle "taught his contemporaries . . . with 'thorns of the wilderness and briers'"; Ruskin delivered "his stern and solemn message of warning and of judgment to come"; Arnold went into the pulpit because of his "intellectual irritation and impatience at the stupidity and sterility of contemporary life"; and Morley ruthlessly unveiled "some characteristic Victorian insincerities." In philosophy Mr. Asquith points out the sapping and slow undermining of the fashionable utilitarianism of the first twenty-five years of the reign by the followers of Herbert Spencer on the one hand, and of T. H. Green and Edward Caird on the other. The historians are disposed of with an allusion to the "rather unreal battle on the issue whether it is possible for a great historian to be both accurate and readable." The artists are dismissed with a brief blessing. The remaining pages of the lecture are given to the scientists and treat mainly of the long since quieted conflicts between science and religion, of the overthrowing of the Bishop of Oxford by Huxley, of Disraeli's disposing of Darwin and his school with the epigram, "Is man an Ape or an Angel? My Lord, I am on the side of the Angels." And this leads to the relation of ethics to evolution and thus to Huxley's Romanes lecture on that subject, in which he maintained that "ethical progress depends not on imitating the cosmic process but on defeating it." Or as Mr. Asquith finely puts it: "The last word in this as in some other vital matters is not with the philosophers, or even with the men of science, but with the poet, who has the gift of vision, and can teach us . . . 'What a piece of work is a man.'" And so the lecture ends as it began, with the poets.

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GRIMMELSHAUSENS ANTEIL AN DER SPRACHLICHEN GESTALT DER AELTESTEN SIMPLICISSIMUSDRUCKE

Der *Simplicissimus*, das lebensfrische Bild der verwilderten Zustände während des Dreißigjährigen Krieges, ist nicht bloß literarisch und kulturhistorisch wertvoll, auch als rein sprachliches Denkmal verdient er die Aufmerksamkeit der Philologen. Zum Teil versteht sich das von selbst. Ein Werk, dem sprachliche Vorzüge fehlen, kommt nicht oder nur höchst vereinzelt, zu literarischer oder auch nur zu historischer Geltung. Hier tritt aber noch ein ganz spezieller Umstand hinzu. Außer den schriftstellerischen Vorzügen von Grimmelshausens Sprache und Stil, die ihm eine hervorragende Stellung unter den deutschen Prosaisten früherer Jahrhunderte sichern, lassen sich an dem *Simplicissimus* eigentümliche sprachliche Erscheinungen beobachten, da dieses Werk in den verschiedenen Ausgaben die Einflüsse bestimmter Sprachtendenzen in lebendiger Anwendung aufweist. Ähnlich wie der Archaeologe aus der Zusammensetzung der Erdschichten in ihrer Vermischung mit menschlichen Kulturelementen auf Bildungszustände einer längst vergangenen Epoche schließt, so läßt sich aus einer Vergleichung der *Simplicissimus*drucke eine Vorstellung der sich widerstreitenden, sprachbildenden Faktoren des Siebzehnten Jahrhunderts gewinnen. Wenn sich nämlich in zwei nahezu gleichzeitigen Drucken desselben Werkes bei genauer Vergleichung beobachten läßt, daß eine sprachliche Streitfrage systematisch in dem einen in einer, in dem anderen in entgegengesetzter Richtung entschieden wird, so geht daraus hervor, daß in der zwischen den beiden Drucken liegenden Zeitspanne sich in einem bestimmten Milieu ein Sieg mit Bezug auf diese schwankenden Anschauungen vollzogen hat.

Die sprachliche Bedeutung dieser Doppeldrucke trat zum ersten Mal richtig und scharf beleuchtet in den Gesichtskreis der Philologen, als Rudolf Kögel in den *Neudruckten deutscher Litteraturwerke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts* den *Simplicissimus* herausgab (Halle a. S., 1880). Es war nicht die erste kritische Ausgabe dieses Werkes, auch nicht die beste, aber das sprachliche Problem wurde hier zum ersten Mal einwandfrei formuliert. Die beste kritische Ausgabe hatte zwanzig Jahre vor Kögel bereits Adelbert von Keller veröffentlicht (Stuttgart, Gedruckt auf Kosten des Litterarischen Vereins, 1854-62); sie ist bis heute noch nicht überholt worden. Aber das sprachliche Material, das er mit sorgsamem Fleiß und exemplarischer Genauigkeit aufspeicherte, ließ er weiter unbeachtet. Man muß wohl annehmen, daß die Schlußfolgerungen, die seine unermüdete Arbeit ihm zweifellos ermöglicht hätten, ihn nicht genügend reizten. Bei Heinrich Kurz, der ungefähr gleichzeitig die *Simplicianischen* Schriften einem größeren Leserkreis zugänglich machte (Leipzig 1863-64), war das offenbar anders. Er weist darauf hin, daß die eine Ausgabe meist starke Flexionsformen anwendet, während die andere schwache vorzieht, daß diese fortwährend die zusammengesetzten Konjunktionen durch Pronomina trennt (z. B. *ob ich zwar mich zweymal betrügen lassen, so gieng ich* usw.), während erstere die Konjunktionen ungetrennt läßt und die Pronomina nachsetzt (z. B. *obzwar ich mich zweymal betrügen lassen* usw.). Ihm fehlten aber zu sehr die grammatischen Kenntnisse dieses Sprachstandes, um die richtigen Schlußfolgerungen ziehen zu können, so daß er sich denn auch in der Charakterisierung der beiden Sprachtypen geradezu irrt und die Sprache in der Ausgabe, die wir in der Folge als die überarbeitete und normalisierte erkennen werden, durchaus dilettantisch als die "überhaupt bei weitem mehr das Gepräge des volkstümlichen Ausdrucks tragende" kennzeichnet. Dem fleißigen und für die Stoffgeschichte verdienstvollen Dilettanten und Sammler Heinrich Kurz steht Rudolf Kögel als der methodisch vorgehende Philologe gegenüber. Er charakterisiert den Sprachstand der beiden Doppeldrucke durchaus richtig, indem er von dem Druck mit den durch Pronomina getrennten Konjunktionen urteilt: "Wir haben hier noch fast durchaus echt volkstümliche Formen und Wendungen, ein Kleid, das dem Roman viel besser ansteht, als die modische Tracht der Schriftsprache." Nur schade, daß er in

engem Anschluß an Kurz die Druckverhältnisse selbst auf den Kopf stellt. Über diese Druckverhältnisse zunächst ein paar orientierende Worte.

Kurz hatte die Ausgabe, der er "das Gepräge des volkstümlichen Ausdrucks" zuerkannte, als die echte und rechtmäßige bezeichnet. Er entschied sich also in der Meinungsverschiedenheit, die Adelbert von Keller von seinem vieljährigen Mitarbeiter in den Angelegenheiten des Litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, Wilhelm Ludwig Holland, trennt, für die Ansicht des letztern. Professor Holland hatte nämlich bereits im Jahre 1851 einen *Versuch einer Ausgabe nach den vier ältesten Drucken des Abenteuerlichen Simplicissimus* herausgegeben, dabei der auch von Kurz als rechtmäßig bezeichneten Ausgabe die Priorität zuerkannt und ihr in Übereinstimmung damit den Buchstaben *A* beigelegt. Es ist die Ausgabe unter folgendem Titel: *Neueingerichter und vielverbesserter / Abenteuerlicher / Simplicissimus / Das ist: / Beschreibung deß Lebens eines sel- / tzamen Vaganten, genant Melchior Stern- / fels von Fuchshaim, wie, wo und welcher ge- / stalt Er nemlich in diese Welt kommen, was / er darin gesehen, gelernet, erfahren und auß- / gestanden, auch warum er solche wieder / freywillig quittiret hat. / Ueberauß lustig, und männiglich / nützlich zulesen. / An Tag geben / Von / German Schleifheim / von Sulstort. / Mompelgart, / Gedruckt bey Johann Fillion, / Im Jahr M DC LXIX.*

Holland hatte dabei augenscheinlich übersehen, daß die Ausgabe, der er den vielsagenden Buchstaben *A* zuerkannt hatte, auf dem Titelblatt als eine *vielverbesserte* hingestellt wird. Kurz findet sich mit dieser Bezeichnung ab, indem er eine ältere rechtmäßige, aber total verschollene Ausgabe annimmt, mit der die Ausgabe *A* in sprachlicher Hinsicht durchaus übereinstimme. Daß nämlich dieser Ausgabe die sprachliche Priorität zukomme, stützt er eben auf die Ansicht, daß "*A* eine volkstümlichere Sprache habe als *B*, was dem ganzen Charakter der Schrift und des Schriftstellers besser entspreche."

Hier setzt der verhängnisvolle Einfluß einer absolut dilettantischen Konstatierung ein, der bis auf unsere Tage nachgewirkt hat. Holland und Kurz zusammen haben der Grimmels hausen-forschung eine Richtung gegeben, gegen die Kellers jahrelange, gut fundierende, wissenschaftlich unanfechtbare Arbeit nahezu machtlos war.

Vielleicht liegt das mit daran, daß Keller zu anspruchslos seine Ansicht über die Druckverhältnisse geäußert hat. Er motiviert nämlich seinen Standpunkt mit Bezug auf die Wahl des seiner Ausgabe zugrunde gelegten Textes ziemlich nebenbei in einer der vielen Anmerkungen, mit denen er den ersten Doppelband seiner Ausgabe beschließt. Er hatte eingesehen, wie Ebert bereits im *Bibliographischen Lexikon* hervorgehoben hatte, "daß A eine zweite Ausgabe sein müsse." Als die Originalausgabe sah er den anderen Druck aus dem Jahre 1669 an, den er denn auch in einer durchaus zuverlässigen und mit genauem kritischen Apparat versehenen Wiedergabe veröffentlichte. Es war die Ausgabe mit dem Titel: *Der Abentheurliche / Simplicissimus / Teutsch, / Das ist: / Die Beschreibung deß Lebens eines / seltzamen Vaganten, genant Melchior / Sternfels von Fuchshaim, wo und welcher / gestalt Er nemlich in diese Welt kommen, was / er darinn gesehen, gelernet, erfahren und auß- / gestanden, auch warumb er solche wieder / freywillig quittirt. / Überauß lustig, und männiglich / nützlich zu lesen. / An Tag gehen / Von / German Schleifheim / von Sulsfort. / Monpelgart, / Gedruckt bey Johann Fillion, / Im Jahr M DC LXIX.*

Kellers Bevorzugung der sogenannten Ausgabe B war vollständig berechtigt. Das muß ja eigentlich schon daraus hervorgehen, daß er bei der Zusammenstellung seines, alle Ausgaben berücksichtigenden kritischen Apparats keinen Augenblick in seinen Anschauungen irre wurde. Nur schoß er übers Ziel hinaus, wo er in dem Bestreben der Zeit, doch ja den Nachdruck, von dem Grimmelshausen spricht, nachweisen zu können, die Ausgabe A nun seinerseits als diesen unberechtigten Nachdruck brandmarkt.

So fand Kögel die Verhältnisse vor, als er zu Anfang der achtziger Jahre eine Textausgabe für die kurz vorher angefangene Serie der Neudrucke veranstaltete. Es ist nicht unmöglich, daß die von Holland fälschlich gewählten, von Keller leider beibehaltenen, von Kurz unwissenschaftlich gestützten Buchstabenbezeichnungen A und B eine irreführende Suggestion ausgeübt haben. Kögel kam jedenfalls in unbegreiflicher Verkennung von Kellers festbegründeten Schlußfolgerungen auf die alte Ansicht zurück, die in Hollands Buchstabenbezeichnung ihre bedauerliche Namensprägung erhalten hatte. Er kombinierte seine philologisch richtige Bewertung des jeweiligen Sprachstandes der beiden Drucke

mit der falschen, von Kurz übernommenen Hypothese der Prioritäts- und Echtheitsfrage zu einer Anschauung, die Jahrzehnte hindurch die Grimmelshausenforschung beherrscht hat: aus einem absolut verschollenen Druck des Jahres 1668, für den die Bezeichnung *X* passend gefunden wurde, flossen die beiden Drucke von 1669, die sich dadurch unterscheiden, daß *A* als ein sprachlich überarbeiteter, rechtmäßiger Druck anzusehen ist, während wir *B* als einen sich sprachlich eng an das verloren gegangene Original anschließenden Nachdruck betrachten müssen.

Wie ich vor Jahren das Material zu einer sprachlichen Untersuchung der Grimmelshausenschen Schriften sammelte, ergab sich mir, daß in dem Fragenkomplex, der sich auf der Beobachtung der regelmäßigen Druckabweichungen in den sogenannten *A*- und *B*-Ausgaben und der Filiation der Drucke nach der Kögelschen Hypothese aufbaute, etwas nicht stimmte. Immer wieder stieß ich auf Widersprüche, die mich schließlich zu der Einsicht nötigten, daß die Grimmelshausenforschung sich in einem Stadium befand, wo eine Untersuchung, wie ich sie vorhatte, wissenschaftlich noch unmöglich war. Die nächstliegende Aufgabe war daher, eine festere Grundlage zu schaffen und einen kritischen Bericht über die bis dahin gewonnenen Resultate zu geben. So entstanden meine *Probleme der Grimmelshausenforschung* (Groningen 1912).

Über die Frage, die das Thema dieses Aufsatzes bildet, schrieb ich damals: "Mit Bezug auf das wichtigste Werk unseres Dichters wissen wir nicht einmal, was wir für seine Sprache zu halten haben, den Text, wie ihn Keller in seiner Ausgabe vorlegt (*Simplificissimus B*) oder den wesentlich anderen Wortlaut, den Kögel seinem Neudruck zugrunde legt (*A*)."¹ Schon damals wies ich die geschaubte Hypothese Kögels zurück und setzte dafür eine einfachere Annahme an die Stelle, die ich vorläufig ohne innere Begründung veröffentlichte. Es war mir nämlich aufgefallen, daß eine unbefangene Vergleichung der Titel der vorliegenden Ausgaben eine mit meinen auf sprachlichem Wege gewonnenen Resultaten übereinstimmende Einsicht in die Druckverhältnisse gibt. Wir finden in jener Zeit die ausgesprochene Neigung, bei jeder folgenden Ausgabe die frühere in der Anwendung prunkhafter Epitheta zu übertrumpfen. Das gilt für die *Erste*, *Zweite*

¹ *Probleme*, Seite 192 Fußnote.

und *Dritte Gesamtausgabe*; das gilt ganz besonders augenfällig für gewisse Einzelschriften in diesen Gesamtausgaben; das gilt, wenn man richtig liest, genau ebenso gut für die verschiedenen Drucke des *Simplicissimus*. Der zweite Druck wird dem ersten gegenüber als *Neueingericht und vielverbessert*, der dritte als *wiederum ganz neu umgegossen und verbessert*, der vierte sogar als *gantz neu eingerichtet, allenthalben viel verbessert* bezeichnet. Dem entsprechend heißt das Buch bald die *Beschreibung*, dann die *vollkommene* und schließlich die *außführliche, unerdichtete, und recht memorable Lebensbeschreibung*, wie auch der Held zunächst nur ein *seltzamer Vagant*, später ein *einfältiger, wunderlicher und seltzamer Vagant* genannt wird. Die durchgeführte Gradation muß jedem in die Augen fallen, der die Titelblätter 1669 B, 1669 A, 1670 C und 1671 D neben einander legt.

Die Ansicht, daß wir abgesehen von vereinzelt Nachdrucks-Exemplaren jedenfalls vier rechtmäßige *Simplicissimus*-drucke besitzen, von denen sich die beiden aus dem Jahre 1669 als *ursprüngliche* und als *überarbeitete* Fassung von einander unterscheiden, suchte ich nach zwei Seiten hin zu befestigen. Die Untersuchung des Bildmaterials der *Simplicianischen* Schriften führte zu einem Aufsatz in der *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, N. F. IV: *J. J. Christoph von Grimmelshausen und die Illustrationen seiner Werke*; eine vorläufige Mitteilung meiner sprachlichen Resultate legte ich in einem Artikel: *Einige sprachliche Erscheinungen in verschiedenen Ausgaben von Grimmelshausens Simplicissimus und Courasche* (PBB 40, Seite 268 flgg.) nieder.

Seitdem hat auch die Kritik Gelegenheit gehabt, zu der damals zuerst veröffentlichten Ansicht Stellung zu nehmen. Die direkten Beurteilungen der *Probleme* haben sich über diesen Punkt, der ja auch nicht zu den Haupttendenzen des Werkes gehört, soviel mir bekannt wurde, nicht geäußert. Um so wichtiger ist die Stellungnahme zweier Grimmelshausenforscher in den beiden bedeutendsten Werken, die seitdem auf diesem Gebiet erschienen sind. Dr. A. Bechtold gibt in seiner aufschlußreichen, feinsinnigen Biographie *Johann Jacob Christoph von Grimmelshausen und seine Zeit*, Heidelberg 1914, seinen Standpunkt zu erkennen, wo er (Seite 151 flgg.) sagt: "Man hat sich lange über die Priorität und Echtheit der verschiedenen Ausgaben, deren Zahl Zeugnis von dem buchhändlerischen Erfolge und der Beliebtheit des Buches ablegt, den

Kopf zerbrochen und ist schließlich zu der Lösung gelangt, eine verschollene Ausgabe *X* des Jahres 1668 anzunehmen und eine der Ausgaben *A* und *B* für einen Nachdruck zu erklären. Ich schließe mich voll und ganz der Ansicht J. H. Scholtes an, daß die Annahme einer uns verloren gegangenen Ausgabe *X* ebenso wie die Behauptung, daß *A* oder *B* ein Nachdruck seien, unbegründet ist und daß man in den Zusammenhang der verschiedenen Drucke die beste Einsicht bekommt, wenn man ihre Titel unbefangen auf sich einwirken läßt." Bechtold läßt dann meine oben zitierte Zusammenstellung der Titel folgen und schließt mit der wichtigen Bemerkung: "Ein Exemplar der unechten Ausgabe, deren Existenz durch die Vorrede der Ausgabe von 1671 festgestellt ist, besitzen wir in dem *Exemplar-Uhland*, das einen Nachdruck von *A* bildet."

Eingehender beschäftigt sich mit der Frage der Druckverhältnisse das Werk, das die Veranlassung zu diesem Aufsatz bildet: *Die beiden ältesten Drucke von Grimmelshausens Simplicissimus sprachlich verglichen von G. Einar Törnvall*, Uppsala 1917. Der Verfasser stellt seine Untersuchung auf die in meinen *Problemen* gegebene Grundlage, indem er, um die Priorität meiner Darstellung zu dokumentieren, "die betreffende Theorie mit meinen Worten anführt (Seite 6, Fußnote)." Seine auf dieser Grundlage aufgebaute sprachliche Untersuchung kommt denn auch im allgemeinen zu denselben Resultaten, wie mein oben zitierter Aufsatz in den *Beiträgen zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* (vgl. Törnvall Seite 246).

Wo sich also die Druckverhältnisse, wie jetzt wohl mit Gewißheit konstatiert werden kann, wesentlich anders verhalten als es Holland, Kurz und Kögel angenommen haben, wo auch die Voraussetzung einer verloren gegangenen Ausgabe *X* sich nicht mehr halten läßt, wäre es jetzt wohl an der Zeit, die irreführenden Bezeichnungen für die verschiedenen Ausgaben definitiv aufzugeben. Ich möchte denn auch an dieser Stelle den Vorschlag machen, die Drucke einfach unter verkürztem Titel neben Angabe der Jahreszahl zu zitieren; die Originalausgabe aus dem Jahre 1669 unter dem Titel *Abentheurlicher Simplicissimus Teutsch*, die von Holland fälschlich als *Ausgabe B* bezeichnet wurde, zitiere ich als *Simplicissimus 1669* (SS 1669); die sprachlich überarbeitete Ausgabe aus demselben Jahre, die Holland *A* nannte, bezeichne ich als

überarbeiteten *Simplicissimus* 1669 (üSS 1669), während für die bisher unter den Buchstaben *C* und *D* bekannten Drucke die Bezeichnung *SS* 1670 und *SS* 1671 genügt. Die vereinzelt von diesen vier wichtigsten Drucken abweichenden Exemplare, die teils auf Nachdruck, teils auf Vermischung von Druckbogen zurückzuführen sind, werden soweit die Forschung Veranlassung hat, sich mit ihnen zu beschäftigen, am besten nach dem Aufbewahrungsort bezeichnet.

Die neue Ansicht über die Druckverhältnisse der verschiedenen *Simplicissimus*-Ausgaben, die durch den Beitritt Bechtolds und die meine Ansicht bestätigenden Untersuchungen Törnvals jetzt als gesichert betrachtet werden darf, hat das Problem der sprachlichen Abweichungen in ein ganz neues Stadium gebracht: in verschiedenen, sämtlich rechtmäßigen Drucken desselben Werkes wird die Sprache in markant verschiedener Weise gehandhabt, so daß sich mit Bezug auf etymologische, syntaktische und stilistische Eigentümlichkeiten durchgehende und ungemein belehrende Unterschiede verzeichnen lassen.

Eine Bereicherung erhält dieses Material durch den Umstand, daß auch von der *Simplicianischen* Schrift, die sich am nächsten an den *Simplicissimus* anschließt: *Trutz-Simplex oder Ausführliche und wunderseltzame Lebensbeschreibung Der Ertzbetrügerin und Landstörtzerin Courasche*, 1670, eine überarbeitete Ausgabe besteht, über die ich *PBB* 40, Seite 276 flgg. berichtete. Sie kennzeichnet sich auf den ersten Blick durch die Namensschreibung der Heldin auf dem Titelblatt, die hier in überarbeiteter Form *Courage* genannt wird. Wie also dem *Simplicissimus* 1669 (*SS* 1669) der überarbeitete *Simplicissimus* 1669 (üSS 1669) gegenübersteht, so verhält sich zur ursprünglichen *Courasche* 1670 (*C* 1670) die überarbeitete *Courage* 1670 (*Cg* 1670). Es ist keineswegs undenkbar, daß fortgesetzte Untersuchungen noch weitere Überarbeitungen *Simplicianischer* Schriften zu Tage fördern werden; zunächst wäre eine solche Ausgabe vom Gegenstück der *Courasche*, dem *Seltzamen Springinsfeld*, zu erwarten. Was wir, abgesehen vom üSS 1669, den darauf zurückgehenden späteren Drucken und *Cg* 1670, an *Simplicianischen* und anderen Grimmelshausenschen Schriften besitzen, gehört in die Reihe der nicht-überarbeiteten Ausgaben, steht auf dem Sprachstand des *SS* 1669, resp. der *C* 1670 und repräsentiert also Grimmelshausens ursprüngliche,

eigene Sprache. Die Überarbeitung aber stammt wohl nicht von dem Dichter selbst, sondern wurde von dem Verleger, Felßecker in Nürnberg, veranlaßt und von einem Korrektor ausgeführt. Das ist das Resultat, zu dem mich die systematische Untersuchung dieser Frage geführt hat: "Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach war es Wolff Eberhard Felßecker in Nürnberg, der die sprachliche Überarbeitung veranlaßte. Der Korrektor muß in sprachlichen Sachen kein Fremdling gewesen sein; seine Handhabung gewisser Regeln für die Stellung des finiten Verbs im Nebensatz weist auf detailliertere sprachtheoretische Kenntnisse hin, als die uns aus dem Siebzehnten Jahrhundert überlieferten Grammatiken, soweit sie mir bekannt sind, sie zu geben vermochten. Seine Heimat haben wir vielleicht in dem damals sprachgewaltigen Nürnberg, dem Wohnort Felßeckers, zu suchen. (PBB 40, Seite 303.)" Törnvall tritt in dem Gesamtergebnis seiner Untersuchung dieser Ansicht bei: "Versuchen wir, auf Grund des oben Gesagten die Frage zu beantworten, ob diese tiefgreifenden Veränderungen eine Entwicklung der Sprache unseres Verfassers bedeuten, so scheint aus der Übereinstimmung von *B* mit den späteren Werken deutlich hervorzugehen, daß die Auflage *A* (zusammen mit der späteren Fassung der *Courasche*, vgl. Scholte a.a.O.) ihre Sprachform nicht dem Verfasser selbst verdanken kann. Natürlich haben wir keine Garantie dafür, daß *B* und die späteren Schriften Grimmelshausens Sprache unverfälscht wiedergeben, aber alle Wahrscheinlichkeit spricht dafür, daß im allgemeinen die volkstümliche Version ein treueres Bild seiner Sprache gibt als die Überarbeitung." (Vgl. außer Seite 245 auch Seite 25.)

Wie einschneidend die Resultate dieser Neuorientierung auch auf rein sprachlichem Gebiet sein müssen, dafür gibt Törnvall ein belehrendes Bild anläßlich seiner Behandlung des Rückumlauts. Es ist neuerdings gebräuchlich geworden, die rückumlautenden Formen im *Simplicissimus* auf Grimmelshausens hessische Herkunft zurückzuführen.³ Es ist kein Wunder, daß diese Formen die Aufmerksamkeit der Grammatiker erregt haben; es muß jedem Leser auffallen, wenn wir z.B. das Zeitwort *setzen* ziemlich ausnahmslos mit rückumlautendem Praeteritum antreffen: *salzte*

³So Agnes von Sobbe: *Die Ausgleichung des Rückumlautes*, Heidelberg, 1911, und John Stärk: *Studien zur Geschichte des Rückumlautes*, Uppsala 1912.

(Kögel 58, 11; 59, 19; 82, 39; 87, 17; 107, 29; 187, 1; 353, 10; 16, 39; 71, 10; 381, 22), *besatzte* (220, 9), *entsatzte* (19, 29), *ersatzte* (83, 7), *hinsatzte* (512, 2), *fürsatzte* (286, 25), *versatzte* (71, 22), *vorsatzte* (73, 13). Wenn wir nun aber diese Stellen, die ich an der Hand von R. Müller: *Die Sprache in Grimmelshausens Simplicissimus*, Eisenberg 1897, zitiere, im SS 1669 nachschlagen, so zeigt es sich, daß ohne jede Ausnahme diese rückumlautenden Formen auf nachträglicher Korrektur beruhen: Grimmelshausen selbst schrieb *setzte*, resp. mit der für ihn so bezeichnenden Apokope *setzt*, *besetzt(e)*, *entsetzt(e)*, *ersetzt(e)*, *hinsetzt(e)*, *fürsetzt(e)*, *versetzt(e)*, *vorsetzt(e)*, und die rückumlautenden Formen sind dem Nürnberger Korrektor zuzuschreiben. So bleibt von dem Hinweis auf Grimmelshausens Heimat nichts übrig und muß die ganze Konstatierung umgewendet werden. Es ist überhaupt in Zukunft nicht mehr zulässig, die überarbeitete *Simplicissimus*-Ausgabe, wie es in Wörterbüchern und sprachlichen Untersuchungen so oft geschieht, als Zeugnis für Grimmelshausens Sprache anzuführen. Ich möchte daher der dahinzielenden Schlussbemerkung Törnvals, "daß es methodisch nicht gerechtfertigt sei, die Ausgabe 1669 A als für die Sprache und die literarische Stellung des Verfassers charakteristisch anzuführen," eine möglichst allgemeine Verbreitung wünschen. Wer künftighin den *Simplicissimus* zitiert, benutze für sprachliche Zwecke ausschließlich die Ausgabe Kellers, den nicht-überarbeiteten Text aus dem Jahre 1669.

[Schluss folgt.]

J. H. SCHOLTE.

Amsterdam.

TWO LETTERS WRITTEN BY RACINE TO HIS SISTER

In January, 1918, I called attention¹ to four of Racine's letters privately owned in England and mentioned by the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts.² Three months later these letters were sold at Sotheby's by the widow of Alfred Morrison. The catalogue that announced the sale reproduced the text of the letters, wholly or in part, thus adding materially to the scant information furnished by the Royal Commission. It now appears

¹ *M. L. N.*, vol. xxxiii, pp. 30-33.

² *Ninth Report*, Part II, p. 462, London, 1883.

that of these four letters the one³ that was written "au Camp deuant Mons" is dated April 3rd, 1691, not April 30th as stated in the *Report*. The text given in Sotheby's catalogue shows that it is the same as that of a letter preserved, according to Mesnard, at the Bibliothèque Nationale and published by him in the *Grands Écrivains* edition of Racine.⁴ Its identification from the *Report* was impossible, as the text was not given there and the date was incorrectly stated. This letter was sold to Maggs Brothers for £54. The letter⁵ written at Le Quesnoy, May 16, 1692, reproduced in the *Report* and in my article, was sold to Agnew and Sons for £44. The two remaining letters, addressed by Racine to his sister, were purchased for £36 each by a Parisian dealer in autographs, Charavay, and were in turn sold by him to an inhabitant of Toulouse. Learning last July the name of the purchaser, I wrote to him for further information about the letters, but have received no reply. As he has given no evidence of an intention to publish the two letters, I have decided to reproduce them here in the incomplete form in which they appear in Sotheby's catalogue.

"976. 13¼ pp. 8^{vo}, 'A Versailles, ce 22 Fevrier' (1685?) to his sister, Marie Racine:

" 'Je suis inconsolable, ma chère sœur, de ce que viens [*sic*] de voir chez Monsieur le Controlleur Général. J'ay veu que Monsieur Rivière estoit supprimé. Je n'ay appris qu'aujourd'hui que ces choses-là ne se régloient pas chez Monsieur comme Monsieur de Boisfranc me l'avoit dit. Cela a esté cause que je n'ay pas fait un pas pour vous. Vous auriez bien dû me mander que tous vos gens faisoient des diligences auprès de Monsieur l'Intendant. Moy, qui suis accablé d'affaires, je n'ay pas seulement soupçonné que cela dust est [*sic*] réglé chez Monsieur le Controlleur Général, où je n'avois qu'un mot à dire' etc.

"977. 2 pp. 4^{to}, 'A Paris, ce jour des cendres' (1685), to the same:

" 'Je vous prie, ma chère sœur, de faire bien mes excuses à mon Oncle Racine et à Monsieur Regnaud de ce que je ne leur escriis point. Je suis si accablé d'affaires que je ne sçay où me tourner. Dites-leur bien que je les remercie de tout mon cœur de la part

³ Numbered by Sotheby, 978.

⁴ Vol. VII, p. 15.

⁵ Numbered by Sotheby 979.

qu'ils ont prise à vostre affaire. Assurez mon Oncle que j'en conserveray la mémoire toute ma vie. Comme en effet on ne peut m'escire là-dessus plus obligeamment qu'il a [*sic*] fait. [*sic*] Je me suis ravisé en vous escrivant, et j'ay résolu d'escire à Monsieur Regnaud deux ou trois lignes de remerciement.'"

By comparing these letters with others, published by Mesnard, I have been able to determine the fact that the affair in question is undoubtedly the loss by Racine's brother-in-law, Rivière, of his position in the salt-office of La Ferté-Milon.⁶ As the French financial administration was then organized, the nation's supply of salt was placed in 154 *greniers*, and distributed from each of these to retail merchants by a board consisting of a *président*, a *contrôleur*, a *grenetier*, a *procureur du roi*, and a *receveur*. After 1663 the distribution was made under the supervision of the intendant for the district. In questions of reinstatement final authority rested with the king and his representative, the *contrôleur général*, but the intendant of the district had the power to recommend action with regard to a local official. Before these letters were written Rivière held the positions of *grenetier* and *contrôleur alternatif* in Racine's native town, La Ferté-Milon.⁷ Claude Racine and François Regnaud, mentioned in the second letter, were, respectively, *contrôleur* and *procureur du roi* at the same place.⁸ After Colbert's death in 1683 the *contrôleur général* was Le Pelletier. The intendant for the district of Soissons, in which lay La Ferté-Milon, was from 1682 to 1685 Roland Le Vayer, sieur de Boutigny.⁹

The year in which these letters were written may be determined by comparing them with another letter written by Racine to his sister, dated Feb. 27 and published by Mesnard.¹⁰ Racine there speaks in detail of the effort he has been making to reinstate

⁶ Charles Godard, *les Pouvoirs des intendants sous Louis XIV*, Paris, Librairie de la société du recueil général des lois & des arrêts, 1901, pp. 266, 273.

⁷ Mesnard, *op. cit.*, vol. VI, p. 529.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 528, 529.

⁹ Godard, *op. cit.*, p. 539. A certain community of taste between him and Racine might be established, if he can be proved to have been related to François Le Voyer sieur de Boutigny, who was not only *maître des requêtes*, but author of a tragedy published in 1643, *le grand Selim ou le Couronnement tragique*. Cf. *la Bibliothèque du théâtre françois*, Dresden, 1768, vol. III, p. 20.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, vol. VI, pp. 527-529.

Rivière, refers to Regnaud and his uncle Racine, reports the receipt that same morning of a letter from the intendant regretting that he had not learned sooner of the relationship existing between Racine and Rivière. This letter must have been written about the same time as were the two I am publishing,¹¹ after the first, which was written when Racine had just learned of his brother-in-law's removal, and before the second, in which the affair seems almost ended and the poet has reached the point of thanking Regnaud and his uncle for their services. Now Mesnard shows that this letter could not have been written earlier than 1678, as Racine was established at court only in 1677, nor later than 1686, since mention is made in it of Antoine Vitart, who died in 1687 and was already seriously ill in January of that year. Of the nine years remaining he selects 1685 because Racine speaks of having to wait till his mourning garments are ready before he can visit the *contrôleur général*. This would seem to refer to court mourning, the only example of which mentioned in the *Gazette* during those nine years is the mourning worn for Charles II from February to May, 1685.

Support of this conclusion can be found by appealing to the calendar. The three letters are dated Feb. 22nd, Feb. 27th, and Ash Wednesday. As I have just shown that the third of these letters was written last, they must have been composed in a year in which Ash Wednesday came after Feb. 27. But from 1678 to 1686 this happened only in the years 1680, 1683, and 1685, when Ash Wednesday fell on March 6th, 3rd, and 7th, respectively.¹² Hence 1685 may not only be allowed to stand, but it is one of only three possible years in which the letters could have been written.

Further evidence lies in the fact that at the end of 1684 there was a general reduction of officials in the salt office and that by an edict of January, 1685, their positions were handed over to local

¹¹ As Rivière lost his place again in 1697, the question might be asked whether the two letters refer to that occasion, but the second letter cannot, for it mentions Regnaud, who died in 1694 (cf. Mesnard, *op. cit.*, vol. VI, p. 519). It is also unlikely that the first refers to it, for a letter of May 24, 1697 (*ibid.*, vol. VII, pp. 172-174), speaks of the affair as if it had recently occurred, so that a letter dated Feb. 22 could hardly be concerned with it.

¹² Cf. F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der Mathematischen und Technischen Chronologie*, Leipzig, 1914, vol. III, p. 417.

collectors, known as *élus*.¹³ It is probable that Rivière lost his position as a result of this reduction in the number of officials. The letters published show the part Racine played in the effort to restore him to his post.

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LAWRENCE MINOT

In regard to the author of the political poems contained in MS. Cotton Galba E ix, we have no other information than that which is afforded by the poems themselves. We know that his name was Lawrence Minot,¹ and that his poetical activity is connected with events between 1333 and 1352.² The surname Minot is not a common one, and of the six or seven fourteenth century Minots of whom Hall found traces in the public records,³ none bears the name of Lawrence. That the Lawrence Minot who is named in the documents printed below was the author of the poems in MS. Cotton Galba E ix, is probably impossible either to prove or disprove. But inasmuch as these documents constitute (to the best of my knowledge) the only record that has been found of a Lawrence Minot who was contemporary with the author of the poems, it seems worth while to make them known. They belong to the year 1331 and con-

¹³ Godard, *op. cit.*, p. 275. That they were not all so treated is shown by letters of Le Vayer of February 18 and March 7, 1685, in which he refers to the "réunion d'une partie des greniers à sel aux élections." Cf. de Boislisle, *Correspondance des Contrôleurs généraux*, Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1874, vol. I, p. 43.

¹ The lines in which the poet gives his name are:

Minot with mowth had menid to make (v, I)

and

Now Laurence Minot will begin (vii, 20)

² See Hall, *Poems of Laurence Minot* (Oxford, third edition, 1914), p. xii and his notes to the various poems. The second poem deals with the battle of Bannockburn (1314), but it appears to have been written after the first, which deals with the battle of Halidon Hill (1333); see Hall's notes.

³ Hall, pp. x ff.

cern the purchase by Lawrence Minot in 1320 of a piece (or pieces)⁴ of land in Cressy Forest, and the remission by Edward III in 1331 of a part of the purchase money still due.⁵ The documents are as follows:

Patent Roll 176 (5 Edward III, Part 2), membrane 8.

Pro Iohanne Lenfaunt.⁶

Rex omnibus ad quos, *etc.*, salutem. Supplicauit nobis Iohannes Lenfaunt, per petitionem suam coram nobis et concilio nostro exhibitam, ut cum ipse, tempore quo Comitatus Pontiuui fuit in manibus Isabelle Regine Anglie matris nostre, anno videlicet domini millesimo trecentesimo vicesimo nono, emisset in foresta nostra de Cressy duodecim iorneas bosci et dimidiam pro quadam pecunie summa monete debilis in regno Francie tunc currentis ad diversos dies infra quam terminum, videlicet primo die Decembris proxime preterito dicta mater nostra comitatum predictum reddidit in manus nostras, quo die ducentas quinquaginta et octo libras pro tribus terminis tunc futuris nobis racione reddicionis illius de

⁴ Whether, in spite of discrepancies, both the Latin and the French documents printed below refer to the same transaction, I am unable to determine.

⁵ An abstract of the first of these documents is contained in the *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, 1330-1334, p. 187, dated Oct. 15, 1331. This abstract is as follows:

Grant to John Lenfaunt; on his petition for remission of part of the purchase money for twelve and a half journeys (*jorneas*) of wood in Cressy Forest bought by him in 1329, when the county of Ponthieu was in the hands of queen Isabella for a sum to be paid by instalments in the coinage then current in France, whereof a balance of 258 pounds was still due at the time of the surrender of the county to the king by the said queen, on the ground that since the time of the purchase the coinage had become so depreciated as to be worth scarce half what it then was; that he shall be quit of the balance on payment of 129 pounds of Paris of the present currency.

By pet. of C.

Mandate in pursuance to the receiver of the county of Ponthieu.

The like grant to Laurence Mynotz under precisely similar circumstances.

By pet. of C.

In printing the Latin and French documents I have supplied punctuation and regulated the use of capitals. The italics used for clearness in the Latin documents are mine.

⁶ On October 5, 1312, John Lenfant, knight, was appointed seneschal of Ponthieu and Monstreuil (*Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, 1307-1313, p. 501). For orders addressed to John Lenfaunt as seneschal of Ponthieu on May 20, 1313, and July 28, 1315, see *Calendar of the Close Rolls*, 1307-1313, p. 582, and 1313-1318, p. 301.

summa illa soluere teneretur, velimus ei in solucione dictarum ducentarum quinquaginta et octo librarum partem pecunie illius remittere generose, presertim cum moneta predicta infra terminum predictum in tantum sit deteriorata quod ad valorem medietatis monete nunc currentis in dicto regno Francie vix attingit. Nos, consideracionem condignam ad hoc habentes ac volentes prefato Iohanni graciam in hac parte facere specialem, concessimus ei quod ipse pro predictis ducentis quinquaginta et octo libris quas nobis pro dictis tribus terminis ex causa predicta soluere teneretur soluat nobis centum et viginti et nouem libras Paris' in dicto regno Francie nunc currentes et quod de residuo earundem ducentarum quinquaginta et octo librarum extunc erga nos exoneratus sit penitus et quietus. In cuius, *etc.* Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium .xv. die Octobris. Per petitionem de consilio.

Et mandatum est Receptori Regis Comitatus Pontiui qui nunc est vel pro tempore fuerit quod, receptis a prefato Iohanne predictis centum et viginti et nouem libris Paris', ipsum de predictis ducentis quinquaginta et octo libris exonerari et quietum esse faciat, iuxta tenorem litterarum Regis predictarum. Teste, *ut supra*.

Pro Laurencio Mynotz.

Rex omnibus ad quos, *etc.*, salutem. Supplicauit nobis Laurencius Mynotz per petitionem, *etc.*, *ut supra usque ibi* vicesimo nono, emisset in foresta nostra de Cressy duodecim iorneas bosci et dimidiam, *etc.*, *ut supra usque ibi* in manus nostras, *et tunc sit* quo die ducentas quinquaginta et octo libras pro tribus terminis tunc futuris nobis ratione reddicionis illius de summa illa soluere teneretur, velimus, *etc.*, *ut supra*. Teste, *ut supra*.

Per petitionem consilio.

Et mandatum est Receptori predicto quod, receptis a prefato Laurencio predictis centum et viginti et nouem libris Paris', ipsum de eisdem ducentis quinquaginta et octo libris exonerari et quietum esse faciat, iuxta tenorem litterarum Regis predictarum. Teste, *ut supra*.

Exchequer Accounts, 166, No. 2.

Account book of the Receiver of Ponthieu, 5 Edward III, 23 February, 1330/1, to Michaelmas, 1331.

Receptes faittes de ventes de bois et forestes du Seigneur et premierement de la Forest de Crescy.

De Loreng de Minguot, li quex achata lan xxix. en Feurier xij. iourn' LXXV. verges de bois de mesme la forest appelle le Flos de Solaill pur xvij. li. xvij. s. Paris le iournal, des quex furent rebats v. verges pur places wydes et bois eslaquie. Ainssi demurent de bois plain xij. iourn' et LXX. vergez, qui montent en somme au pris dessus dit a ij. c. xxxix. li. xvij. s. x. d. Paris, dez quex sont rebats pur trencage, *etc.*, contre le marcheant iiij. li. xij. s. x. d.

Paris. Ainssi demurent du frank' au seigneur cc. xxxiiij. li. xv. s. Paris, a paier en ij. ans a iiij. termes, chascun an cxvij. li. vii. s. vj. d. Paris' a ij. termes, nostre dame en Septembre⁷ et Bohourdich,⁸ a chascun terme Lviiij. li. xiiij. s. ix. d. Paris, le primer terme de paiement comensant a le nostre dame en Septembre lan xxx. pur son paiement de Bohordich et nostre dame en Septembre, eschenz en ceste accompte, et est uncore j. terme de paiement a venir, c. xvij. li. vij. s. vj. d. Paris, lez quex li sont quitie de la grace du Roi dengleterre nosseigneur tant du temps de ceste accompte pour paier mailles pur Paris, dont li receueur ce charge Lviiij. li. xiiij. s. ix. d.

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ON THE ORIGIN OF PROBATIONARY ODES FOR THE LAUREATSHIP.

If the reader whose mental palate is pleased by the sharp taste of parody thinks back through the nineteenth century to the *Rejected Addresses* of the brothers Smith, and beyond their happy verses to the Anti-Jacobin's political parodies, and a dozen years beyond those earlier masterpieces, he remembers the pungent savor of *Probationary Odes for the Laureatship*. This series of burlesque poems, produced by the scribbling followers and friends of Charles Fox, soon after their triumphant publication of *Criticisms on the Rolliad*, is sufficiently important in the history of English satire to justify some interest in the subject of its origins.

Obviously William Whitehead was in a certain sense an indispensable link in the chain of circumstances which brought about the appearance of the jovial parodies in question. For Whitehead was Poet-Laureat, and had he not died in 1785 the mock odes in competition for his vacant place certainly would not have been written in that year and might never have been written at all. In quite another way also he was unwittingly responsible for the inception of the clever notion which grew into the "probationary" poems of the wits of Brooks's. Although it has been customary to find a source for the *Odes* in Isaac Browne's *The Pipe of Tobacco*

⁷ September 8, the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin.

⁸ "Nom donné au premier et au second dimanche de carême" (Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'Ancienne Langue Française*, I, 613, s. v. *behordeis*, of which *bohourdich*, *bouhourdich*, etc., are variant forms).

(1736),¹ the idea from which they were developed is traceable to a satire which owed its origin to a poem of Whitehead's own. Whatever may have been their remote inheritance from the satires in the "Parnassian" tradition or from the parodies of Pope or of Browne, the *Probationary Odes* are descended in a direct but illegitimate line from the aged laureat's long-winded fable entitled *The Goat's Beard* (1777).

The least insignificant fact about this rambling inflation of eight lines of Phaedrus is that it provoked a reply called *The Asses Ears* (1777), an anonymous poem in a very thin pamphlet. In this ephemeral satire appears the basic idea of the *Probationary Odes*. The fable is to this effect: Jove assembled all the animals and announced his intention of naming one of their number Poet-Laureat and decorating him with the spacious ears

Which erst to Midas were assign'd,
To mark the monarch's critic mind.

The Monkey, the Fox, the Dog, and the Bear presented themselves in turn, each arguing for his own candidacy. Doctor Johnson as the Bear almost won the coveted prize. This was his sentence:

'Tho' for your voyage the envied meed,
Might to your brows have been decreed,
And well your tracts of politics,
Might on your head the trophy fix,
Yet as some things which once you writ,
Are stigmatiz'd with sense and wit,
We deem you for the place unfit.'

The next aspirant, the Ass, presented his case in part as follows:

'Have I, on any one pretence,
Been known to deviate into sense?
Who then is versed like me to cheer,
With tranquil sounds Jove's quiet ear,

¹ See Fuess, *Lord Byron as a Satirist in Verse* (New York, 1912), 28. With almost as good reason the source-hunter might go back two years beyond the *Pipe of Tobacco* to a collection of poems which were actually written in competition for a prize, *The Contest: being Poetical Essays on the Queen's Grotto, wrote in consequence of an invitation in the Gentleman's Magazine for April, 1733, wherein was Proposed, that the Author of the Best Piece be entitled to a volume for that year, Royal Paper, and finely bound in Morocco; and the Author of the second Best, to a volume Common Paper* (London, 1734).

And lull to rest the high abodes,
With *New-year songs* and *Birth-day Odes*?²

He was elected by acclamation.

There we have quite conventional satire in the arguments of beastly bards concerning their rights to claim first place among the poets. In *The Wreath of Fashion* (1778), Richard Tickell suggested a more artistic treatment of much the same theme. The subject of a competition among poets for a laureatship is by no means so original that the appearance of two adaptations of it in the same city in successive years proves that the second is derived from the first. Attendant circumstances, however, particularly the fact that both are directly concerned with Whitehead's fable of *The Goat's Beard*, make it seem likely that Tickell either took a hint for *The Wreath* from *The Asses Ears* or else himself wrote both pieces. The immediate suggestion for Tickell's new treatment of the old material came from Lord Clare's *Verses addressed to the Queen with a New Year's Gift of Irish Poplin* (1775).³ The satirist explains in a note that "the recollection of the Poplin leads to a digression, in the Pindaric stile of all Laureats." The speaker is Whitehead, and this is his digression:

'What, if some rival Bard my empire share!
Yet, yet, I tremble at the name of Clare.
(Pindar to Clare had yielded—so did I—
Alas, can Poetry with Poplin vie!
Ah me! if Poets barter for applause,
How Jerningham will thrive on flimsy gauze!
What tatter'd tinsel Luttrell will display!
Carmarthen, sattin—Carlisle, paduasoy!
Garrick will follow his old remnant trade;
He'll buy my place with Jubilee-brocade.
While Anstey, the reversion to obtain,
Vamps his Bath drugget, till he spoils the grain.
Perish the thought! hence visionary fear!
Phoebus, or Phaëdrus, shall old Whitehead cheer.
Behold their nobler gift: be this preferr'd!
He said; and proudly brandish'd the *Goat's beard*.⁴

² *The Asses Ears, a Fable. Addressed to the Author of The Goat's Beard* (London, 1777), 5, 8, 10.

³ This piece was the object of a parody entitled: *Verses addressed to the ——— with a New Year's Gift of Irish Potatoes by Lord Knows Who. In Imitation of a Late Poem* (London, 1775).

⁴ *The School for Satire: or, A Collection of Modern Satirical Poems writ-*

From these lines it is evident that Tickell took up the idea of a competition of poets for the laureatship and extended his treatment of it to include a suggestion that the poets should not only plead their own causes but should bring gifts and specimens of their composition as well. Therein lies the originality of the *Probationary Odes*, that they are in pretence samples offered by various ambitious bards as representative of the verses they could write for the King. The fact that Tickell had the idea seven years before it was employed in the series of parodies does not prove that he was responsible for its application in that series. But such a connection is made to seem probable by the details of his connection with the Whig pamphleteers of the Rolliad group. In 1778 he made his name by publishing *Anticipation*, a clever prose satire against the ministry. Soon he turned to supporting the party in power, but he returned to the side of Fox and the Whigs within a year or two, apparently by the persuasions of his brother-in-law, Richard Brinsley Sheridan. Tickell was, so far as records show, only a minor contributor to the *Criticisms on the Rolliad*, surely not a leading spirit in the work. On the other hand, it is certain that he took an important part in the production of the *Probationary Odes for the Laureatship*, writing much of the introductory matter in prose and all of two odes and having a hand in the manufacture of at least one other.⁵ Indicative that he had done literary work of importance to the Whigs is the fact that in 1785 he achieved the goal of his ambition, election to membership in the distinguished club which met at Brooks's.⁶ On the whole, it seems more than likely that Richard Tickell was the prime mover in the conception of the *Probationary Odes*, that he nursed the idea for several years, and that he actually derived the inspiration for it from the laureat poet William Whitehead.

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ten during the present reign (London, 1801), 153-154. *The Wreath of Fashion* occupies pp. 143-159.

⁵ For information concerning Tickell's share in the authorship of the various papers in the Rolliad series, see *Notes and Queries* II, 114, 373; III, 129-131. Cf. also Moore's *Life of Sheridan*, I, 420 ff.

⁶ W. Fraser Rae, *Sheridan*, I, 357. Cf. Walter Sichel, *Sheridan*, I, 442 ff.

WILLIAM LICHFIELD AND HIS COMPLAINT OF GOD

Mr. E. Borgström, in *Anglia*, xxxiv, 508 ff., prints *The Complaint of God to Sinful Man, and the Answer of Man*, by William Lichfield, from ms. Gonville and Caius Coll. 174. This, he says, is the first time the poem has been printed; in this statement, however, he is mistaken, for it is the same poem, with some omissions, transpositions, and variant readings in single lines, as that printed by Dr. Furnivall in *Political, Religious, and Love Poems* (E. E. T. S., revised edition, 1903), pp. 198 ff., from mss. Lambeth 306 and 853, under the titles *The Complaynt of Criste* and *Christ's Own Complaint*, respectively. The chief variations between the version in *Anglia* and that from ms. Lambeth 853—which is a better text than the one in ms. 306—are given below:

The following lines in *Lam.* are not in *Ang.*: 453-85; 493-501; 509-17; 589-97; 613-21; 637-45; 749-67—a total of ninety lines.

The following lines are in different order: *Lam.* 485-93 = *Ang.* 521-9; *Lam.* 501-9 = *Ang.* 513-21; *Lam.* 645-61 = *Ang.* 401-17; *Lam.* 661-77 = *Ang.* 465-81; *Lam.* 677-85 = *Ang.* 529-37.

Besides these, there are frequent variations in phraseology, and in some stanzas a substitution of an entire line or two.

In ms. Lambeth 306 a short poem has been prefixed to this *Complaint*, and written as part of it; they are in reality separate works.¹ The same short poem is also in ms. Lambeth 853, but is not connected with the longer *Complaint*: the former ends on fol. 88, and the latter begins on fol. 193. Dr. Furnivall, however, prints the two with a continuous numbering of the lines as if they were one poem. The poem in which we are interested—the one by Lichfield—begins with l. 133, on p. 199 (from ms. 853), and l. 137, p. 198 (from ms. 306). (All references are to the revised edition of 1903.)

According to the *Dictionary of National Biography* there are two poems by Lichfield in Gonville and Caius College ms. 174, entitled respectively *The Complaynt of God to Sinful Man and the Answer of Man*, and *A Dialogue of the Passion between God and the Penitent Soul*. Mr. Borgström corrects this statement: this

¹ See the E. E. T. S. edition, pp. 198 and xix.

second poem is a part of the *Complaint* which was left out at the proper place and then written in at the end with an indication of the place where it belonged.²

Neither Dr. Furnivall nor Mr. Borgström has noted that this *Complaint* is also found in MS. Camb. Ff. II, 38, from which an extract is printed in *Percy Society Publications*, XIV, 87. As this extract corresponds closely to Christ's tenth complaint and Man's tenth answer in MS. Lambeth 853 (ll. 645-709), it is probable that the versions in these two manuscripts are practically the same.

Warton is authority for the statement that there was a copy of the *Complaint* in a folio manuscript in the possession of Henry Huth.³

"Complaints" of Christ were a popular theme in medieval literature.⁴ Some, like Lichfield's poem, were in the form of a dialogue between God or Christ, and Man; others were monologues. For examples of the dialogue form see *Cursor Mundi*, ll. 17, 111 ff.; poems of Jakob Ryman, in Herrig's *Archiv*, LXXXIX, 264; and a poem from the Fairfax Manuscript, *ibid.* CVI, 63. A *Dialogus inter Deum et Peccatorem* is among the works of Innocent III, but this seems not to have influenced the "Complaints": it is too scholastic in tone to be suitable for poetic purposes.⁵

The information hitherto gathered concerning the life of Lichfield, as given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, may be briefly stated:

He was a doctor of divinity—of Oxford, according to Wood and Pits; of Cambridge, according to Gascoigne. He was rector of the church of All Hallows the Great, Thames Street, London; and was one of the most famous preachers of his time. In addition to the *Complaint*, he left "no fewer than 3083 sermons written in English with his own hand," besides a collection of materials for sermons, entitled *Mille Exempla*. He died October 24, 1448, and was buried under the communion table of his church.

The above-mentioned conflicting claims for Oxford and Cambridge as Lichfield's university seem to be due to a confusion of this William Lichfield with a younger man of the same name, who

² *Anglia*, XXXIV, 498.

³ T. Warton, *History of English Poetry*, III, 95.

⁴ See the article by Professor Cook in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, VII, 268; and a note in his edition of Cynewulf's *Christ*, p. 207.

⁵ Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, CCXVII, 691.

was probably a graduate of Oxford, was pastor of All Hallows in the Wall, London (not All Hallows the Great), and later Chancellor of St. Paul's, and who died about 1517.⁶ Gascoigne, who was Chancellor of the University of Oxford and a contemporary of Lichfield, was undoubtedly correct in assigning the latter to Cambridge.

I have found a few items which give a more complete idea of Lichfield's interests and activities. The *Dictionary of National Biography* says that the date of his appointment as rector of All Hallows the Great is unknown; Hennessy gives the date as 1425, without, however, citing any authority.⁷

According to Hennessy, again, Lichfield was rector of St. Mary Magdalene, Old Fish Street, London, as well as of All Hallows the Great.⁸ Here also he gives no authority. The *Victoria History of London* accepts Hennessy's statement.⁹ If this is true Lichfield was a pluralist, and thus a participator in a practice which was a source of constant trouble and frequent complaints in the fifteenth century. Such an attitude is contrary to what we should expect from Lichfield's position on other church matters. Moreover, an entry in the *Patent Rolls* for April 24, 1448, names John Carpenter as the rector of St. Mary Magdalene.¹⁰ In Hennessy's list of rectors John Carpenter's term is given as from 1415 to 1441. Then follows Lichfield, from 1441 to 1448. It would seem, then, that Hennessy is wrong in including Lichfield among the rectors of this church.

In 1446 Sir John Fray, chief baron of the exchequer, William Lichfield, and Gilbert Worthington, clerks, were selected as arbiters in a dispute over a rectory between Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and the prior and convent of Barnwell.¹¹

Lichfield is named in a list of benefactors of Queen's College, Cambridge.¹²

⁶ Wood, *Fasti Oxonienses*, I, 7; and G. Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense*, pp. xxiii and 82.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 83.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. lix and 31.

⁹ *Victoria History of the Counties of England—London*, I, 228.

¹⁰ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* (1446-1452), p. 151.

¹¹ W. G. Searle, *The History of the Queen's College of St. Margaret and St. Bernard*, Cambridge Antiquarian Society, 1867 (Octavo Publications, v, 67).

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 33.

On August 26, 1446, William Bingham, William Lichfield, William Millington, Gilbert Worthington, John Cote, and others, professors in sacred theology, were granted a license to found a new college, to be known as Godeshous (later called Christ's College), at Cambridge.¹³

On October 12, 1446, John Somerset, chancellor of the exchequer, William Lichfield, Reginald Pecock, and others were granted a license to found a gild in honor of the nine orders of holy angels, at New Braynford, Middlesex.¹⁴

In 1447, William Lichfield, Gilbert Worthington, John Cote, and John Neel, clergymen of London, petitioned Parliament that they be given permission to establish grammar schools in their respective parishes.¹⁵ New schools in charge of competent instructors were sorely needed, for the existing institutions were overcrowded and the teachers were often illiterate. The petition was granted, and the schools were established. Fosbroke declares that this marks the beginning of "Grammar-Schools, properly so called."¹⁶ One of the schools founded as the result of this petition later became the famous Mercers' School.

Gascoigne tells us that, in 1450 and before, members of the court complained to the king that certain preachers were inciting the people to insurrection by preaching against the corruption of the king's ministers, the injustice of the law courts, both civil and ecclesiastical, and other vices of the times. Among these preachers, says Gascoigne, were Gilbert Worthington, William Lichfield, and Peter of Beverly. In other words, these men were accused of stirring up the discontent which culminated in Jack Cade's rebellion and other popular uprisings in various parts of England. It appears, then, that Lichfield and other preachers openly attacked the vices of those in authority; but the accusation that they were responsible for the insurrection was, of course, only an attempt of

¹³ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* (1441-1446), p. 460; see also *ibid.* (1446-1452), p. 103. For an account of this projected foundation, see John Peile, *Christ's College*, pp. 1 ff.

¹⁴ *Cal. Pat. Rolls* (1446-1452), p. 29.

¹⁵ T. Brewer, *Memoir of the Life and Times of John Carpenter*, pp. 62 and 63; and B. B. Orridge, *Some Account of the Citizens of London and their Rulers*, p. 21.

¹⁶ T. D. Fosbroke, *Encyclopaedia of Antiquities*, I, 395, article on "Free Schools."

the corrupt ministers to shift upon others the blame for the consequences of their own misdeeds.¹⁷

Lichfield numbered among his friends a number of interesting men. He was a beneficiary to the extent of twenty shillings in the will of John Carpenter, the author of the *Liber Albus* and for many years clerk of London; and he and Reginald Pecock were selected by Carpenter to carry out one of the provisions of the will.¹⁸ Lichfield and Pecock were again associated, in 1446, in the founding of the gild at New Braynford (see above). It appears, then, that at this time the two men were friends. Later, however, after Pecock's sermon at Paul's Cross and his writings had brought him into conflict with the ecclesiastical authorities, Lichfield became one of his most active opponents.¹⁹ From the connection of Lichfield with John Somerset in the New Braynford foundation, we may also infer that he was on more or less intimate terms with this famous physician, mathematician, and grammarian, and chancellor of the exchequer. Associated with Lichfield in his various activities were also a number of well-known London preachers, among whom were Gilbert Worthington, rector of St. Andrew, Holborne; William Bingham, rector of St. John Zachary; John Cote, rector of St. Peter, Cornhill; and John Neel, rector of St. Mary Colechurch.

From the facts now available, we are able to form a fair estimate of Lichfield's character and activities. His ability as a poet is proved by his *Complaint*, which shows sincere religious feeling, and in technique is at least as good as the work of some of the better known fifteenth century writers. That he was an industrious maker of sermons is testified by the collection of 3,083 which he left at his death. As a preacher, he was a fearless opponent in the pulpit of the corrupt ministers of the king. He was "a good prechour and an holy man," says a contemporary chronicler in recording his death.²⁰ But the most prominent feature in the notices here collected is his interest in education. He was a bene-

¹⁷ J. E. T. Rogers, *Loci e Libro Veritatum*, pp. xlvi, liii, and liv; 188 ff.

¹⁸ T. Brewer, *op. cit.*, pp. 138 and 143. This John Carpenter is not the same man as the John Carpenter, mentioned above, rector of St. Mary Magdalene, who later became Bishop of Worcester.

¹⁹ J. E. T. Rogers, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

²⁰ C. L. Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 296.

factor of Queen's College, Cambridge, and was one of the trustees of the proposed new college of Godeshous at Cambridge. In addition, he was one of the founders of the four grammar schools in London which are said to mark the beginning of free grammar schools in England.

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THE 'DOLEFUL LAY OF CLORINDA'

In the collection of elegies in memory of Sir Philip Sidney, led off by Spenser's *Astrophel*, the second is ascribed by Spenser himself to 'Clorinda,' Sir Philip's sister, Mary, Countess of Pembroke,

Which least I marre the sweetness of the vearse,
In sort as she it sung I will rehearse.

All editors have accepted this ascription, as Spenser apparently intended that it should be accepted, until Mr. de Selincourt, in the one-volume Oxford *Spenser* (p. xxxv, n. 2), briefly and cautiously recorded his opinion that the 'Doleful Lay' is Spenser's own, chiefly because it is doubtful that Countess Mary could have achieved its "peculiarly Spenserian effects of rhythm and melody." In *Mod. Lang. Notes* for February, 1916 (xxxI, 79-82), Dr. Percy W. Long supports this opinion by showing the strong resemblance to Spenser's practice in the use of the colon after the second line of the stanza, by remarking that such ascription is common in Spenser's time and actually occurs in his *Ruins of Time*, and by pointing out a few resemblances in word and thought to Spenser's verse.

When preparations were begun for the *Spenser Concordance* in 1907, I did not include this text. A hasty examination led me to the conclusion that it was at best but a feeble imitation of Spenser, wanting altogether the vigor and fullness of tone even of *Astrophel*. As the work progressed and I grew more familiar with the Spenserian cadence, another examination might have reversed my opinion. Certainly had I taken the trouble to index the poem, the Spenserian authorship would, I believe, have been at once apparent. Almost every phrase, combination, and mannerism in it, not to say the little thought which it contains, is found elsewhere in Spenser,

especially in his elegiac verse. I subjoin a long list of these details, most of them gathered by Mr. Richard M. Hewitt, of the Graduate College, Princeton.

Line 1. 'Ay me!' Cf. l. 66. So begin *S. C. N.* 6;¹ *Gn.* 353; *Hub.* 601; *T. M.* 43; I. vi. 36. 7; vii. 1. 1; II. i. 44; III. ii. 33. 1; vii. 50. 1; IV. vii. 11. 1; ix. 38. 5; V. vi. 10. 8; x. 23. 1; xii. 50. 9; VI. vi. 13. 5; vii. 38. 9; *H. L.* 294; *H. H. L.* 178.

'Shall I my case complaine.' 'My case I thus complaine,' *Gn.* Ded. 3; same phrase, *Hub.* 1208; *T. M.* 421.

2. 'Compassion my impatient grieve.' Compassion, v., only at *T. M.* 346, in similar phrase. We find 'impatient pain(s)' at *Gn.* 628; VI. vi. 8. 6; 'impatient plight,' *T. M.* 44; 'regret,' *As.* 169; 'smart,' II. i. 45. 5; etc.

3. 'Unfold my inward paine.' So 'unfold the anguish of your hart,' I. vii. 40. 6, and similar uses of 'unfold,' *D.* 74; II. i. 46. 7; IV. xii. 6. 1; etc.—some eighteen all told. 'Inward paine,' at II. i. 42. 9; V. vi. 19. 2. We find some seven instances of 'inward grief'; also 'inward gall,' I. ii. 6. 4; 'anguish,' *As.* 206; 'woe,' *As.* interl. 225; 'smart,' *T. M.* 422; 'sorrow,' *Ti.* 472; etc.

4. 'My enriven heart.' Cf. 'enriven side,' V. viii. 34. 9. 'Find remedy' occurs at *Hub.* 57; III. ii. 36. 2; etc.; 'find redress' at III. vi. 40. 7; etc.

5. 'Heavenly powres.' Also at *Gn.* 578; *D.* 198; VII. vi. 20. 1; 36. 2. Cf. VII. vi. 11. 7; vii. 3. 6; 5. 4.

6. 'Earthly men.' Also at V. i. 5. 8, and many instances of 'earthly wight,' 'race,' 'brood,' etc.

An interrogative stanza similar to the first is *T. M.* 43-8. The anaphoristic form of stanzas 1-3 is not unlike that of *D.* 393 ff.; *U. V.* throughout.

7. 'To heavens?' Cf. *D.* 354-5. 'They, alas!' Cf. *Pet.* i. 11; ii. 8; *Ti.* 652; etc.

7, 8. 'Authors were And workers of my unremedied wo.' 'Author' in this sense with an abstract noun is the prevailing use in Spenser. Cf. 'his owne woes author,' II. v. 1. 8; author of 'her wofull time,' VI. vii. 33. 3; also 'worker of her woe,' IV. xii. 29. 2; add *Gn.* 631; *Hub.* 1379; *Mui.* 244; III. xii. 31. 7; etc.

8. 'Unremedied.' Not found elsewhere, but see 'to remedie my paine,' *T. M.* 423; cf. VI. vi. 1. 9; xii. 8. 2.

10. 'Suffred this be so. 'Suffer' is usual with 'to,' but without at II. viii. 48. 9; III. vi. 19. 5.

11. 'From them comes good, from them comes also ill.' Similar cadence at *Am.* xlviii. 14.

12. 'Who then can save what they the heavens dispose to spill?' *Mui.* 232. The whole stanza is close in thought to that in *Mui.* and may be compared with III. iii. 2.

¹ The abbreviations are those used in the *Concordance*.

13. 'Like wretched.' Cf. I. x. 62. 4.

14-5. For 'heavens' decree' see *Ro.* vi. 11; *Gn.* 471, 569; III. iii. 41. 7; V. viii. 44. 6. 'Ordinance' in exactly this sense is not used elsewhere by Spenser.

16. 'Their best redresse is their best sufferance.' A similar thought at *D.* 386-8; cf. also the phrase at *S. C. S.* 127; III. xi. 16. 1; 17. 9.

17-8. 'How then can they, like wretched, comfort mee?' Similar wording at *Ti.* 23; and similar echo of 'comfort' at *T. M.* 349, 50; I. x. 41. 2, 3; III. v. 27. 4.

19. 'To my selfe will I my sorrow mourne.' Similar wording at *T. M.* 107, 473, 533; *D.* 507. 'Mourne' is usually intr. in Spenser but there are some half dozen exceptions.

21. 'Back return' is a favorite combination in Spenser, recurring again and again; cf. VI. ii. 12. 1.

22. 'Pay their usury with doubled paines.' 'Pay usury' also at VI. viii. 9. 9; *Epith.* 33; cf. 'dubble usury,' *Col.* 39; 'dubble losse,' *D.* 223; 'griefe,' I. ii. 34. 5; 'dread,' I. vi. 10. 1, etc.; 'double was his paines,' II. ii. 25. 9.

23-4. 'The woods, the hills, the rivers shall resound The mournfull accent of my sorrowes ground.' Woods are thus variously combined in Spenser, usually in threes, most often with hills, but also with meadows, *Mui.* 153; with fields and floods, *Col.* 29; valleys, *Col.* 482; cf. V. viii. 41. 5; VI. iii. 26. 6; 3. 6; VII. vi. 37. 2. The pastoral convention of mourning woods is used at *S. C.* Au. 166 — 'the wild woddes my sorrowes to resound'; cf. *S. C.* Jun. 95; Au. 151; *Col.* 23; *Epith.* 10. For resounding woods see *S. C.* Au. 159; *Ti.* 325; *D.* 331; I. vi. 7. 6; 14. 2; viii. 11. 9; II. iii. 20. 9; VI. iv. 10. 5; xi. 26. 6; VII. vi. 52. 8; *Am.* xix. 7; the refr. of *Epith.*

24. 'Mournfull accent.' 'Doleful accent,' VI. viii. 3. 9; cf. *T. M.* 286; *D.* 297; *Epith.* 351. 'Sorrowes ground'; cf. 'ground of all our woe,' III. v. 9. 9; 'of grief,' IV. ix. 15. 2.

26. 'Sith he is gone.' Similar phrasing at II. iii. 3. 2; VI. ii. 15. 1; xi. 20. 6; 27. 'All the fields do waile.' The fields mourn at *Ro.* xii. 3; *Col.* 25. 'Widow state' does not occur. Cf. 'widow queen,' VI. ii. 29. 1.

28. 'Death their fairest flowre did late deface.' Cf. 'My fresh flowretts bene defast,' *S. C. F.* 182; 'all fairest things on earth deface,' *T. M.* 434. 'Deface,' esp. with an auxiliary, often closes the line and cadence in Spenser.

29. 'Fairest flowre in field.' Cf. *S. C. N.* 83; IV. x. 22. 3. The figure is that of *As.* 181 ff., and part of the reminiscence of the Adonis myth in Bion which underlies that poem. See R. Shafer, *M. L. N.* 28. 224-6. Cf. III. 1. 34. 4.

30. 'That was.' Same use at *S. C. N.* 93; II. i. 50. 1.

31. 'Cruell hand of cursed foe.' Cf. 'Cursed felon high did reare His cruell hand,' V. xii. 20. 2. 'Cruel hand(s)' occurs some twenty times; 'cursed foe' at I. x. 63. 9.

32. 'Cropt the stalke.' Same phrase, *Proth.* 38. 'So faire a flowre'; cf. *D.* 237.

33, 4. 'Untimely.' 'All other fayre, lyke flowres, untymely fade,' *Am.* lxxix. 14; cf. *S. C. F.* 177; *III.* ii. 31. 8; *V.* vii. 33. 6. 'Cleane defaced'; same phrase, *Ded. Son.* xi. 11; *V.* x. 25. 4. 'Untimely hour(s),' *D.* 336; *V.* vi. 3. 5.

35, 6. 'Great losse.' Cf. *Col.* 16; *I.* vii. 27. 6.

37. 'Breake now your gyrlonds, O ye shepheards lasses.' So 'breaking quite his garlond,' *III.* xi. 37. 8. Cf. *S. C. D.* 114; *III.* iv. 30. 1. 'Shepherd lasses' lament at *D.* 222, 316.

42. 'Bitter elder, broken from the bowe.' So 'bringen bitter eldre braunches seare,' *S. C. N.* 147.

43. 'Ne ever sing the love-layes which he made.' So 'sing no moe The songs that Colin made,' *S. C. N.* 77. 'Love-layes' and like combinations (cf. 1. 44) are common in Spenser; cf. *S. C.* Jun. 13; *T. M.* 413; *Col.* 3, 387, 423; *As.* 35; *II.* vi. 14. 9; *III.* x. 8. 4.

45. 'Read the riddles.' Same phrase, *Gn. Ded.* 7; *V.* xi. 25. 5.

46. 'Make you mery glee.' Cf. 'to make their sports and merrie glee,' *VI.* ix. 41. 2; cf. *S. C. D.* 139; *II.* viii. 6. 9; *VII.* vii. 39. 1. The phrase 'make glee' at *S. C.* May 282; *I.* ix. 14. 1; *VI.* i. 46. 3; *viii.* 37. 1; *ix.* 4. 2; *x.* 10. 8.

47. 'Mery glee is now laid all abed.' So 'All that goodly glee . . . Is layd abed,' *T. M.* 181.

48. 'Mery maker' not elsewhere, but 'merry-make' occurs four times. 'Alasse! is dead.' So *S. C. N.* 58; cf. 38.

49. 'Worlds delight.' Same at *I.* vii. 39. 1; *V.* xi. 62. 5; *Com. Son.* iv. 10; *H. B.* 16.

50. 'Robbed you and reft fro me my joy.' Cf. 'Robbed of sense, and ravished with joy,' *Ti.* 321; 'Him of life, and us of joy hath reft,' *I.* vi. 39. 6.

52. 'Hath robd of joyance, and left sad annoy.' Cf. 'Is this the timely joy . . . now turnd to sad annoy,' *VI.* iii. 4. 9; cf. *III.* vi. 24. 7. 'Annoy' is a favorite word with Spenser in the close of a cadence.

53. 'Joy of the world.' Cf. *S. C. Au.* 193; *Ti.* 303; *I.* vii. 39. 1. 'Shepheards pride' occurs at *S. C. N.* 198; *Col.* 439.

54. 'Hope never like againe to see.' Similar phrase at *II.* xi. 40. 9, and elsewhere.

55. 'Such riches.' Sidney was also the 'worlde's chiefst riches' at *Ti.* 675.

58. 'Shadow of his likenesse.' 'Shadow' in like sense at *III.* viii. 10. 8; *V.* ix. 27. 5; *Am.* xxxv. 14.

60. 'Like a shade.' So. *VII.* vii. 46. 4.

61-4. Same figure of mortal of angelic race adorned with celestial grace, applied to Lady Douglas Howard, *D.* 211-7. See n. on ll. 67-90. 'Immortal spirit' at *Ti.* 673; *H. B.* 107. 'Celestial grace' at *Ti.* 289; *D.* 211; *II.* iii. 25. 6; *III.* vi. 4. 7.

62. 'Deckt With all the dowries of celestiall grace.' Cf. 'Adorn'd with . . . all the dowries of a noble mind,' *D.* 216.

63. 'Soveraine choyce.' So 'sovereign (=divine) grace,' *H. B.* 17; 'bounty,' *H. H. L.* 223; 'mercy,' *H. H. L.* 257, and a dozen others.

64. 'Lineally deriv'd.' Similar phrase at *III.* iv. 3. 9; ix. 36. 1; 38. 7, etc. 'From angels race.' Same phrase at *D.* 213, and same idea, a favorite with Spenser, at *IV.* iii. 39. 7; *Am.* lxi. 6; *Proth.* 66; cf. *I.* iii. 8. 9; *III.* iii. 22. 8.

67. 'It is not dead, ne can it die.' For phrasing see *Ti.* 260; *IV.* iii. 30. 6.

68. 'Lives for aie in blisfull Paradise.' Cf. 'live for aye above,' *Ti.* 396; 'with Him to live for ay,' *D.* 236; also *L.* 403; *II.* x. 40. 1.

67-90. This Platonic passage, with modifications in the manner of Apuleius, is wholly Spenserian. See the very similar apotheosis at *H. L.* 273-93. These are not wanting in reminiscence of the Adonis myth: cf. *III.* i. 34-6, and notes on lines 29 and 88. For the 'forms' and 'aspects' in Venus' heavenly house see *III.* vi. 12. 1-5, of which the thought is essentially the same as that reflected in lines 60-4 of this poem.

70. 'Bed of lillies' also at *II.* iii. 22. 6; v. 32. 3. Lilies are associated with roses and violets at *Gn.* 667; *Proth.* 30-3. 'Wrapt' in this sense is common in Spenser.

70-2. 'In bed of lillies wrapt,' etc. With this, the best passage of the poem, cf. 'In her bed her lay; Lay her in lillies and violets,' *Epith.* 301-2.

73. 'Thousand birds.' Cf. *VII.* vii. 28. 4. 'Celestial brood.' Cf. similar phrases cited in note on line 64.

74. 'Caroll day and night.' So 'caroling her name both day and night,' *VI.* ix. 9. 8.

75. 'Strange notes.' Also at *III.* xii. 6. 2. 'Well understood,' at *D.* 176; *VI.* ii. 44. 2; iv. 12. 7; *Am.* xlviii. 3.

76. 'Lull him a sleep.' The phrase common in Spenser—*S. C.* Au. 155; N. 4; *D.* 71; etc. With the whole line cf. 'In the lap of soft delight Beene long time luld,' *T. M.* 301; also *III.* Pr. 4. 9; 'Angelick' so stressed at *Am.* lxxxiii. 8. 78. 'Immortall beauties, which no eye may see.' Cf. *H. H. B.* 13. The idea is frequent in the four hymns.

80. 'Appearing plaine.' Common in Spenser—I. ii. 39. 2; *II.* xii. 64. 7; *IV.* vi. 29. 7; xi. 1. 7; etc.

81. 'Kindling love in him above all measure.' A combination of phrases found in *I.* ix. 9. 4; *VII.* vii. 45. 3; *H. H. B.* 5; and *IV.* ix. 21. 4.

82. 'Sweet love' occurs a dozen times. Such sharp juxtaposition of pain and pleasure is frequent; cf. *III.* viii. 2. 4.

83. 'Goodly forme.' Also at *Van.* iii. 6; *V.* iii. 25. 8.

84. 'Jealous rancor.' Cf. 'With fell rancor or fond gealosy,' *III.* i. 18. 2.

85. 'There liveth he in everlasting blis.' Cf. 'Where he now liveth in eternall blisse,' *Ti.* 265; same at III. vi. 48. 1; 'live in lasting blisse,' IV. x. 23. 5.

88. 'Salvage beasts.' Also at *As.* 82; I. iii. 42. 2, etc.—some dozen times. The line is another reminiscence of the Adonis myth of *As.*

89. 'Wretches, waile his private lack.' Similar phrasing at I. v. 45. 9; III. iv. 38. 6. With objective 'his' cf. 'her lacke,' *D.* 368; 'thy lacke,' *Col.* 17.

90. 'Vaine vowes.' So at I. xxi. 19. 6; II. xi. 18. 8; IV. iv. 16. 6.

91. With this contrast cf. 'More happie thou, and wretched wee,' *Ti.* 330. 'Happie, happie spirit.' Cf. 'Live, happie spirits,' *Ro.* Env. 13; also *Ti.* 295; IV. ii. 34. 1. 'Happy' is often reiterated in Spenser.

92. 'Give us leave thee here thus to lament.' So 'Give leave to him . . . to lament his losse,' *Ti.* 676.

93. 'Thy heavens joy inherit.' Cf. 'To highest heaven, where now he doth inherite All happinesse,' *Ti.* 383: 'heavenly tabernacles there inherit,' *Epith.* 422. 'Heavens joy'; cf. *Ti.* 303.

94. 'In dole are dreant.' Cf. 'in dolour dreant,' *T. M.* 210.

95. 'Weep and waile' is frequent in Spenser often with a third member: *T. M.* 598; *As.* 207; *Am.* xviii. 13. 'Wear our eies' does not occur elsewhere, but those in affliction wear the night, V. vi. 26. 1; days, IV. viii. 15. 7; years, *Hub.* 59.

After so tedious, though incomplete a list of parallels, there can be no doubt that the 'dolefull lay of Clorinda' is in its finest fibre Spenserian. Only three words not found in the Concordance occur in the poem—'unremedied' (8), 'merry-maker' (48), 'devourer' (49), and each of these is essentially represented there by corresponding noun or verb.

Yet for all its Spenserian word and phrase and cadence, it is below the quality of even the poet's most perfunctory verse, not only, as I have said, in tone and timbre, but in movement and import. Though Spenser at times is repetitious, I do not recall that elsewhere he is so ineffectively so as in lines 25 to 60. I cannot help thinking that this alteration of his natural melody was deliberate. Dr. Long cites what he considers an analogous case of impersonation by the poet in *Daphnaida*, where Spenser laments in the person of Arthur Gorges. There seems, however, to be this difference between that instance and the one before us, that no one was ever deceived by the impersonation of Gorges, and every one for three hundred years and more has been deceived by this of Clorinda. The first was a clear instance of transparent impersona-

tion; whereas in the case of Clorinda the lament, though separated from *Astrophel* only by a large initial, appears in close association with other laments acknowledged by their various authors. When, therefore, Spenser says that she began her lay

Which, least I marre the sweetness of the vearse,
In sort as she it sung I will rehearse,

he means to deceive as many of his own generation and succeeding ones as he can, and one must admit that he has been fairly, and, as it now seems, strangely successful.

To this end he attempted a qualification and cloaking of his natural tone to something more feminine and tenuous, and he has this in mind when he says, 'least I marre the sweetnesse of the vearse, In sort as she it sung.' This alteration will be more easily perceived by one who sympathetically reads aloud in succession the *Astrophel* and the 'Doleful Lay,' together with the interlude of two stanzas, which are obviously Spenser's own. With exquisite effect his usual energy is tempered in the three lovely lines:

In bed of lillies wrapt in tender wise,
And compast all about with roses sweet,
And daintie yiolets from head to feet.

Any comparison of the 'Doleful Lay' with the very few original poems by the Countess Mary points directly to her innocence of it.² The only other pastoral attributed to her is found in the Davisons' *Poetical Rhapsody*, ed. A. H. Bullen, 1. 40-2. It is *A Dialogue between two Shepherds, Thenot and Piers, in praise of Astrea*, and a note in the first edition says that it was 'made by the excellent Lady, the Lady Mary Countess of Pembroke, at the Queen Majesty's being at her house at —, Anno 15**.' It is thought to have been written in anticipation of a visit which never took place. At all events the Countess would have done her best against such an occasion, but the poem not only bears no resemblance to the lay, but reveals nothing of the peculiar cleverness which would have been necessary to so close and skilful an imitation of Spenser as the poet seems to have made of himself.

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² On her works see A. Luce, *The Countess of Pembroke's Antonie*, Weimar, 1897, pp. 1-38.

SHELLEY'S ODE TO THE WEST WIND

Why did Shelley choose the West Wind, and set it apart from and above all the rest in his great ode?

It is easy to understand why wind in the abstract,—any strong, swift, masterful wind,—must have had an especial attraction for a poet of Shelley's temperament. He recognized that there was something in his own uncontrolled nature originally akin to a creature so "tameless and swift and proud." Shelley, moreover, was peculiarly alive to the tireless energy, the incessant and intricate activity of force in creation, and for him the different forms in which this protean activity manifested itself had a positive personality. The dull, dense mass of matter is constantly represented by him as "plastic,"—as being outwardly changed, or shaped, or driven by force, or spirit. The cloud, in the poem which we naturally associate with the *Ode to the West Wind*, is brought before us living and acting, and our thoughts are directed to it as a force in the moving scheme of things. As a poet of Nature, Shelley is thus often dynamic when even Wordsworth is comparatively static. Shelley is absorbed in the thought of Nature at work and he views the world not merely as a visionary appearance mysteriously illuminated with the indwelling Divine life, but as the shifting expression of underlying and interacting forces, which he individualizes as personal powers.

But while this may explain Shelley's sense of kinship to the wind, his preference for the West Wind remains to be accounted for.

We know that the *Ode* was not a purely imaginative production; it was not suggested by the thought of the West Wind in general. It was the outcome of a definite personal experience, which Shelley describes with some minuteness in his note to the poem. The *Ode* "was conceived and chiefly written," Shelley tells us "in a wood that skirts the Arno near Florence." A "tempestous" West Wind had been blowing throughout the day, and "at sunset" there was "a violent tempest of hail and rain, attended by that magnificent thunder and lightning peculiar to the Cisalpine regions." Shelley seems to have spent the greater part of the day out-of-doors, absorbed by the power and magnificence of the spectacle, and the im-

mediate source of his inspiration is not the storm, impressive as it was, but the work of the West Wind at a certain time and place. But while it is true that the immediate inspiration is thus concrete and local, the poem gains breadth from the fact that Shelley rises from his thought of one particular manifestation of the power of the West Wind, to the conception of the power of the West Wind in general, to an appreciation of its personality and its peculiar office and place in the wider life of the natural world. It is only when we study the poem from what we may call the meteorological aspect, that we arrive at a full sympathy with the poet's idea.

We must remember that the *Ode* was composed in a region ruled throughout the greater part of the year by the westerly winds. During the Summer, the wind often sweeps into Italy hot and dry from the South, but with the Autumnal equinox comes the West wind from the Atlantic, heavy with moisture and putting Summer to rout with storms and Autumnal rains. It is this "wild, west wind" whose coming means the end of Summer, that is first invoked. Shelley's whole nature is roused and exalted not only by the power of the wind, or the violence of the storm; he is fascinated by the realization that he is present at a turning point in the life of the year. From his post in a wood near the Arno, he watches the West Wind gather his forces for the final victory. Through the day this "tempestuous wind whose temperature is at once mild and animating, was collecting the vapors which pour down the Autumnal rains." By sunset, as the poet anticipated, all things were ready for the final contest and then followed that "violent tempest" which marked the end of Summer, the beginning of the rainy season, and the assumption of his kingdom by the West Wind, that is literally the very "breath of Autumn's being."

But the West Wind has a double significance for the poet. On the western coast of Italy it performs two strikingly contrasted missions; it ends the Summer, but it also brings in the Spring. During the early part of February, the conqueror of Summer returns to conquer Winter; it comes to bring life as, a few months earlier, it has brought death. Few passages in Latin poetry are more familiar, or more charming, than those which celebrate the return of *Favonius*, or *Zephyrus*, this favorable (*faveo*), or life-bringing wind of the Spring. Lucretius pays his tribute to "winged Zephyrus," "veris praenuntius" (*De Rerum Nat.* 5. 737); and Vergil (*Georg.* 1. 44.), Catullus (46. 2.), and Horace (*Car.* 1. 4. and 4. 7.)

are among those who join in the chorus of praise. The moderns follow the lead of the ancients, and Chaucer pictures Zephyrus reviving the "tender croppes" with his "sweete Breethe," or Milton looks forward to the time when Favonius will reinspire the frozen earth.

Now Shelley invokes the West Wind of Autumn, but while the dead leaves are driven before it and the storm is approaching, there rises before him a vision of the West Wind of the Spring. Shelley's tribute to this Spring West Wind is not only charming, perhaps above all the others, in its delicate grace, and wealth of poetic suggestion, but so far as I can recall, it differs in one respect from all the rest. To him, this wind of the blue vernal heaven, is the "azure sister" of the rough wind of Autumn. She is the feminine complement of the same power, working with her "impetuous" brother by bringing to life the "winged seeds" which he has "charioted" to their wintry beds, and so preserved. The West Wind is thus glorified above other winds, because of its office as "destroyer and preserver"; because this wind which drives the dead leaves to corruption, is akin to that other West Wind which quickens the dreaming earth to life.

Up to this point, or throughout the first division of the poem, Shelley has been chiefly occupied with the West Wind's task on the earth, as he watched it visibly at work around him, or as he went beyond the present and imagined it coming in the Spring. The second division treats of the Wind in the heaven, and here he is still thinking of its local and apparent activity as it is present before his eyes. But in the third part, he leaves his particular point of observation, his thought passes beyond the wood with its trees stripped of leaves, its heaven of flying cloud, its signs of the coming storm, and his imagination takes a wider flight. He sees the West Wind at work on the water, as he has seen its impress on earth and sky. He sees it as in a vision troubling the water off the coast many miles to the Southward, rousing the tranquil Mediterranean from his summer dreams, and then, detaching himself more completely from its local and special manifestations, he follows it in its course across the expanse of ocean. He invokes the wind—

For whose path the Atlantic's level powers
Cleave themselves into chasms.

Is this solemn invocation addressed to a wind that merely hap-

pened to come from the West, and which therefore must have passed over the Atlantic? Does not Shelley rather recognize here, as throughout the *Ode*, the personality and the especial office of the wind he is addressing? The passage just quoted seems hardly applicable to a wind whose activities are merely local, temporal, and incidental. Winds shift and veer, but over a certain region of the North Atlantic the West Wind is King. A "turbulent ruler," as Joseph Conrad calls him in his sailor-like study of the East and West winds in his *Mirror of the Sea*, but nevertheless a beneficent one. It is this masterful wind, the rain-bringing wind, that has made the British Isles and Northwestern Europe what they are; it is this wind that is the home-coming wind of Conrad's sketch and of Tennyson's lullaby—the "wind of the Western sea." "The narrow seas around these isles," Conrad writes, "where British admirals keep watch and ward upon the marches of the Atlantic ocean, are subject to the turbulent sway of the west wind. Clothed in a mantle of dazzling gold and draped in rags of black clouds like a beggar, the might of the Westerly Wind sits enthroned upon the Western horizon with the whole North Atlantic as a footstool for his feet, and the first twinkling stars making a diadem for his brow." Shelley's invocation to the West Wind as one whose path is across the level Atlantic, gains in meaning when we remember that the West Wind does not traverse it as an alien adventurer, as a maurader from without, he moves over it as a king in his royal progress. Circling the globe in this northern belt as he does in the southern, this region of the "roaring forties" is a king's highway ordained and set apart for him.

To Shelley, then, the western wind had a definite character and office. Tameless, swift, proud, uncontrollable, even fierce—it was yet above all the spirit of power; the spirit that in sweeping away the old brought in the new, the wind that was both radical and conservative, both destroyer and preserver; that showed us death as but a transitional phase of life. May we not say that if Shelley had written an ode to any other wind, while it might have been equally good, it would, of necessity, have been utterly different. His words apply to this particular wind and to no other, for in this matter also—

The east is east and the west is west,
And never the twain shall meet.

REVIEWS

The Power of Dante. By C. H. GRANDGENT, L. H. D. Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1918. 248 pp.

In the first of this series of lectures Professor Grandgent answers the question: "What . . . is the source of Dante's enduring power?" and concludes that, while the mediæval mind was probably attracted chiefly by the allegory and the instruction to be derived from the works of Dante, the modern reader is attracted and impressed rather by the Faith, Morality, Temperament, Experience, Vision, Conception, Workmanship, Diction of the author, attributes which are manifest in his works, and which provide the titles for these eight lectures.

The answer is artificially framed, and would seem to ignore the fact—which perhaps seemed too obvious to state—that the one chief cause of the enduring power of Dante's works is their great beauty, which has consciously or unconsciously affected people of all times, and without which no degree of cleverness and no number of good qualities in the author would have availed to produce that effect. The great beauty of the works consists in the expression of larger and clearer intuitions of truth than are to be found elsewhere, and is its own explanation. In it consists the personality of the author as far as we can know it, and for this reason expressions which seem to mean that Mr. Grandgent has ransacked the works for information about the author, or which consider Dante's intellectual side separately from his artistic side (*cf.* pp. 67-68), seem to me unhappy. What Mr. Grandgent has done is to describe and interpret the beauty of the works, often in subtle detail, and this he has done so well that it need not concern us much that he has placed the whole in a conventional frame, and frequently seems to pretend that he is speaking less of the works than of the person who centuries ago happened to write them. These lectures are models of clarity and economy in choosing the essential and neglecting the unessential. We see here that talent for sobriety which was so well illustrated in the introductions to the *cantiche* and *cantos* of the

Divine Comedy in the American edition—a talent which is also particularly Dantesque, and how can one praise it more?

The first lecture, on *Faith*, presents us with Dante's own examination in the *Paradise*, followed by a clear exposition of the doctrine of justice, which is the will of God; the reconciliation of free will and predestination, with its limitations; the mystery of the unity and universality of God; that of the Trinity, and of the divinity and humanity of Christ. Then follows the mystery of the creation,—and perhaps it would have been well to explain that here we have the solution of the doubt expressed in the *Convivio* regarding the origin of "prima materia"—and then the fall of the angels and of man, and the redemption of man, whose actual salvation depends on his state of mind at the moment of death, a matter well illustrated by the different fate of Federico and Buonconte da Montefeltro.

The second lecture, *Morality*, expounds Dante's view of sin and the responsibility that depends on freedom of choice. Evil is real; we are attracted to it only when it seems good to us—perhaps this latter point might have been made clearer—but we have a conscience to warn us that we are being deceived, and if we choose against the advice of conscience we are guilty. "Temptation is man's lot. Without it indeed, he would have no active free will, because there would be no choice to make." Temptation, however, for the souls in Purgatory, is not the same thing as for souls on earth, so that the episode of the serpent in Purgatory is not so good an illustration as Dante's vision of the siren, both of which are given as examples. In the latter, Vergil representing Reason exposes the siren, but the relation between Reason and Conscience is not explained. Excellent is the explanation of the necessity of Dante's journey through Hell and Purgatory, and that of the classes of sins in the two realms. Dante "seems to have regarded pride as his besetting sin," it is said (p. 54), and if so it must have been pride of intellect rather than pride of art and of birth, if we are to judge by the words of *Purg.*, xxvi, 19-24, which precede the approach of Diomed and Ulysses; but what of the fire that purges "lussuria," through which the poet is obliged to pass? The emotional effects of the various penalties are carefully valued, for example, the ridiculous quality of sins committed for money; and it might be added that the mutilation, as well as the distortion, of the

human form is clothed with a peculiar horror: cf. the canto of Bertrand de Born as well as the punishment of the soothsayers (p. 62).

In the third lecture, *Temperament*, certain mental attributes in the *Comedy* and the other works are studied as characteristics of the poet: his "intensity," curiosity, and consequent "ardent study"; his intellectual honesty, righteous indignation, and hatred; his amorousness, gratitude, courtesy, and love of family life. The author sees in Dante's passage through the fire the allegory of his "rescue . . . from an unworthy passion"; but since the office of that fire is to purge souls of the vicious tendency to lust, one might suppose that the episode only indicates that same tendency in Dante.

Mr. Grandgent believes that in the *Convivio* Dante is trying to represent his love for the "donna gentile" as purely allegorical. This matter is taken up again in more detail in the sixth lecture, *Conception*, where it is said that "it is evident that when Dante wrote the *Banquet*, he wished his readers to believe that *all* the verses were symbolical, that there never was a sympathetic lady of flesh and blood." To me this supposed intention is so far from "evident" that it seems incredible. The poet would be attempting to persuade his readers of something which many of them knew to be untrue. The allegorical interpretation of *Voi che intendendo* is here given in full (p. 180) and considered to the exclusion of the literal; but in the *Convivio* we have, besides the commentary on the literal sense, an introductory account of this love-affair, which refers the reader to the previous story in the *Vita Nuova*, and then continues and completes that story. This introductory account—like the other introduction which, later on, precedes the commentary on the allegorical sense—is evidently to be taken as a statement of facts. If Dante had meant, in the *Convivio*, to give the impression that the story of the *Vita Nuova* was allegorical, he could not have avoided explaining why, in the *Vita Nuova*, he had virtuously turned his back on the "donna gentile."

Mr. Grandgent says that in the "ballata" *Voi che sapete* "the fiction is still more obvious" than in *Voi che intendendo*. To me the latter part of the "ballata," which represents the lady as utterly pitiless, is intended to emphasize the changed attitude of the "donna gentile," who at first had been all pity. It would be interesting to know whether our author considers the sonnet *Parole*

mie (in which *Voi che intendendo* is quoted) and the answer to it, *O dolci rime*, as purely allegorical; the sum of the impression made by all these poems on me is that the love-affair with the "donna gentile" was not different from most love-affairs, that it had its episodes and disappointments.

Under the title *Experience* the fourth lecture illustrates the external information we have about the life and times of the poet, with the abundant light shed by the works, but it is in the remaining four lectures that the reader reaps the most advantage and pleasure from the "lungo studio e il grande amore" of the author. Under *Vision* we are shown with frequent and well-chosen examples the extraordinary lucidity of Dante's imagination, and how readily it was awakened by apparently insignificant items of his reading or, presumably, of his other experiences. Under *Conception* we see what the plan of the *Divine Comedy* owes to its main sources and to the poet's devoted love of symmetry and allegory, the latter illustrated in *Tre donne*, *Voi che intendendo*, *Amor che nella mente*, and *Voi che sapete*. The date of the *Vita Nuova* is given as 1293 or 1294 (pp. 156 and 166), without comment; a dating which is more than debatable.

The last two lectures, *Workmanship* and *Diction*, examine the technique of Dante's poetical art, and will help many readers to appreciate beauties they might easily miss. Dante's economy of words, symmetry, and adherence to plan—"the check of art"—in composing a poem, is excellently described, as are also his use of antithesis and dramatic climaxes; his faculty of arousing surprise, suspense, apprehension, curiosity, and his ability in suggesting mystery. The great difficulty in conveying an adequate impression of the musical qualities of the verse is overcome with the aid of well-chosen illustrations. In the account of Dante's rhetorical theory, full justice is not done to his definition of the "tragic style" (pp. 237-8 and 240-1), for it is not enough to explain "majesty of the lines," "construction," and "excellence of the words," without explaining what is meant by their "harmony" with "the gravity of the subject." It is this unifying "harmony" that makes the "tragic style," a term which includes both form and content,—or so it seems to those who agree with Vittorio Rossi in his article on the *Dolce stil nuovo*.

All the lectures are profusely illustrated by translations, most of

which are new, a few having already appeared in Mr. Grandgent's *Dante* (New York, 1916) and in *The Ladies of Dante's Lyrics* (Cambridge, 1917). They are worthy of the best tradition of New England translations of the poet, and how much greater is their enduring value than that of the stereopticon views which serve a similar purpose in many popular lectures! The prose translations are wonderfully accurate, perhaps too accurate sometimes, since the determination to be faithful leads now and then to awkward expressions such as "I am sweet Siren who bewitch sailors in mid sea" (p. 35), and "I lingered to stare at the crowd, and saw something which, without further proof, I should be afraid to tell unaccompanied" (p. 80).

Some of the translations, both in verse and prose, are open to criticism of the interpretation which informs them. The interpretation by Torraca of *Purg.*, v, 112-114, supported as it is by an appropriate passage from St. Thomas, seems to me far preferable to that adopted on p. 28. The words of *Purg.*, III, 124-126, are translated (p. 31):

And if Cosenza's shepherd, who was sped
By Clement on my track, revenge to reap,
That page of holy writ had rightly read,

but "holy writ" has not been referred to before, and I do not think that Dante intended to use that metaphor. The original "Avesse, in Dio, ben letta questa faccia" means, I think, 'had well perceived this aspect of God'; that is, the clemency of God, which is suggested by the Pope's name, "Clement." The verb *leggere* has here a Latin meaning like that of the Old French *choisir*. In "Ahi, Pisa, vituperio delle genti," "vituperio" probably means *dishonor, shame*, and if so "accursed of the peoples" (p. 120) is incorrect. "Would it might be thus" (p. 121) is probably a slip for 'would it were thus,' to translate "così foss' ei, da che pur esser dee!" Surely "cercar" in "Che m'han fatto cercar lo tuo volume" means *search*, not "seek out"? (p. 239). "I, looking, saw a banner, which ran circling so swift that it seemed scornful of all rest" (p. 45) preserves the generally accepted interpretation of "mi pareva indegna," but since Dante uses *indegno* also in the other sense, 'unworthy,' I cannot see why one should choose the less common meaning, which is incongruous here because it confers some dignity upon the personified "banner."

The translation I should prefer would be: 'it seemed condemned never to rest' (because judged unworthy of rest). On p. 239, Vergil "looks faint from long silence," a difficult expression to understand. He might *seem* faint, because he had hitherto remained silent, but it seems to me that the best interpretation would be *faint-voiced*, the first meaning in Italian. He seemed to be having difficulty in making himself heard, like one who had long been silent: allegorically the important thing is the *voice* of reason. The preposition "on" in "my sacred poem, *on* which Heaven and earth have set their hand" (p. 111), suggests a benediction, whereas the sense of the original is that heaven and earth have both contributed to the poem. The translation (p. 187):

A thing so strange that (by thy constant light!)
It never was conceived at any time.

may be correct; but, if so, the poet has used, in the second *che* of the sentence, an astonishingly colloquial construction. Probably "luce" is here a verb, and we should read 'forma' for "ferma." (Cf. *Il Canzoniere Vat. Barb. Lat.* 3953, ed. G. Lega, Bologna, 1905, p. 48, and *De Vulg. Eloq.*, II, 13.) "The speech of Vergil was the real ground" (p. 244) is no doubt a misprint for "*Thy* speech."

But if there are, here and there, opportunities for what may seem fretfully minute criticism, the verse translation as a whole is admirable, for it is not only good poetry, but in it are the spirit and music of Dante, which have become Mr. Grandgent's own. The poems are not all equally successful, but the difficulties of translation are varied. One may think that the expression "grassy leaves," and the choice of the word "lass" for "donna," which has necessarily to be repeated in every stanza of *Al poco giorno*, are not of the happiest, but it is a fact that to translate that "sestina" is almost to perform a miracle. Often the effect of the original is so like that of the English that one realizes with joy that reader and translator are sharing the intuition and the accompanying sensations that the author of the original must himself have had; for example (p. 225):

Now we had come where we could hear the drum
Of echoing waters tumbling down below,
Which rumbled like the busy beehive's hum.

Second only in difficulty to that of the "sestina" mentioned

above is the translation of *Io son venuto al punto della rota*, in which there is no resulting harshness (p. 191) :

The springs pour out their waters mistily,
 Pusht forth by vapors hidden down below,
 Which mother earth's abysses upward thrust.
 The path on pleasant days so sweet to me,
 Is now a running stream, and long shall flow;
 For while the winter warreth flow it must.
 Enamel-like the ground puts on a crust;
 And stagnant water quickly turns to glass,
 Lockt out of doors by petrifying frost.

O song, what shall become of me when spring
 Shall come renewed and sweet, when Love shall fall
 Like rain from all the skies to hearts untold,
 If now, despite the cold,
 Love dwells in me, and nowhere else at all.

Less difficult externally, but delicately sympathetic, as the original demanded, is the following (p. 221) :

As harp or viol, tuned to harmony
 Of many strings, doth tinkle sweet and shy
 To one who catches not the melody,
 Thus from the lights appearing in the sky
 There swept along the Cross a strain of song
 That baffled sense, but lifted me on high.

And splendid, as in the original, which begins:

Ecco la fiera con la coda aguzza

is the swing and sound of the description of Gerion (p. 133) :

Behold the creature with the pointed tail,
 Which crosses mountains, shatters plate and wall—
 The one whose stench makes all the world to ail.

No better essays in translation of Dante have been written.

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La Chançon de Willame, an edition of the unique manuscript of the poem with vocabulary and table of proper nouns. Edited by ELIZABETH STEARNS TYLER, M. A., Ph. D. New York, Oxford University Press, 1919.

It is peculiarly fitting that attention be called to this book, because in the summer of 1918 Dr. Tyler went to France to do Red Cross work and died there last February while stationed at Sedan. That this *Chançon de Willame*, whose most distinctive feature is the picture it gives of the heroic Guibure, should have found for its first American editor a woman, and a woman also capable of heroic deeds, is a striking coincidence.

The mere making available to students of French of this "complete edition of the *Chançon de Willame*" (p. vi, n.), is no small accomplishment. But Dr. Tyler deserves more than simple praise for having done this. "If this edition of the manuscript," she says (p. xvii), "will lead to a deeper study of the poem and to a wider appreciation—and enjoyment—of its beauty, the edition will have proved its *raison d'être*." The more seriously, therefore, we examine her work, the more we shall honor her.

For Dr. Tyler the *Chançon de Willame* is not, as for Suchier, simply the first 1982 lines, but the whole of the manuscript of 3356 lines, first published in a limited edition by the Chiswick Press in 1903. Dr. Tyler has compared this first edition with a facsimile of the manuscript, and given us a revised text with modern punctuation and capitalization, and the diacritical marks usually found in critical editions. The text is also emended "to suggest by means of notes, parentheses, and italics a smooth, comprehensible reading of the poem" (p. xiv), the "normal page" still keeping before the reader the text of the manuscript. Dr. Tyler has done, therefore, much more than is promised us by the editor of *Les Classiques Français du moyen âge*, who announced in 1913 (*Rom.*, p. 473) that there would appear in the near future an edition of the *Chançon de Willame* which would put "*à la disposition de tous les travailleurs le contenu du précieux manuscrit de Chiswick*."

In preparing her emendations, Dr. Tyler has, naturally, made use of the works of her predecessors. Her use of them has not, however, been servile, and it is much to her credit that we note from time to time a reading that appeals to us more even than

that of Suchier. We are glad to see that the first hemistich of line 485, for example: *ne vus esmaez*, has been emended to read: *n'esmaez vus*, following the suggestion of Rechnitz rather than of Suchier: *ne vus tameir*. Again in line 1636: "Sur els devom (nus) uostre maltalant turner," Dr. Tyler happily suggests *haür* for *maltalant*, recalling perhaps the words of Ganelon in the Roland: "*Rollanz sis nies me coillit en haür*." This seems decidedly preferable to Suchier's *faide*. The troublesome lines 474 to 483, inclusive, in which *a—e* and *e—e* assonances are mixed, Dr. Tyler presents as one *laisse* (LII), whereas Suchier makes two *laisses* of them (LII and LIII). In consonance with this is Dr. Tyler's emendation of line 1832: "*E sun halberc li runt e desmaele*," to read: "*E sun halberc li desrunt e desmaillet*," even tho the twelve words in assonance with *desmaillet* all present an open *e*. Suchier emends the second hemistich: *li runt e desclavele*, recalling perhaps the line in the *Coven. Vivien*, 1,595: *E son hauberc desront et desclavele*. In many cases we should be glad if Dr. Tyler had added more notes explanatory of her readings, but as her primary purpose was to offer a text for those who "read for the story" (p. ix), these have been reduced to a minimum. In this particular case we can divine, as again in line 2130, where the same emendation is made under the same conditions, that Dr. Tyler believed that some irregularities might be allowed the old poet. She may have recalled that Gaston Paris in his *Extraits* of the *Chanson de Roland* leaves the word *main* in a *laisse* in *e* (l. 2264).

In line 836 I am tempted to see a purely typographical error in the note *geter*, altho the same form is again found in the Vocabulary (p. 161). Probably Suchier's suggestion *reter* was meant in both cases. It is difficult to see what *geter* added (?) to the "normal page" line would mean: *Allas, peccable, n'en puis, home gent!* whereas Suchier's emended line: *A, las, pechables, n'en puis home reter*, is at least formally correct and intelligible.

In line 254, the position of the quotation mark at the beginning of the line raises some interesting questions. Rechnitz interpreted lines 253-54:

Done dist Tedbalz: "Qu'en löez, Vivieni,
De la bataille? Car ore ja vient bien."

allowing an *enjambement* as he does also in lines 570-71 and 747-48. Suchier likewise admits the *enjambement*, but recognizes the second hemistich of line 254 as the answer of Vivien: "*Ai or, ja l'avrum*

bien!" while the reading of Rechnitz leaves Vivien's question unanswered. Dr. Tyler, on the contrary, sees no *enjambement*, but makes the whole line Vivien's answer: "*De la bataille! Car ore l'avrum bien!*" When so long a step has been taken toward a critical edition by punctuation, it would seem easy to go a step farther and differentiate the vowel and consonant *u* and *i*. This would certainly have contributed to the popularizing of the text.

In line 1840: *Que l'os del col li bruse e esmuille*, it is not quite clear whether Dr. Tyler adopted Suchier's emendation, *esmoület* < *esmoüler* = "das Mark herausschlagen." At any rate we might very well consider *esmuille* the equivalent of *esmulle* < *ex* + *modulare* on the analogy of *demoller* = *disloquer*, which still lives in Rabelais: *Es aultres demolloyt les reins* (I, 27, cf. Godefroy, DEMOLER); or, still more closely, on the analogy of *desmoller*, *desmouler*, of which Godefroy gives only the form "*desmolé, -ollé, -oulé, = déformé, abîmé,*" but which is still in Oudin "*au sens de déformer*" (Dict. Gen., DEMOULER). The word *mollé* = well-formed, is twice found in the *Chançon* (ll. 2226, 2750), so that it would not be far-fetched to attribute to the poet the compound *esmoller*. We could then read the hemistich with the *li* of the manuscript: *li bruiset e esmulle* (cf. Suchier: *bruiset e esmoület*). In line 1902, where Dr. Tyler follows Suchier in making *escure* the same verb as the *escure* (< *escutere*) in lines 777 and 1216, we should like to read *escure* < *escurrere*, and read *cors* = *course* as in line 2878 of the *Roland*: *Descent a piet alez i est plein cors*. The meaning would seem more appropriate, especially because of the *Le cure leist* which follows:

"Li bers Willame vit le païen venir,
Le cors escure, la grant hanste brandir,
(E) il tint s'espée devant en mi le vis;
Dunce l'en esgarde li reis de Sarazins,
Le cure leist, al petit pas s'est mis."

In line 2887 *estorterez* is given in the vocabulary as from *estorter*, to tease. Would it not be better to see here another example of *estordre*, of which *estortre* is a recognized variant?

"Si jo puis ja, vif ne m'estorterez."
Od sun bastun en ad quatre tuez.

The third conjugation future with an analogical *e* is familiar in this poem (cf. ll. 200, 208, 294, etc.).

These are but a few of the remarks which the reading of Dr. Tyler's text suggests. The subject of the composition of the *Chançon* is only casually treated, as might be expected from the general principle adopted of dispensing as far as possible with the display of erudition. Various brief notes call attention to possible *lacunae* and interpolations. The nearest approach to a statement of opinion on the subject of its composition is found in the note on line 1982: "Since Weeks made the suggestion in October, 1905, scholars agree that the older part of the chanson ends here." But if Suchier and Weeks agree with Dr. Tyler upon this point, other scholars view the whole question of the composition of the manuscript quite differently. Since Paul Meyer expressed the opinion that "en réalité il n'y aucune coupure dans le récit au v. 1857 ni aux environs" (*Rom.*, 1903, p. 598), this opinion has not ceased to find champions. Among these are the authors of the two more important articles (The Composition of the *Chançon de Willame* by Hugh A. Smith, *Romanic Review*, 1913, and *La Chanson de Roland et la Chançon de Willame* by M. Wilmotte in *Romania*, 1915) that have appeared since Suchier gave us the excellent bibliography of the *Chançon de Willame* in his edition of 1911, and which we should have been glad to see brought up to date in the volume before us.

The exigencies of the Great War may have prevented Dr. Tyler from providing her text with a fuller vocabulary. If the edition was designed especially for students outside the sphere of Old French, for folk-lorists, for historians seeking a picture of the Middle Ages, for "literary amateurs seeking beautiful poetry, wherever it may be found" (p. ix), as well as for students of Old French who "know probably the vocabulary of a text like Gaston Paris' *Extraits de la Chanson de Roland*" (p. xv), a more complete glossary would seem highly desirable. It might well be undertaken in memory of Dr. Tyler.

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Joyce Kilmer: Poems, Essays, and Letters, with a memoir by
ROBERT CORTES HOLLIDAY. New York: George H. Doran
Company, 1919. 2 vols.

The volumes before us are the revelation of an interesting and in some respects an unusual personality. In the outward events of Joyce Kilmer's life there is nothing to mark him off from thousands of young men of literary talent who find a place for themselves in our great metropolitan dailies. After college courses at Rutgers and Columbia, like many another in search of a living, Kilmer taught school for a season and eventually found his way into journalism, where he stayed till the War called him into the service, which, in August, 1918, was ended gloriously by death in action. It was a short, noble, and happy career, but there have been thousands like it in these two years of war.

It is rather in the inner events of Kilmer's life that we find the unusual and the correspondingly interesting. He joined the Roman Catholic communion at the age of twenty-seven, when most men have either become indifferent to the deeper claims of religion or have for some years become fixed in their religious convictions. In Kilmer's case the conversion went down to the very roots of his nature. He suggests the medieval ascetic so that one believes him when he writes to Father Daly: "I wish I had a stern medieval confessor—the sort of person one reads about in the anti-Catholic books—who would inflict real penances. The saying of Holy Marys and Our Fathers is no penance, it's a delight." He believes completely in the objective value of prayer, as "Prayer has given Rose [who was stricken with infantile paralysis and later died] the almost normal use of one arm and the power to sit up. And prayer will do more." One time he narrowly escaped death by trying to pass in front of a moving train, and he writes thus to Father Daly:

"It may interest you to know that I had received the Blessed Sacrament half an hour before the train struck me, and that to this fact I attribute my escape from death—since at this place where I was struck several men have been killed, being thrown forward and under the wheels, instead of (as I was) to one side." One inference from this remarkable statement is that none of those who were killed had partaken of the Sacrament. It is a specimen of reasoning as penetrating as that in which he held that the South was right in the Civil War because it was invaded! The genuine-

ness of his piety, which is, of course, not a matter of reasoning, is shown by the following words from a letter to Sister Emerentia: "Pray that I may love God more. It seems to me that if I can learn to love God more passionately, more constantly, without distraction, that absolutely nothing else can matter. Except while we are in the trenches I receive Holy Communion every morning, so it ought to be easier for me to attain this object of my prayers. I got Faith, you know, by praying for it. I hope to get Love the same way." And yet this genuine piety does not in any way conflict with certain joys of the flesh, for he says to his wife in a letter from France, "I don't want to be an hour's distance from the Biltmore grill and the Knickerbocker bar." And again to the same person he writes, "Well, here are the merriest, bravest drinking places in the world. If the States go dry, I'm going to bundle all you young critters over here to live—a comfortable, humorous, Catholic country."

Kilmer had a healthy love for all that was excellent in life and art and an utter contempt for all that was false and cheap. He despised the erotic and neurotic poets and artists and had small toleration for patriots at home who made a virtue of meatless and wheatless days. He enjoyed everything he did or he made the best of it, as when he wrote of his office work in France: "This is the pleasantest war I ever attended—nothing to do but fall in, fall out, pound a typewriter 13 hours a day and occasionally hike across France and back carrying a piano. However, I really do enjoy it." And when after two months intriguing to get a job that was not so bullet-proof he was attached to the Regimental Intelligence Section as an observer, the post that later brought him death, he said: "Now I am doing the work I love—and work you may be proud of. None of the drudgery of soldiering, but a double share of glory and thrills." Altogether a fine type of American.

The greater part of the second volume is taken up with letters to intimate friends and relatives, and apart from their furnishing a personal record of his thoughts and doings they are of no special interest to the reading public. Like some advertised articles in the "Lost Column" they have no value except to the owner. They are not particularly witty or wise and do not differ essentially from the letters of many another young man with less talent than Kilmer. They are rather disappointing to one who has read and enjoyed his rollicking narrative in *Holy Ireland*, his playful humor

in *A Bouquet for Jenny*, or his delightful satire in *The Inefficient Library*.

Mr. Holliday's characterization of Kilmer as a "belletristic journalist" is, I should say, more correct than his devoted friend and enthusiastic literary executor perhaps intended. The term denotes a journalist with a talent for *belles-lettres*, who writes poetry on the side, not a poet who has taken up journalism for a living. His poems nearly all suggest good newspaper "copy," even *Main Street* and *Trees*, which he said he could "honestly offer . . . to Our Lady, and ask her to present them, as the faithful work of her poor unskilled craftsman, to her Son." The former poem expresses very pleasantly the idea frequently played up in metropolitan verse, reminiscences of the country town of one's boyhood; all very well of its kind, but not a particularly high kind. *Trees*, according to Mr. Holliday, made Kilmer's reputation, and some of the stanzas are excellent. There is genuine feeling for the beauty of trees in

I think that I shall never see
A poem lovely as a tree; . . .
A tree that looks to God all day,
And lifts her leafy arms to pray; . . .
Upon whose bosom snow has lain;
Who intimately lives with rain.

But what shall we say of this stanza with a figure which surely does not suggest a tree to one's imagination?—

A tree whose hungry mouth is prest
Against the earth's sweet flowing breast;—

or of this one which has a figure which is decidedly unpleasant to a mind with somewhat earthly association?—

A tree that may in summer wear
A nest of robins in her hair.

But, of course, a rime was necessary.

One of the poems most justly praised is *The White Ships and the Red*, memorializing the sinking of the *Lusitania*, though it, too, was newspaper "copy." It voices the deep indignation not merely of the poet but of the nation, and in this is its merit. The other poems do not dig deep into life; they are the work of a man who has had no great experience. His war poems are too near the

event to be a concentration of what he had gone through, an expression of emotion recollected in tranquillity. His *Rouge Bouquet* is good, but there are hundreds just as good and many better. Perhaps if he had lived—and of how many may this be said, Seeger, Brooke, Ledwidge, and the rest—he would have fulfilled his own prophecy: “The only sort of book I care to write about the war is the sort people will read after the war is over! It will be episodic—chaotic, perhaps—no glib tale, no newspaper man’s work—but with God’s help, a work of art.”

And in the end one can but say that the more one reads Kilmer’s poems and letters and occasional pieces the more one admires the man, a fine manly type representing the best element in the A. E. F. There is not a word of complaint, not a note of pessimism, not a sign of fear; just sheer joy in his work and only sympathy for those who could not share his joy. For all this we are grateful to Mr. Holliday, who has executed his trust well.

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NOTES ON THE METAPHYSICAL POETS

DONNE (1). A very definite allusion to the poetry of John Donne in the first canto of Butler’s *Hudibras* seems hitherto to have escaped the notice of editors of both poets. In Part 1, Canto 1, 649-650, occurs the parenthetical remark,

As we find in sullen writs,
And cross-grained works of modern wits. . . .

The reference is, of course, to Donne’s *Progress of the Soul*, of which the last stanza begins thus:

Who ere thou beest that read’st this sullen Writ,
Which just so much courts thee as thou dost it.¹

It is amusing, by the way, to note the explanation Warburton furnished for Zachary Grey’s edition of *Hudibras*: “*sullen writs*. For Satirical Writings, well expressed, as implying, That such Writers as *Withers*, *Pryn*, and *Vicars* had no more than Ill-nature towards making a Satyrist.”² This is about on Warburton’s usual critical

¹ Grierson’s edition, I, 315.

² Grey’s *Hudibras*, ed. 1772, I, 70.

level, but it is only fair to recall that in the preface to his edition of Shakespeare, many years later, Warburton³ expressed a doubt whether in any learned language there had ever appeared "so execrable a heap of nonsense as the Grey edition of *Hudibras*!"⁴

DONNE (2). Donne's epigram upon an antiquary runs as follows:

If in his Studie he hath so much care
To hang all old strange things, let his wife beware.⁵

This may have suggested two lines in Dryden's *Upon the Death of Lord Hastings* (83-84),

Time's offals, only fit for the hospital!
Or to hang an antiquary's rooms withal.

CAREW. Professor Saintsbury, in his *Caroline Poets*, I (310), quotes from Edward Benlowes' *Theophila* (1652) as follows:

Betimes, when keen-breath'd winds, with frosty cream,
Periwig bald trees, glaze tattling stream. . . .

and adds in a note, "Of course Benlowes, though he added the absurdity of 'cream,' borrowed this from the famous locus of Sylvester which Dryden ridicules." A reference to the Dryden passage—p. 227 in the Scott-Saintsbury edition—will justify the main point of this remark. But it is not equally clear that Benlowes invented the "frosty cream." Twelve years earlier Carew, in *The Spring*, had written

no more the frost
Candies the grass, or casts an icy cream
Upon the silver lake or crystal stream.

DRYDEN (1). The much-ridiculed lines in Dryden's *Upon the Death of Lord Hastings*—

Each little pimple had a tear in it
To wail the fault its rising did commit,

are likely to be a reminiscence of stanza 70 of George Herbert's *The Church Porch*, which has these lines,—

In time of service seal up both thine eyes
And send them to thy heart: that spying sin
They may weep out the stains by them did rise.

DRYDEN (2). The second stanza of Dryden's *To the Pious Memory of the accomplished young lady Mrs Anne Killigrew* runs in part, thus:

But if thy pre-existing soul
Was formed at first, with myriads more,
It did through all the mighty poets roll

³ Preface, *ad fin.*

⁴ Grey's *Hudibras* had been published three years earlier.

⁵ Grierson's ed., I, 77.

And was that Sappho last which once it was before—
If so, then cease thy flight, O heaven-born mind!
Thou hast no dross to purge from thy rich ore.

An interesting parallel, if not a source, is Martial's address to Sulpicia, a Roman Anne Killigrew (XI, 6), in which the poet thus apostrophizes Sappho:

hac condiscipula vel hac magistra,
esses doctior et pudica, Sappho.

BUTLER. The familiar lines in *Hudibras* (Part 1, Canto 1, 165-6),

As if Divinity had catch'd,
The Itch, on purpose to be scratch'd,

may be an echo of the famous epigram, *Disputandi pruritus ecclesiarum scabies*. This saying has been ascribed to Sir Henry Wotton, upon whose tombstone it appears, with the assertion, *Hic jacet huius sententiae primus auctor*. Izaak Walton, who relates the circumstance, seems a little uneasy as to the accuracy of the statement, but makes the delightful apology that if Sir Henry did make a mistake on this point, it was because his mind "was then so fixed on that part of the communion of saints which is above, that an holy lethargy did surprise his memory."⁶

BEN. C. CLOUGH.

"FULL MANY A GEM"

Was Thomas Gray acquainted with the *Iter Boreale* of R. Wild, D.D. (1671)? This curious little volume of poems contains (p. 102) a poem from Mr. Nathan Wanley to Dr. Wild. Mr. Wanley reproaches his friend for hiding his light under a bushel, and says

So the bright taper useless burns
To private and recluded Urns,
So Pearls themselves to shells confine
And Gems in the Sea's bottom shine,
As thou my WILD while thou dost lie
Huddled up in thy privacy.

Dr. Wild is at all events not too reticent to give us an illuminating and frank picture of a poet in his workshop; on p. 117, in the midst of a funeral elegy, he admonishes himself thus,

I must be in a Rapture—not to be
Distracted is below his memory.

The rest of the poem is "distracted" enough to please the most exacting deceased person.

Readville, Mass.

BEN. C. CLOUGH.

⁶ Walton's *Lives*: Sir Henry Wotton.

SWINBURNE'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO *The Spectator* IN 1862

Between April and September 1862 Swinburne published in *The Spectator*, besides a number of prose articles, seven poems that were afterwards included in *Poems and Ballads*, 1866. It seems to have been generally assumed that the 1862 text of this group of poems is identical with the text of 1866, the more especially because Swinburne, in this unlike Wordsworth, Tennyson and other poets, very seldom altered in any way a poem once it was published. The only noteworthy exceptions to his custom in this matter, besides those to be considered here, are the short piece *Pastiche* and the "Prelude" and first canto of *Tristram of Lyonesse*—the text-variants of which poems may properly form the subject of a separate note. With regard to the *Spectator* poems, the text of only three—*Before Parting*, *A Song in Time of Revolution*, and *August*—remained unchanged. One—*After Death*—contains no alteration except that the questions that the second and third boards of the coffin ask are interchanged. The original text of the other three differs materially from that finally adopted. *A Song in Time of Order* (in the issue of April 26) contains eleven stanzas only instead of fourteen, those omitted (ix, x, and xiii) alluding to the red flag of revolution, to Pius IX, to "Buonaparte the bastard," to the atrocities of Cayenne, and to "Austrian whips." Thus emasculated, the *Spectator* text is more vague in its republicanism and in its advocacy of Tyrannicide and is considerably less "dangerous." *Faustine*, one of the pieces that gave greatest offence in 1866, was printed in the issue of May 31, 1862 without rebuke from the critics but with the significant omission of stanza xxxiii ("What sterile growths," etc.) with its allusions to perverse passion. Evidently Richard Holt Hutton was exercising, and Swinburne was submitting to, a political and moral censorship. *The Sundew* (published July 26, 1862) contains the following stanza, here reprinted for the first time, in place of stanzas iii and iv of the final version:

"Stoop with drawn brows against the sun,
Crawl close and peer across bowed knees;
The weal growth ripens and gets ease
Till August weathers leave undone
The apple-coloured cranberries."

Besides these seven poems Swinburne contributed several prose critiques to *The Spectator* at this time. One, the short letter in defence of Meredith's *Modern Love*, was signed; one, the review of *Les Fleurs du Mal*, has been long known to be by him; while five articles on Hugo's *Les Misérables* were identified as Swinburne's by Mr. Gosse, partly on internal evidence, partly on the testimony of private letters, and have been privately printed by Mr. T. J. Wise though they have not yet been republished. In his *Life of Swinburne* (p. 88) Mr. Gosse writes: "There are several others which I

am privately certain are also Swinburne's, but I deprecate mere conjecture, and will not name them." The evidence of Swinburne's early style is so convincing that I am willing to risk conjecture. I seem to see his hand in several, but only of one article am I positive that it must be by him. This is a notice of "Mrs. Browning's Last Poems" in the issue of March 29, 1862. Such phrase as "The impulse of her eager and rich imagination in an age of pale thoughts and weak instincts" or "The vanishing of a genuine poetic force in this languid and pallid mental world" bear Swinburne's sign manual upon them. The review contains a brief suggestive passage on the contrast between the superficiality of feeling and the profundity of imagination. Mrs. Browning, the writer says—and again the turn of thought is Swinburne's—"yields herself almost with the lashed fury of a Pythoness" to feeling; we see her on the surface of it; she seldom penetrates beneath to the sphere of imagination. A notice of Sir Henry Taylor's *St. Clement's Eve* and one of Christina Rossetti's *Goblin Market* are much in his manner; that both poets were among those whom Swinburne delighted to honor makes his authorship the more likely. I am more uncertain about two notices of Clough's work. But is not Swinburne's voice heard in the following protest, in the course of a notice of Richard Garnett's *Relics of Shelley* (in the issue of August 2), against the publication of scattered scraps of Shelley's writing?

"There is, we feel, far more pain in the sense of mutilation which such passages produce—the sense of a broken melody—than pleasure in the occasional gleam of Shelley's genius which remains there; for the breathless continuity of his song, which rolls onward to the end without rest or pause, was of the true essence of Shelley's genius, and to have shattered fragments of his music is like listening to a stammering lark."

Whether these identifications be accepted unreservedly or not, it is quite evident that in order to make his forthcoming *Bibliography of Swinburne* quite exhaustive Mr. T. J. Wise will do well to examine the columns of *The Spectator* of 1862 with the most painstaking attention.

SAMUEL C. CHEW.

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ONE-DOOR INTERIORS ON THE ELIZABETHAN STAGE

In a recent number of *Modern Philology* (May 1919, vol. XVII, no. 1) Mr. George Fullmer Reynolds, whose researches into the principles of Elizabethan staging are always full of interest, publishes an enquiry into "Two conventions of the Elizabethan stage." One passage of this article may serve as the text of a brief note. Mr. Reynolds writes:—

"On the Elizabethan stage, as we usually picture it, at least two doors are always visible, and when the rear stage curtains are opened at least three; but there are several scenes in Elizabethan plays in which the audience is asked to imagine that but one door leads to the stage."

Every word of this is demonstrably true, but there is an implication which is false. When Mr. Reynolds speaks of the stage "as we usually picture it," he is thinking of the reconstructions made by those who first misinterpreted and then scoffed at the direct evidence of Van Buchell's sketch of the Swan. In *The Book of Homage to Shakespeare*, I tried to show that the preponderance of evidence indicated that the tiring-house (i. e. tiring-room, upper stage, music-room, and so-called "hut") projected upon the stage, and was a structure of equal width from top to bottom, though in front its upper stories probably overlapped the lower. I believe, however, that I did not rightly explain Van Buchell's visible doors. De Witt had certainly attempted to show two sides of the tiring-house, as he saw them, with one door in each—that is so say, one in the front of the house and the other in the side, one opening upon the front stage and the other upon one of the lateral passages. He did not represent a third door, simply because it was on the other side of the tiring-house and could not be seen from his point of view. But Van Buchell supposed erroneously that the lower stories presented a front which stretched right across the stage, and he consequently shows us the two doors side by side.

If we ignore the modern elaborations of Van Buchell's unfortunate misconception, the convention to which Mr. Reynolds draws attention in the passage I have quoted becomes more easily intelligible. When the front stage was regarded as a room, it was easy enough to treat the one door in the front of the tiring-house as the only entrance to that room.

J. LEROY BRERETON.

University of Sydney.

ELIZABETHAN 'NOCTURNAL' AND 'INFERNAL' PLAYS

In a recently published lecture¹ Mr. W. J. Lawrence cites evidence which indicates the existence of two hitherto unrecognized types of Elizabethan drama: the 'infernal' and 'nocturnal.' He finds mention of the former in *Histriomastix* (1598?), of the latter in *Histriomastix* and in Dekker's *Seven Deadly Sins of London* (1606). Mr. Lawrence then proceeds to define the probable nature of the Nocturnal, and to list as examples of it the following plays: Haughton's *Englishmen for my Money*, Porter's *Two Angry Women of Abingdon*, the 'pseudo-Shakespearean' *Merry Devil of*

¹ "Shakespeare from a New Angle," in the *Dublin Studies*, September 1919, pages 442-455.

Edmonton, and Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Merry Wives of Windsor*.

In support of Mr. Lawrence's thesis I would call attention to several further allusions in Dekker's pamphlets, which seem to add validity to his conclusions. Mr. Lawrence diffidently concedes in regard to the term 'Infernal' that 'no other known instance of the use of the technicality has come down to us,' beyond that in *Histrionastix* and the phrase 'Infernall musicke' in Marston's *Wonder of Women* (Act iv). Dekker, however, appears distinctly to mention the type when he says in his *News from Hell* (*The Devil's Answer to Pierce Penniless*, 1606):

'Yet some pittifull fellows (that haue faces like fire-drakes, but wittes colde as Whetstones, and more blunt) not Poets indeede, but ballad-makers, rub out there, and write Infernals' (Grosart, ii. 99). Later in the same work he says of Cerberus: 'No, no, this doorekeeper wayts not to take money of those that passe in, to behold the *Infernall Tragedyes*. . . .' (Grosart, ii, 124).

In *Work for Armorers* (1609) Dekker has a passage about the plague which seems to depend for its interpretation upon a recognized subdivision of the drama into Tragedies, Comedies, and Nocturnals:

'The *Players* themselues did neuer worke till nowe, there *Comedies* are all turned to *Tragedies*, there *Tragedies* to *Nocturnals*, and the best of them all are weary of playing in those *Nocturnal Tragedies*.' (Grosart, iv. 96).

Mr. Lawrence's treatment of the 'Nocturnal' is rich in suggestion concerning the purposes and methods of Elizabethan playwrights. An investigation of the 'Infernal' type might also explain a number of apparently purposeless scenes and episodes in plays of the time. One thinks at once of Miles in Greene's *Friar Bacon* riding to Hell on the Devil's back, of the Induction to *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*, and of several scenes in Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus* (both versions) and Barnes's *Devil's Charter*.

TUCKER BROOKE.

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KIPLING AND ARIOSTO

In the eternal search for parallels, analogues, origins, etc., some one may stumble—as did I—upon the interesting parallel of phrasing and idea given here; and may insist upon doing what I refuse to do,—that is, trying to claim for one quotation the parentage of the other. Let common origin of not unfamiliar ideas be the solution.

Kipling's Tommy Atkins defends himself from too harsh judgments by saying

(We're) . . . single men in barracks, most remarkable like you;
 An' if sometimes our conduct isn't all your fancy paints,
 Why, single men in barracks don't grow into plaster saints.

Now when Ariosto wrote his *Satira VI, ad Annibale Malaguzzo, sul Matrimonio* (1525) he merely said

Non pote uom in bontade esser perfetto

and this, in the not widely known English translation of the Satires, brought out by Temple Henry Croker (1759), becomes Kipling's parallel in

Whatever legends feign or preachers paint,
 A single man's bad stuff to make a saint. (ll. 19-20)

The unidentified Mr. H——n to whom the vagrant and mercurial Irish editor assigns the translation of this particular Satire seems interested in real rather than plaster appearance of holiness, it is true, but even so, the verbal kinship of the passages is interesting without being of great importance.

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GILBERT W. MEAD.

BRIEF MENTION

The Measures of the Poets: A New System of English Prosody. By M. A. Bayfield (Cambridge, At the University Press, 1919). "Sidney Lanier [in his book "published some forty years ago," which "unfortunately I did not hear of until the present work was written"] advocated the trochaic base for our lyrics, but strangely enough retained the iambic base for blank verse. English books on the subject still continue to adopt the iambic base, even for lyrics, and accordingly the system put forth in these pages is, so far as the systems in vogue are concerned, altogether revolutionary" . . . "For while the system generally received and taught, which is founded on the traditional iambic base, can readily be shown to rest on radical misconceptions of the whole matter and to break down at every turn when tested by the work of the poets, with the adoption of the trochaic base, as here proposed, every feature and variation of the verse is seen to have arisen naturally and easily, and nothing is left unexplained." In these statements, in the form of a preface, the author's purpose in publishing this book (kept within the limits of 112 pages) is clearly announced. Mr. Bayfield's experience in the use of words warrants the reader now to expect the employment of an accurate, scientific method both in defining the "misconceptions of the whole matter" to which the traditional acceptance of the 'iambic base' is declared to be due, and in demonstrating the validity of the assumption that the trochee is the basic foot in English versification. The expectant reader of Mr. Bayfield's 'revolutionary' discussion will, however, experience no slight degree of disappointment.

By direct assertion Mr. Bayfield communicates the hypothesis for his *a priori* argument from the practice of the poets. Thus, "The normal foot of our verse, $\acute{ } \cup$, is called a *trochee*; it is to be noted that the stressed syllable comes first. The combination $\cup \acute{ }$, which cannot form a metrical foot, because the stressed syllable does not come first, is called an *iambus*" (p. 2). "*Trochee* . . . , the staple foot of the bulk of English verse. . . . *Iambus*, $\cup \acute{ }$. This is not used as a metrical foot in English" (p. 5). It is, however, acknowledged that this fundamental assumption has been suggested by the notation of music: "When music was first marked off in bars (in the 16th century), the principle instinctively adopted was to begin each bar with a stressed note; and this would seem to be the natural mode of division, although many musical themes begin with a note that is not accented. Considering the close analogy between music and verse, to mark off the units of a verse measure otherwise would therefore seem to be as *un-natural* as it would be to divide the notes of a waltz into bars each of which began with the third beat" (p. 34).

One might let the whole matter rest with what has been cited from Mr. Bayfield's paragraphs. These citations disclose an attitude of mind that does not lead one to expect anything new or 'revolutionary' that is also convincing. But Mr. Bayfield's strong emphasis on the newness of his point of view is not sufficiently modified by his references to Schmidt's theory of the antique rhythms or to the treatise by Lanier. At all events one is not prepared for the absence of a consideration of the tradition to which Mr. Saintsbury gives attention in his excursus "on the point whether the iamb or the trochee is really the staple foot of English poetry," promised in his *Hist. of Engl. Prosody*, II (1908), p. viii, and then published in the third volume of that work (Appendix II). In this connection one recalls Aristotle's interest in the question concerning the basic foot of Greek: "The heroic rhythm is too dignified [for prose], and is deficient in conversational harmony. The iambic rhythm, on the other hand, is the very diction of ordinary life, and is therefore of all metres the most frequent in conversation; but it is deficient in dignity and impressiveness. The trochaic rhythm approximates too much to broad comedy, as appears in trochaic tetrameters; for the tetrameter is a tripping rhythm" (*Rhet.*, III, chap. viii; Weldon's translation). Dionysius of Halicarnassus (chap. xvii) also recognized the difference in movement between iambic and trochaic rhythms. In his judgment, the iambic rhythm is 'not ignoble'; the trochaic rhythm is 'less manly, more ignoble.'

Mr. Bayfield is not concerned with the fundamental inquiry as to the 'natural' predominance of a certain rhythm in English. He does not ask the question whether the language runs most acceptably in this or that rhythm, a question that is answered by

the character of the language and the long tradition of its acceptable versification. Disregarding the linguistic argument and denying the evidence of national tradition, he simply adopts a late device in musical notation, and Hartmann's new term *anacrusis* as the key that releases all secrets, and declares that he has thereby arrived at the "trochaic scheme" as the "strictly indispensable requisite for any prosodic scheme—*continuity of rhythm*." The implication that iambic meters are subversive of continuity of rhythm is, to say the least, startling. Because of the fascination of prosodic theories, some will be persuaded by Mr. Bayfield's contention,—no heresy has yet failed to win adherents. He is already numbering some four unnamed—they will probably remain unnamed—poets. But he will not lay under a spell the well-grounded inquirer into the principles of versification, who is always prepared to be charmed by an additional ray of light upon truth. Noteworthy is the reaction of Mr. Saintsbury, in *The Athenaeum* for Nov. 7 (see also Mr. Bayfield's letter, in the same periodical for Nov. 21, and Mr. Saintsbury's final utterance, the expression of an almost impatient and certainly uncompromising finality, a week later).

When a verse is said to be, for example, an iambic pentameter, it is meant that the rhythm, as determined by the meter, is iambic. However, it has come to be usual to use the terms rhythm and meter interchangeably to designate the movement of a verse. Aristotle is exact in defining meter as the marking off of the sections of rhythm. But Mr. Bayfield insists on a difference between rhythm and meter that disunites them in a way that contradicts the fundamental principle of rhythm. There is no law of rhythm that requires the wave of movement to begin only or even most frequently at a crest. In the notation of music the bar does not signify that music is prevaillingly trochaic-anapestic in movement. Mr. Bayfield commits the error of assuming that a merely graphic, external device in one art conditions in another art an inner and vital law, and extenuates his error by denying the relation between rhythm and meter.

There has been good ground for believing that no editor of Chaucer (after Skeat's gradual conversion) or of Shakespeare would now hesitate in accepting two important features of iambic measures, namely, the occasional use of the 'direct attack' ($\angle | \times \angle$) and of the trochaic beginning ($\angle \times \times \angle$). But Mr. Bayfield, with surprising indifference to an achieved result, attempts to overturn the whole tradition of English versification by assuming, on the evidence of these occasional beginnings, that all so-called iambic lines are trochaic in meter, tho usually mixed in rhythm. The 'direct attack' in blank verse produces, in his judgment, pure trochaic lines. He counts 66 occurrences in Marlowe's seven plays and "in all Shakespeare's 176." That many of these lines have a vocative or exclamatory beginning is not considered:

Hear you, master steward, where's our master?
 Come, good fellow, put mine iron on.
 O this learning, what a thing it is!
 Grace go with you, Benedicite!
 Out, you rogue, you pluck my foot awry.

Normally, it is admitted, the line (in blank verse) has an upbeat, which is, however, structurally hypermetric, an anacrusis. But this upbeat is omitted at the convenience of the poet; sometimes for an emphasis on the first word, tho "often there is no emphasis at all there." The trochaic beginning (here scanned $\angle \times \times | \angle$) is the result:

Shook, but delayed to strike though oft invoked
 Roaring, and all the wave was in a flame
 Swifter than dreams the white flown feet of sleep

The trochaic beginning (properly scanned $\angle \times | \times \angle$) has a fixed place in the long tradition of the iambic line, but the secondary accents and the accents of connective and relational words reduce the usually assumed number of occurrences. Of all this Mr. Bayfield says nothing. For him, "when the upbeat is wanting, in our measure, the first foot is almost always resolved" ($\angle \times \times$).

For the most part Mr. Bayfield scans according to his conception of the prose-emphasis of the line, but even in this matter sense must often be sacrificed to the trochaic hypothesis. The liberties taken with rhythm in upholding the theory are also augmented in a peculiar adoption of 'resolution' and of a foot of one syllable. Thus, by 'resolving' the second foot the 'traditional' iambic pentameter becomes identical with the *Phalæcean* meter; and it becomes identical with a Sapphic line when the resolution is in the third foot:

Hé that | párts us shall | bríng a | bránd from | heaven
 Whát may | yóu be? | Áre you of | góod or | évil

Warning is given that "a resolution may easily escape notice," as in

O : this is the | *poíson* of | déep | gríef; it | springs

Here, however, the true resolution is in the thesis of the second iamb (*is the poi-*), there is, of course, no anacrusis, and the monosyllabic foot is inadmissible. Strangely, Mr. Bayfield has not inferred from the notation of music that an arsis or a thesis may be broken into two parts together equivalent to the required rhythmic note.

The monosyllabic foot is defined as either "a stressed syllable protracted to the time-value of a whole foot, usually for emphasis, but not always," or, "a stressed syllable followed by a pause."

It is "usually followed or preceded by a resolved foot in order to ease the rhythm, but in Shakespeare a monosyllabic 4th foot is quite common." A few illustrative lines render comment redundant:

Are of | *two* | houses: | lawful | mercy
 The : very | *stones* | prate of my | wherea | bouts
 Not : cast a | side so | soon.—Was the | *hope* | drunk
 Where : in you | dress'd your | self? hath it | *slept* | since?

Holding that rhythm and scansion (meter) do not necessarily coincide, or rather that rhythm, which in Mr. Bayfield's mind is emphasis, would be falsified by straightforward scansion (p. 28), he gains the right to admit an iambic movement in a trochaic measure, and especially to unite the two movements within the limits of a line. His disapproval of "an unbroken iambic or an unbroken trochaic rhythm all through" a line (p. 26) has led him to adopt the monosyllabic foot with its usually supporting resolution. The disclosure of method in his dealing with it will surely excuse the citation of a line that has become hackneyed in prosodic discussion:

To : be, or | not to | be, \wedge || that is the | question

"The *rhythm* of the first six words," he declares, "as distinct from their scansion, is iambic, but this disappears after the monosyllabic foot, and we have the rhythm $\acute{u} \acute{u} \acute{u} | \angle \acute{u} ||$."

In this admission of a change from one rhythm to another within the same line, Mr. Bayfield's subjectivity mounts to its most preposterous pitch. For the present, one may be content to add nothing to Mr. Saintsbury's comment.

If it may be granted that a sufficiently clear view of the dominant doctrine set forth in this treatise has now been given, the purpose of this notice has been accomplished. The author's evaluation of various kinds of metrical units and his scansion of lyric measures would remain to be discussed, if his primary assumptions could be regarded as being somewhat less than fundamentally untenable. Presumably Mr. Bayfield has "A mind not to be changed by time or place" and will before long publish, as announced, *A Study of Shakespeare's Versification*. That may provide an occasion to make amends for the incompleteness of the present comments.

J. W. B.

Professor Percy H. Boynton's *American Poetry* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918) is a gratifying addition to the still somewhat scanty list of American anthologies. It is a generous collection of nearly six hundred double-column pages of verse, selected with two main purposes: to represent the progress of

American poetry and American thought, and to indicate the chief characteristics of the various authors. To further the first of these purposes the editor has included, along with selections from the twenty-five poets who are specially represented, four time-groups of fugitive poems of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and lyrics of the Revolutionary and Civil Wars. For the same purpose the order of chronology is so far neglected as to bring together the verse of Whittier, Lowell, the Civil War lyrists, Timrod, and Hayne, and to place Longfellow and Holmes after these poets.

The second purpose requires the inclusion of a sufficient number of the poems of each author to make clear the variety of his work and the development of his art. Unfortunately such a method of selection does not always best represent the literature as a whole or best meet the needs of those teachers to whom the study of American literature is not merely or primarily the study of American men of letters. It is a method which seems to require, for instance, that poems too long to be printed entire must be represented by extracts. And the making of such extracts is always a thankless task. In the case of *Hiawatha* it is not impossible to choose satisfactory excerpts; but *Evangeline* and *The Courtship of Miles Standish* suffer so greatly by abridgement that they had better be omitted altogether. Whittier's *Snow-Bound* is particularly disappointing in this volume. The omission of lines 175-211 does not, to be sure, retard the story; but the story is written around those lines. The student who fails to read them misses the fact that the poem is Whittier's *In Memoriam*. The same criticism applies to *Sir Launfal*. By general consent the parable is the least valuable part of that uneven poem, and the nature-poetry through which Lowell finds his way to the theme is the most valuable. Why, then, for the sake of the story omit the poetry? Or why not omit altogether a poem that could so easily be spared to make room for others? For there are always other poets who deserve admission to an anthology. One misses Taylor and Aldrich of the Metropolitan group, for example, and regrets the absence of Emily Dickinson and such blithe spirits as Bunner and Eugene Field.

The critical comments, which are the work of several editors, are on the whole just and helpful. That is all the more reason why slips like *The Baltimore Saturday Victor* (p. 638) for *The Baltimore Saturday Visitor* and "The present writer cannot but help thinking" should not appear in them. In the text of the poems and in the Index of Subjects there are misprints and typographical errors—such, for example, as p. 133, l. 237, bill for fill; p. 235, l. 351, Those for Whose; p. 234, l. 28 Lenore! for Lenore? l. 57, further for farther; and the incorrect indexing of Timrod's *Ethnogenesis* and *The Cotton Boll*, p. 704, and Lowell's *Columbus*, p. 705. These make an early revision of this useful and timely work desirable.

J. C. F.

Astronomical Lore in Chaucer. By Florence M. Grimm (University of Nebraska Studies in Language, Literature and Criticism, No. 2, Lincoln, 1919). This interesting little monograph makes a bold attempt to deal with the complicated subject of Chaucer's working knowledge of what he presents in theory in the *Astrolabe*. From its first chapter and from its treatment of such topics as the Harmony of the Spheres one might guess that it was written as a convenient manual for the beginner in the Chaucerian field. Much of the material is a résumé of scholarly opinion (for which closer references might well have been given) or an interpretative collection of Chaucer's own allusions. From this point of view, although it might be wise to exclude a reference to theories such as that of the identification of "Louis" (p. 28) with the son of Clifford (see *Mod. Philol.* xiv, pp. 513 ff.), it would have been better to devote the introduction to a review of the knowledge of the subject which is revealed by Chaucer's immediate predecessors or contemporaries. How much, for instance, was available in the discussions of the Seven Liberal Arts, or in the work of Bartholomew Anglicus (known to many and translated by Trevisa)? How well did Chaucer's information compare with that of Lydgate? One statement is made: "Throughout the long dark centuries of the Middle Ages it survived in the studies of the retired students of the monasteries and of the few exceptionally enlightened men who still had some regard for pagan learning" (p. 6). But one suspects that this view needs correction, both in regard to the darkness of the centuries and the numbers of the enlightened men.

There are some unfortunate deficiencies in the material dealt with. The discussion of the *Almagest* (p. 10, n. 1) might have been helped by consulting Miss Hammond's bibliography. One hardly cites Rambeau (p. 12) without reservations. The confusion of planets and deities is common in allegory of the period (see p. 69, n. 3). The discussion of Venus (pp. 45 ff.) might have included matters touched on by Professor Tupper (*N. Y. Nation*, xcvi, 354 ff.). It might have been difficult to do more with the *Complaint of Mars* as an astronomical *tour de force*, or with the "north-north-west" of the *Parlement*, but some reference to these problems might have been made with advantage. The analysis of the fatalism in Chaucer's characters is only as unsatisfactory as its brevity might lead one to expect; possible change or growth in Chaucer's views is not hinted at. As a contribution, therefore, the study is not all that might be desired, but it breaks the ground for a broader survey and it brings together many of the important points which must be considered. Typographical errors appear at the bottom of page 8, and the last two lines of note 3, p. 32.

H. R. P.

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THE PERILOUS BRIDGE AND HUMAN AUTOMATA

It is unnecessary to add further support to the convincing evidence which has already been presented¹ for the non-Celtic origin of the Perilous Bridge, but for the sake of completeness, if for no other reason, I should like to call attention to an interesting reference which I have not seen cited in this connection, although it must be cited, a reference which, occurring where it does and when it does, shows conclusively that the bridge had made its way into popular story many years before the earliest reference to it in any Celtic tale, and from some source which clearly was not Celtic. William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum Anglorum* II, 170, ed. Stubbs, Rolls Series, 1887), records a story told to him in his childhood by a monk of Guienne. This monk, at the age of seven, had made his way into Italy, and hearing there a story of the treasures of Octavian, which were said to be buried in a certain hill, joined a party "praedandi seu videndi studio." Many men had lost their lives in the attempt to visit this subterranean treasure-house, and, in order to escape their fate, these adventurers adopted the device of Dædalus "qui Theseum de labyrintho filo eduxit praevis." They fastened a string to the opening of the cave and, holding fast to this string, advanced cautiously into the bowels of the hill. Thick darkness was over all, bats flew from the dark recesses into their faces; the path, which was strewn with the bones of those who had come in hope but could not make their way out, was narrow, and on one side of it ran a dreadful river. Finally they came to a quiet pool, the water of which gently lapped the shore, and across this pool was a

¹ Cf. Patch, *PMLA*. XXXIII (1918), 601 ff., and the authorities quoted by him.

bridge of brass. On the other side were seen golden steeds of wondrous beauty, their riders all of gold, and they determined to carry off "aliquam splendidi metalli crustam." When one of them, however, tried to cross the bridge, straightway, "quod mirum auditu est, illo depresso, ulterior elevatus est, producens rusticum aereum cum aereo malleo, quo ille undas verberans, ita obnubilavit aera ut diem caelumque subtexeret; retracto pede, pax fuit." They gave up their attempt, therefore, and guided by the thread retraced their steps.

Stories of the fabulous wealth of Rome which lay buried in its ruins and in its tombs were current ² as early as the fifth cen. A. D., at least, and the popular fancy, quickened by tales brought from eastern lands to Sicily, and to Naples and other ports, soon constructed great cities beneath the earth in which were magnificent palaces filled with gold and precious stones, and guarded by dæmons in one form or another, or, as in our story, by automata. Thus, Conrad of Querfurt ³ records a Neapolitan tale of the treasures of the seven kings which were buried in the bowels of a hill, treasures "quos daemones ⁴ custodiunt in aereis imaginibus inclusi diversas terribiles imagines praetendentes, quidam arcu tenso, quidam gladiis comminantes." Similarly in the *Gesta Romanorum*, ch. 107 (Oes-

² Cf. Graf, *Roma nella Memoria e nelle Immaginazioni del Medio Evo*, I, 152 ff.

³ *Epist. ad Arnolfo di Lubecca*, in Leibnitz, *Script. rerum Brunsv.* II, 698, cited by Graf, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

⁴ The folk of Italy had long been familiar with stories of these dæmons which guarded treasure as is shown by a reference in Petronius, ch. 38, to the "incubones," who wore caps which, if a person could once obtain, gave him power over them and their gold; cf., also, Porphyrio on Horace, *Serm.* II, 6, 13, who tells a story of a peasant who had continually prayed to Hercules for wealth; Hercules took him to Mercury and had the latter disclose to the peasant a buried treasure; this the peasant dug up and with it bought the farm on which he had been a laborer. There is a curious reference in Plautus, *Aulularia*, 701, to the "Pici" (woodpeckers) "qui aureos montis colunt." In like manner the sources of the Nile were thought to be guarded by dæmons according to Philostratus, *Vita Apollonii Tyani* VI, 26, 3, and very naturally these dæmons turn up later in accounts of journeys to the marvellous lands of the East. Thus a certain Hieronymus (5th cen.) writes to a friend of his voyage to India, "ubi nascitur carbunculus—montesque aurei, quos adire propter gryphos et dracones et immensorum corporum monstra hominibus impossibile est"; Migne; *Pat. Lat.*, 22, pp. 1073.

terley), is a story of a certain clerk who, by solving the riddle of a statue which stood "in civitate Romana" with the right arm extended and bearing the inscription "percute hic," discovered a stairway leading down into the earth. He descended these stairs and found himself within a noble palace, in the hall of which he saw a king and queen and many lords and ladies sitting at a table, dressed in splendid raiment, adorned with precious stones. In a corner was a carbuncle, the brilliant rays from which gave light to the hall, and opposite the carbuncle was a youth holding a bow with its arrow pointed directly at the jewel. Not a word did any of these persons speak to the youth, and when he approached them, he found that they were stone. He determined to take with him some object which would serve as token of his adventure, but as soon as he took from the table one of the golden utensils, the statue which was standing in the corner shot the arrow at the carbuncle, shattered it to pieces, and immediately "tota aula facta est sicut nox tenebrosa"; the youth was unable to find his way out and "in eodem palacio misera morte mortuus est."

From these stories, and there are many more like them, we may conclude that before the twelfth century (William was born about 1100) the folk of Italy were no strangers to tales of marvellous palaces situated under hills, inhabited by people of stone or gold, lighted by the rays from some brilliant gem, and guarded by automata which, by one means or another, prevented the one who chanced to make his way thither, from carrying off any of their wealth. Some such tale,—it may have been the very one preserved in the *Gesta*,—William of Malmesbury, in the chapter preceding that from which I have quoted, connects with the famous Gerbert, Pope Sylvester II. He it was, according to William, who solved the riddle of the statue, made his way, with one companion, into the golden palace, beheld its many wonders, and the brilliant gem which "parvus inventu tenebras noctis fugabat," saw the figures rush toward them when they reached out their hands to touch any object, saw the bowman shoot his arrow when his companion took a knife from the table, and was only able to save himself and his companion by making him throw the knife back.

It is very evident that, although the matter of such stories is the natural product of the fancy of the Italian folk, living as they did,

among the ruins of a mighty civilization,⁵ many of the details which adorn the tales are of extraneous origin, chiefly oriental. The reader of the *Arabian Nights* will readily recall many similar tales of wonderful cities and palaces both on and under the earth, tenanted by men of wood or stone, as, for example, the tale of the Third Lady of Bagdad, (Burton, I, 104); of statues which bear inscriptions containing the key to some riddle, as in the tale of The City of Brass, (Burton, VI, 95 ff.), of dæmons or automata which protect hidden treasures, as in this same tale, (Burton, VI, 115, 118),⁶ and of a wonderful gem the brilliant rays from which illumine the palace, as in the former tale, (Burton, I, 166).⁷ The device of the thread in the monk's story to William may have been suggested, as he says, by the Theseus-Ariadne story, but it occurs, also, it may be noted, in the version of the Alexander romance contained in the *Talmud*, Tractat Tamid, fol. 31 b; Alexander is told by the wise men of the South that he cannot make his way into Africa because the Mountain of Darkness bars the road; he tells them that he must go, and they then bid him fasten one end of a ball of string to the entrance of the mountain and, as he makes his way forward, to keep firm hold on the string.

In various versions of the Alexander story we find, also, other features of our monk's tale. In the letter of Alexander to his mother Olympias,⁸ we read that after he and his army arrived at a sea of honey-sweet water, a fish is caught in the belly of which was a stone of such remarkable brilliance that Alexander used it to give

⁵ Such tales are still current especially in Sicily; cf. Pitre, *Tradizioni Siciliane*, XVII (*Usi e Credenze* IV, 369 ff.). Interesting is the tale reported on p. 393 which tells of a treasure hidden within a mountain guarded by a marble statue holding in its hand an enormous mace,—the descendant, it may be, of the "rusticus" of William's story.

⁶ Cf. the automatic archers in the supplemental tale of Joodar of Cairo, quoted by Clouston, "On the Magical Elements in the Squire's Tale," Chaucer Society, Second Ser., p. 304.

⁷ This is common; cf. Burton, VI, 114, and Supplemental Nights, IV, p. 354; here the gem is found in the belly of a fish, a motif found in the *Talmud*, Schabbath 119 a, and in the *Midrasch*; cf. Köhler, *Kl. Schr.* II, 209; cf. the story of Charlemagne's ring, Paulus Diac., *Liber de episcopis Mettensibus*, Mon. Scrip. Germ. II, 264, the reference in the Alexander romance, cited below, and the ring of Polycrates, Herodotus, III, 41 ff.

⁸ Edition of Müller, section 38. Cf. Crane, *Rom. Rev.* IX (1918), 129 ff., for an excellent bibliography on this subject.

light at night, and in the French version⁹ of the romance we have a description of two golden automata which, with great maces in their hands, defend the bridge over which Alexander has to make his way. Although this may be the first reference to *two* automata "defending the entrance to something,"¹⁰ our story in William of the one automaton, who with his mace defends the bridge, antedates it by at least fifty years. The latter story, or some version of it may well, indeed, have suggested the conception to the French poets, but this oriental matter was apparently common property during the twelfth century and perfectly familiar to them; compare, *e. g.* the two automata which guard the tomb that Alexander erected over the Admiral,¹¹ with the two automata which guard the dead maiden in the story of the City of Brass.¹² It would seem, also, that the story which William tells of Gerbert, containing the episode of the archer and the brilliant carbuncle, suggested to the author of *Énéas*¹³ the figure of the archer and the lamp which he puts over the grave of Camilla. William, writing during the early years of the twelfth century, was surely not the only one who had heard this story, for the version in the *Gesta Romanorum*, to which I have referred, concerning as it does a nameless clerk, must have been current, as Graf notes (*l. c.* p. 164), before the story could have been attached to Gerbert. There is, however, the possibility that Byzantine romances may have furnished these automata to the French poets; it is interesting, at any rate, to find a figure very similar to this archer in the Greek romance of Eumathius, (twelfth century).¹⁴ The author describes as follows an ordeal for virginity practiced in a famous temple of Artemis in the city of Artycomis. In the middle of this temple is a large golden statue of Artemis, holding in her hand an outstretched bow; between the feet of the

⁹ *Lambert li Tors et Alexandre de Bernay*, edited by Michelant, Stuttgart, 1846, p. 343. On these and similar automata in French romance, cf. Bruce, "Human Automata in Classical Tradition and Mediæval Romance," *Mod. Phil.*, x (1913), 511 ff.

¹⁰ Bruce, *l. c.*, p. 518.

¹¹ Michelant, p. 445; Bruce, p. 518.

¹² *Arabian Nights*, tr. Burton, vi, 115.

¹³ Ed. Jacques Salverda de Grave, Halle, 1891, vs. 7691 ff. The figure occurs also in versions of the Virgil story; cf. Bruce, p. 516, n. 2, and p. 521.

¹⁴ Ed. Le Bas, in *Erotici Scriptores*, Didot, 1885, bk. viii, 7.

statue issues a spring, flowing like a river, the waters of which make a mighty noise and seem to the eyes of the beholder to boil. Into this spring is cast the maiden whose chastity has been questioned, her head crowned with laurel; if she is a virgin, Artemis does not shoot her bow, the waters of the spring lie quiet, and the maiden floats gently on the surface, the crown still fast upon her head. If, however, love has robbed the maiden's flower, straightway Artemis, the virgin goddess, pulls taut her bow, the arrow threatens to fly at the guilty girl who, in fear of it, hides her head beneath the waves, and the tossing waters carry off the crown. Eumathius owed the suggestion for this oracle, as he owed much else, to the romance of Achilles Tatius who, in VIII, 6 (*Erot. Script.* p. 117), describes a similar ordeal at Ephesus. Here there was a famous cave at the entrance to which hung Pan's pipe, the syrinx. The girl under suspicion would enter the cave, the doors would be closed, and, if she was innocent, the sweetest harmony would come forth from the pipe,—because, mayhap, Pan himself played upon it;—the doors would then open of their own accord, and the girl would be seen wearing a crown of pine. If, however, she was guilty, the pipe was dumb, and instead of harmony, there would come from the cave the sound of lamentation; in such an event, the spectators would hastily withdraw, and the priestess of the cave, when she entered it three days later, would find the pipe lying on the ground, but the woman was seen no more.

These two passages, taken together, present a striking analogue to the description of the two statues, one of gold, the other of silver, which in *Li Livre de Caradoc*,¹⁵ stand at the entrance to Alardin's tent: "Ens en sa main tenoit un dart, / Jà n'i veist entrer vilain / Ne le ferist trestout a plain; / Et l'autre ymage qui tenoit / La harpe une costume avoit: / Puciële ne s'i puet celer; / Qui ensi se face apiéler / Por oec que soit despucelée, / Tantos come vient à l'entrée / La harpe sone la descorde; / De la harpe ront une corde." We cannot assume, of course, that we are dealing here with direct borrowing, but we are dealing, it seems to me, with traditional matter.

There were many possible sources, therefore, both in the written

¹⁵ *Conte del Gral*, 13353 ff., Potvin, *Perceval li Gallois*, III, 117 ff.; cf. Bruce, *l. c.*, p. 519.

record and in popular story, whence the mediæval writer may have drawn his idea of such automata, and how prevalent the idea was the investigation of Professor Bruce shows. This investigation should be made exhaustive, however, in the field both of classical and of mediæval literature,¹⁶ for in the mediæval *Itinera*, *Chronicles*, *Lives of the Saints* we are likely to come upon many a tale straight from the heart of the folk. Such is the tale which the monk told to William, and it is important from several points of view. First, it shows us that Italy, especially South Italy, the inheritor of classic tradition and the recipient of stories from the East owing to its close connection during the centuries with races of oriental stock, was the center from which spread tales of all sorts; secondly, it illustrates one way, at least, in which these tales spread, for William's monk had many a brother just as romantic and far-travelled as himself; and, thirdly, it furnishes us convincing evidence that a story, in which were combined features dear to the heart of the Celtic folk-lorist and cited by him time and time again as proof of the working of the Celtic fancy, was current among the folk of Italy before 1100 A. D., and had reached England by the first decade of the twelfth century.

It does not follow, however, that these features made their way into literature from this story, for there were other possible channels. The Norsemen, in whose mythology the perilous bridge, at least, is no stranger,¹⁷ may have brought it both to France and to Ireland; its appearance in our Italian story, on the other hand, seems to be too early, if William is telling the truth, to have been the result of the influence of Norse settlements in South Italy. Then again, we must reckon with the influence of the Jews, large numbers of whom had settled in Gaul since the fifth century, nor must we forget that, beginning with the seventh century, the influ-

¹⁶ Cf. for example, the two dogs of gold and silver which stand at the entrance to the palace of Alcinoos in Homer, *Odys.* vii, 91, the tripods of Hephaistos in *Iliad*, 18, 376, and the many similar self-impelled utensils which Apollonius saw among the Hindoos, Philostratus, *vita Apol.* 3, 27, 1; 5, 12. According to Aristotle, *de Mirabilibus Auscultationibus* 175, on the altar of Artemis Orthosia stood a golden bull which emitted a sound whenever any huntsman came into the temple; cf. the description in *Div. Crône*, 6993 ff., of the black figure which blew a blast upon a horn whenever a strange knight came to the castle, cited by Bruce, *l. c.*, p. 523.

¹⁷ Cf. Patch, *l. c.*, p. 639.

ence of the apocryphal literature of the East, which was saturated with oriental tradition, was becoming all-pervasive.¹⁸ One fact, however, is plain; the presence in a story from Italy of the eleventh century, of the magnificent palace within a hill, the narrow path, the dreadful river, the active bridge, the monster guard, the storm-making spring, features, moreover, which occur separately in more than one tale from classical and oriental sources, renders entirely unnecessary any appeal to "the crucible of Celtic fancy" to explain the presence of these same details, either separately or in combination, in French or English story posterior by many years to the monk's tale preserved by William of Malmesbury.

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SCHILLER AND THE GENESIS OF ROMANTICISM

PART II

Friedrich Schlegel himself bore clear and emphatic testimony to the decisive impression produced upon him by his first reading of the second instalment of Schiller's *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*. In a letter to A. W. Schlegel, January 15, 1796, he writes:

"Dann hat mich Schiller's Theorie des Sentimentalen so beschäftigt, dass ich einige Tage nichts andres gethan habe, als sie lesen und Anmerkungen schreiben. . . . *Schiller hat mir wirklich Aufschlüsse gegeben.* Wenn mir innerlich so etwas kocht, so bin ich unfähig etwas andres ruhig vorzunehmen. Der Entschluss,

¹⁸ Cf. Günter, *Die christliche Legende des Abendlandes*, Heidelberg, 1910, pp. 139-140, 149. From this source, it would seem, comes the active bridge of glass in the *Voyage of Maelduin*; cf. Patch, l. c., p. 636. In regard to the example of the active bridge quoted from the *Tochmarc Emere*, it may be noted that in the earliest version of this story in the *Leabhar na h'Uidre* the episode is wanting, nor does it follow that, because the version in the Stowe MS. of the 14th cen., which does contain the episode, agrees with that in the former as far as it goes, the incident of the bridge had a place in the earlier version; for it is lacking, also, in the version contained in the Rawlinson, B. 512, vellum MS., which, according to Hyde, *The Literary History of Ireland*, p. 296, represents the oldest recension founded on a pro-Danish text.

noch diesen Winter eine Skizze meiner Poetik für den Druck auszuarbeiten, ist nun fest genommen."¹

The effect of this reading was apparent in the preface which Friedrich soon after wrote for the collection of his essays on Greek poetry, then in press. His indebtedness to Schiller's essay is now publicly acknowledged; it has given him "a broader insight into the nature of *die interessante Poesie* and thrown a new light upon the limitations of the scope of classical poetry."² If he had read it earlier, his account of the origin and character of modern poetry, in his present book, would have been "incomparably less incomplete." He adopts, in fact, in his preface an unmistakably apologetic tone with respect to the (earlier-written) essays which the volume contains. He begs his readers not to take his strictures upon the moderns as his final judgment on the subject. He would now, he suggests, have his arguments construed merely as hypothetical. If the "pure laws of beauty and of art" are to determine our aesthetic standards, if "objectivity" is a requisite to aesthetic value, *then* modern poetry must be condemned, since it does not even aim at conformity to these standards, but finds its ideal in "das Interessante d. h. subjektive aesthetische Kraft." But if there are other criteria of genuine aesthetic worth, then, precisely by pointing out this characteristic of modern poetry, Schlegel has—as he significantly intimates—prepared the way for nothing less than "eine sehr glänzende Rechtfertigung der Modernen."

He is not, indeed, even yet willing to repudiate completely his former idols. It is only a "provisional validity" that he can concede to "das Interessante in der Poesie." Doubtless the perfection of form of ancient poetry was due to the limitations of its

¹ *Briefe an seinen Bruder*, 253; italics mine. A little later (Feb., 1796) Schlegel writes that, in essentials, he is also fully in agreement with Schiller's "Erklärung und Herleitung des elegischen Dichters"—i. e., with the fourth part of the essay (*ibid.*, 263).

² Schlegel here adopts *sentimental* as antithetic to *objektive Poesie*, and as equivalent to an important part, though not the whole, of what he had hitherto signified by *interessant*. His definition of the first of these terms is: "eine poetische Aeußerung des Strebens nach dem Unendlichen, die mit einer Reflexion über das Verhältniss des Idealen und des Realen verknüpft ist." (*Jugendschriften*, I, 81.) It should be noted that Schlegel expressly uses "sentimental" as interchangeable with Schiller's "sentimentalisch."

content; doubtless it is the destiny of modern poetry to transcend these limitations, and in doing so to pass through many stages in which "pure beauty" is subordinated to the progressive enrichment of the content and material of the art. Thus, during all these stages, it must be admitted "dass das Interessante, als die nothwendige Vorbereitung zur unendlichen Perfektibilität der ästhetischen Anlage, ästhetisch erlaubt sei." But the goal is still a complete conformity to "the laws of an objective theory" of the beautiful and to "the example of classical poetry." Yet, as Enders has remarked,³ this reservation is rather nominal than real; for since the goal is confessedly unattainable, capable only of being endlessly approached, and the *Interessant* is meanwhile to be the standard of poetic excellence, it is with the latter alone that either poet or critic can ever be actually concerned.

It is precisely the transitional character of this preface of 1797, and the express acknowledgment which it contains that the transition then in process in Schlegel's opinions was due to Schiller, which constitute the most decisive evidence that the essay *On Naive and Sentimental Poetry* was the chief instrument of the conversion of Schlegel to his new—that is, to his Romantic—aesthetic faith. A little later, in the *Lyceumsfragmente* (1797), we find the transition completed. Schlegel now unsparingly ridicules his own earlier *Objektivitätswut*, affirms the superiority of "the modern" on grounds similar to those which had been set forth by Schiller,⁴ and promulgates some of the most characteristic articles of the Romantic creed.

It is not difficult to see what it was in Schiller's essay that produced so great an effect upon the younger man's mind, and furnished him at once with new "solutions." For the essay—especially the second part—was, in the first place, addressed directly to the problem which had been Schlegel's absorbing pre-occupation from the beginning of his career as critic and aesthetic

³ *Friedrich Schlegel*, 1913, p. 263.

⁴ *Fgm.* 93: "In den Alten sieht man den vollendeten Buchstaben der ganzen Poesie: in den Neuern ahnet man den werdenden Geist;" 91: "Die Alten sind nicht ein willkürlich auserwähltes Kunstvolk Gottes; noch haben sie den alleinseligmachenden Schönheitsglauben." Cf. also 107.—The typically 'Romantic' of the *Lyceumsfragmente* are, besides these, Nos. 7, 16, 20, 34, 42, 48, 60, 64, 82, 87, 95, 104, 108, 115. No. 84 perhaps represents rather the transitional position of the above-mentioned *Vorrede*.

theorist; it was an attempt to define the immanent *ideas* of ancient and of modern poetry, to formulate the *moralische Bedeutung* (in Schiller's phrase) of both. And some of the essentials of the formulation were the same as those which Schlegel had already reached through his own reflection. That the modern man is no longer "in unity with Nature"; that the modern poet, in contrast with the ancient, is characteristically "subjective," disposed to be interested rather "in the impression which objects make upon him than in the objects themselves"; that the "ancient poet moves us through Nature, through the truth of sense, through a present and living reality, while the modern poet moves us through ideas"; that, most characteristically of all, modern art is a *Kunst des Unendlichen* while ancient art is a *Kunst der Begrenzung*—these were themes upon which Schlegel himself had copiously discoursed. What gave Schiller's essay its revolutionary significance for him was that it found in these traits of modern art the evidence, not of degeneracy, but of "an infinite superiority in kind" to the spirit and aims of ancient art; that it recognized the "path followed by modern poets" as one necessarily followed by mankind everywhere, in the case both of the race and of the individual—in other words, as a normal stage in the evolution of art; that it roundly condemned the practise (so characteristic of Schlegel's earlier aesthetic writings) of "first drawing a one-sided conception of the generic nature of poetry from the ancients and then depreciating the moderns by contrasting them with this conception"; and that it clearly implied that there could be no "objective" aesthetic principles, in one of the senses in which the term had been hitherto used by both Schlegel and Schiller—no standards and no models which could be set up as complete, final, "necessary," immutable, and of "universal validity"—since the attempt to limit the artist by such standards would be an attempt to arrest that ceaseless "progression" which is the distinctive vocation and the glory of modern art.

What Schiller did for Schlegel, it will be seen, was not so much to suggest to him new arguments as to give him, by example, the courage to follow through, even to a revolutionary conclusion, an argument which had already been suggested to him by an analogy from the ethics of Kant and the metaphysics of Fichte.⁵ That

⁵ See Part I of this study, *MLN.*, xxxv, pp. 1 ff.

conclusion consisted in the thesis which may be defined as the generating and generic element in the Romantic doctrine—the thesis, namely of the intrinsic superiority of a *Kunst des Unendlichen* over a *Kunst der Begrenzung*, and of the consequently higher rank of modern, i. e., of “progressive” and “subjective,” art, in comparison with the static and more purely “objective” art of classical antiquity, with its cramping perfection of form and its rigorous self-limitation. In the sense that he brought Fr. Schlegel to this fundamental Romantic conviction, Schiller may be described as the spiritual grandfather of German Romanticism.

Schlegel's later formal definitions of “the Romantic” show abundantly that that notion had the same generic (though not the same specific) essence as Schiller's conception of “sentimental poetry,” of an “art of infinity” which is the true expression of the modern spirit. Thus Schlegel writes in 1800: “Nach meiner Ansicht und meinem Sprachgebrauch ist eben das romantisch, was uns einen sentimental Stoff in einer fantastischen Form darstellt.” He goes on to explain that he uses the word “sentimental,” not in its vulgar sense, but to designate that which is characterized by the “spirit of love”; and that by “love,” in turn, he means more than an emotional interest in individuals, which is but a “Hindeutung auf das Höhere, Unendliche, Hieroglyphe der unendlichen Liebe und der heiligen Lebensfülle der bildenden Natur.” So, elsewhere in the same writing, Schlegel speaks of “that broader sense of the word romantic” in which it signifies “die Tendenz nach einem tiefen unendlichen Sinn.”⁶ Yet it would be profoundly false to represent Schiller's conception of “sentimentalische Dichtung” as equivalent to Schlegel's idea of “romantische Poesie.” So far from identical are they, that in certain respects the Romantic poet à la Schlegel corresponds rather to Schiller's “natural (*naïve*) poet.” This fact is at once apparent from the examples given by Schiller. Homer, indeed, is for him a “natural” poet; but so are certain great moderns—Shakespeare, Molière, Goethe. For Schlegel, on the other hand, as I have already pointed out, Shakespeare

⁶ *Jugendschriften*, II, 370-372, 364. Cf. the passage in which Novalis in January, 1798, predicts the coming of a “höhere,” an “erweiterte Poesie, die man könnte die Poesie des Unendlichen nennen.” Here, too, the formula is Schiller's; but it is also the formula for “the Romantic.”

was "the very centre and core of romantic poetry."⁷ So conspicuous a difference in the classification of individual poets points to some significant divergence between the two notions "sentimentalisch" and "romantisch."

The point of divergence can be fairly precisely determined. The two writers agree in regarding the excellence of modern poetry as consisting in the "infinity" of its "content" (*Gehalt*), in its dedication to the quest of a never fully realizable ideal, in its unceasing *Annäherung zu einer unendlichen Grösse*. But it is not at all of the same "infinity" that Schiller and Schlegel are thinking; and the "endless progression" which one of them desiderates is a progression in a different respect, and in a different direction, from that to which the other would have modern art aspire. For the vague and ambiguous notion of a "striving after an infinite content," in art or in life, which, as I have said, was common to Schiller and to the Romanticists in general, was capable of at least five distinct, though not in all cases mutually exclusive, interpretations. It might be taken in an ethical, or in a quasi-mystical, or in a hedonic sense, or (there seems to be no adjective for this) in the sense of striving for striving's sake, or in what may be called a realistic sense, that of an endeavor after richness and variety in the representation of reality. In other words, the poet might (1) find the inspiration of his art in some moral ideal, or moral passion, too lofty or too many-sided or too exacting ever to be fully realized or worthily expressed; or (2) his art might manifest a *Streben nach dem Unendlichen* in the sense of a preference for the mysterious or the vague or the remote, or of a yearning after some consummation of which the allurements lay in its indefinability and its transcendence of all ordinary experience; or (3) he might be temperamentally characterized by an insatiable craving for ever new emotions or enjoyments or possessions (like Carlyle's "infinite bootblack") and might devote his art to the exhibition of this peculiarity of his own; or (4) he might set up *insatiability as such* as a conscious ideal, and make the glorification of this ideal the theme of his art (as in *Faust*); or (5) he might conceive it to be the function of art to express with ever increasing but never complete adequacy the infinite variety and inexhaustible interestingness

⁷ See *MLN.*, xxxii (February, 1917), pp. 69-72, on the attitude of early German Romanticism towards Shakespeare.

of "life"—i. e., of the aspects of nature and the phases of human experience, especially of inner experience. This equivocality of its fundamental notion of "infinity" is the principal reason why the Romantic doctrine developed into such various and incongruous forms, and why the term "Romantic" has come to have so confusing a diversity of connotations.

Now, the "infinite striving" of Schiller's "sentimental poet" was chiefly of the first of these five sorts; it was a striving for the fuller realization or the more adequate and worthy expression of a moral ideal. His dissatisfaction arising from the "contrast between the ideal and reality," for example, is not a mere sense of the failure of the world to satisfy our desires; it is "ein tiefes Gefühl moralischer Widersprüche, ein glühender Unwillen gegen moralische Verkehrtheit."⁸ The poet who expresses the true ideal of modern art will not care to portray "*actual* human nature" but only "*true* human nature," i. e., humanity in which the higher and distinctively human faculty of the self-active Reason is dominant.⁹ True, the satiric poet must necessarily put before us the imperfections or absurdities of humanity; but he does so in order the better to express the ideal through contrast, and through the scorn or the indignation which he must always feel, and make his reader feel, for the baseness or pettiness or irrationality, in individual character or social customs, which he describes. The poet's aim must always be to elevate as well as entertain his reader, *Veredlung* as well as *Erholung*. In short, the aesthetic doctrine of the essay *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung* is of a highly moralistic sort.¹⁰

Quite other was Fr. Schlegel's interpretation of the "infinite striving" which he too looked upon as the characteristic of modern art.

⁸ Schiller's reference here is specifically to the satiric poet, who is (when he conforms to these requirements) one of the two principal species of "sentimental" poet.

⁹ "Wirkliche Natur ist jeder noch so gemeine Ausbruch der Leidenschaft, er mag auch wahre Natur sein, aber eine wahre *menschliche* ist er nicht: denn diese erfordert einen Antheil des selbstständigen Vermögens an jeder Aeusserung, dessen Ausdruck jedesmal Würde ist." *Über naive, usw.*, Pt. 5.

¹⁰ This is true at least of the main drift and emphasis of Schiller's argument. He occasionally, however, lapses into a somewhat different conception of "sentimentalisch," apparently without being himself aware of the difference. When, for example, he speaks of Werther—not the novel, but the character which Goethe chose in that novel to portray—as an illustra-

In the author whose own first contribution to Romantic literature was to be *Lucinde*, that striving by no means aimed at the "infinity" of an ideal of moral perfection too sublime and austere for human nature to attain; it aimed rather at the infinity of actual life—good and bad alike—as the subject-matter of the poetic art. Schlegel took the general conception, in short, chiefly in the last of the five special senses which I have above distinguished. He had long since, in the days of his Graecomania, set down, among the characteristics of modern art and taste which he then so severely reprehended, a desire to reproduce in literature the "Fülle und Leben" which are the "Vorrecht der Natur," a "frightful and yet fruitless yearning to spread out to the infinite and a burning eagerness to penetrate to the very heart of the individual"; and he now incorporates in his new doctrine, as aesthetic *desiderata*, all the elements of his former damnatory definition of the modern spirit.¹¹ It was, then, this ambition for "Reichtum des Stoffes," this aspiration to match in art the abundance and diversity and complexity of Nature, that for Schlegel constituted the "infinity" of the Romantic ideal; and the actual aims and temper of Romantic poetry, as he conceived them, were, therefore, not only different from, but potentially antagonistic to, the aims and temper of "sentimental poetry" as they had been defined by Schiller.

The contrast becomes the more striking in a passage in which Schlegel reads into Schiller's term his own meaning. There is, he wrote in 1800, one particular element "in der Bedeutung des Sentimentalen, was gerade das Eigenthümliche der Tendenz der romantischen Poesie im Gegensatz der antiken begreift"—viz., its interest in actual life, and its consequent predilection "für den eigentlich historischen Stoff." "Romantic poetry rests wholly upon historical grounds." Autobiographies, "confessions," such as Rousseau's (which, Schlegel adds, are a far better *Roman* than his *Héloïse*), literary "arabesques," such as the novels of Jean Paul—these are "die einzigen romantischen Naturprodukte unsers Zeitalters." "All so-called *Romane*" should be valued "in proportion to the amount of direct personal observation (*eigne Anschauung*)

tion of the exaggeration of the "sentimental" type, he must be supposed to have forgotten some of his own distinctions. For it was scarcely from an excessive zeal in the pursuit of a moral ideal that Werther suffered.

¹¹ Cf. the writer's previous paper, *MLN.*, xxxii, pp. 67-9.

and of the representation of life which they contain; and from this point of view, even the successors of Richardson, however much they may have wandered from the right path, are welcome. We can at least learn from Cecilia Beverley how people were bored in London, when to be bored was the fashion, and how a British lady came to grief through excess of delicacy and ended by destroying herself. The oaths, the Squires, and the like, in Fielding, are, as it were, stolen from life itself, and the *Vicar of Wakefield* gives us a deep insight into the way the world looked to a country parson. . . . But how sparingly and in dribblets do these books mete out to us the little portion of reality (*das wenige Reelle*) which they contain! And how much better a *Roman* than the best of these is almost any book of travels or collection of letters or autobiography, to one who reads them in a romantic spirit!"¹² But in Schiller, this preoccupation with *das Reelle* is not the mark of the "sentimental" but of the "natural" poet. "Natural poetry has a dependence upon experience of which the sentimental knows nothing." "Die sentimentalische Dichtung ist die Geburt der Abgezogenheit und Stille, und dazu ladet sie auch ein; die naive ist das Kind des Lebens, und in das Leben führt sie auch zurück."¹³ One passage of Schiller's especially sharply manifests the contrast between his "sentimentalisch" and Schlegel's "romantisch." There are, he remarks, two ways in which poetry may have "einen unendlichen Gehalt"; and in one of these ways, even the "natural" poet may be said to aim at "infinity"—when, namely, "he represents an object *with all its limits*, when he individualizes it." What Schiller seems to mean here is that the complete representation even of a single object, with all of its concrete determinations and relations—of an object *per-*

¹² From the "Brief über den Roman" in the *Gespräch über die Poesie*, 1800; *Jugendschriften*, II, 372, 374-5. It is true that the same writing contains also a dithyrambic passage, already quoted in part, in which we are told that sentimental poetry, being concerned with "ein unendliches Wesen," does not "fix its interest only upon persons, events, situations and individual desires," but sees these only as symbols of a "higher and infinite love," etc. Schlegel, in other words, though he mainly takes the Romantic "infinite" in what I have called the realistic sense, lapses at rhetorical moments into the language more appropriate to the quasi-mystical sense. Yet even in the passage in question, he indicates that the "unendliches Wesen" that he has in mind is neither a supersensible reality nor a moral ideal; it is "die heilige Lebensfülle der bildenden Natur."

¹³ *Über naive usw.*; Schiller's *Werke*, 1847, XI, 233, 232.

fectly individualized—would be an infinite task. But not this sort of infinity, he goes on, is the task of the sentimental poet; he raises the object of his art to the infinite rather by “removing all its limitations, by idealizing it.” Thus it is precisely the sort of “infinity” which is here exemplified for Schiller by “naive Dichtung” that is exemplified for Schlegel by Romantic poetry.

Thus it was that Schiller could classify Shakespeare as a “natural,” while Schlegel classified him as a Romantic poet. The Shakespeare of the plays—and of the Shakespeare of the *Sonnets* Schiller, at least, appeared oblivious—does not unlock his heart; he does not, for the most part, represent idealized, but highly individualized, characters, “mit allen seinen Grenzen”; he does not appear to be much interested in the expression of an unattainable moral ideal; nor is he noticeably concerned about the *Veredlung* of his hearers or readers. But—as it seemed to Schlegel—he surpasses all other poets in the “universality” of his representation of life; and it is for this reason that he is the supreme representative of Romantic art.¹⁴

We may, finally, observe both the similarity and the contrast between “sentimentalisch” and “romantisch” by recalling the terms in which Schlegel defined the latter in the celebrated *Fragment 116* in the *Athenæum* (1798) in which the adjective received, so to say, its first official definition. “Romantic poetry” is, first of all, a “progressive Poesie.” It is “still in Becoming; indeed, this is its very essence, so that forever it can only *become*, and never *be*.” In this, obviously, it resembles Schiller’s “sentimental poetry.” But Romantic poetry is also “Universalpoesie”—universal, be it noted, not in the sense of universality of appeal, but in the sense of totality, or all-inclusiveness of content, an all-inclusiveness which it can ever more nearly approximate but never attain. It must not only unite in itself the several forms and *genres* of poetry, but it must also “fill and cram every art-form with every sort of solid *Bildungsstoff* and animate the whole with the play of humor. It embraces everything whatsoever that is poetic, from the greatest system of art con-

¹⁴ The notion of “subjectivity,” which is included (though through different connections of ideas) both in the conception of “sentimental” and in that of “Romantic” poetry, introduces a confusing sort of cross-cleavage here, in the thought of both Schiller and Schlegel. To analyze the relation of this notion to the other elements of the two definitions, and thereby to clear up that confusion, would unduly lengthen this paper.

taining within itself other systems, to the sigh, the kiss which the child breathes forth as it improvises an artless song. . . . It alone can become a mirror of the whole surrounding world, a picture of the age." And yet it also, more than any other, can express the reflection of the poet upon the objects which he represents. "It alone is infinite, because it alone is free; and it accepts this as its first law, that the freedom (Willkühr) of the poet shall suffer no law to be imposed upon it." "From the romantic standpoint," adds Schlegel in a later *Fragment*, "even the degenerate types of poetry—the eccentric and the monstrous—have their value as materials for and essays towards universality, if only there is really something in them, if they are original."¹⁵

Such was the earliest aesthetic program of Romanticism. Its characteristic feature, the demand for totality in the representation of life, had both a subjective and an objective application. On the one hand, it was a demand for adequacy, and therefore for freedom, of *self-expression* on the part of the poet; hence the Romantic *étalage du Moi*. On the other hand, it was—and, with the first of the Romantics, it was much more largely and emphatically—a demand for truth and completeness in the representation of the realities of human character and experience, in all their endless diversity; and in this aspect, the original Romantic program was the program of a genuine realism. Between these two applications of what seemed but a single idea, Schlegel does not appear to have very sharply distinguished; but there was a latent incongruity between the two which eventually became evident enough. In either of its interpretations, but especially in the second, the Romantic ideal of universality was manifestly foreign to Schiller's conception of "sentimental poetry," with its obsession with "the contrast between the real and the ideal," its lack of interest in "actual human nature," its insistence upon idealization. Nevertheless it was Schiller, as we have seen, who was chiefly, or, at all events, finally and decisively instrumental in leading Friedrich Schlegel to adopt the Romantic ideal.

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¹⁵ *Fragment* 139. Cf. also, as a foreshadowing of later realism, *Fgm.* 124: "Wenn man aus Psychologie Romane schreibt . . . so ist es sehr inkonsequent, und klein; auch die langsamste und ausführlichste Zergliederung unnatürlicher Lüste, grässlicher Marter, empörender Infamie, ekelhafter sinnlicher oder geistiger Impotenz scheuen zu wollen."

MEAD—MEADOW, SHADE—SHADOW, A STUDY IN ANALOGY

It is usual to assume that these words are inflectional doublets, the first of each pair from a nominative, the second from an accusative or oblique case form. So Skeat, Kluge, Jespersen (*Progress in Language* p. 180), Wyld (*Short History of English* § 316), the *New Eng. Dict.* However, that both nominative and accusative when differing from each other should be finally preserved in a single dialect is unusual, if not unknown. Where the nominative and accusative differ in nouns the accusative is alone regularly preserved by frequency of usage.¹ Thus we may explain *narrow(s)* 'a strait of water,' *shadow*, *sinew*, *meadow*, and the rare *leasow* 'pasture' as from the Anglian *wā*-stem accusatives *nearwe*, *scædwe* (WS. *sceadwe*), *sinwe*, *mēdwe* (WS. *mǣdwe*), *lēswē* (WS. *lǣswe*). And these are the only *wā*-stems not ending in a vowel or *w* which have come down to the modern standard speech. Similarly, the parallel neuter *wo*-stems *bale*, *cud*(*quid*), *smear*, *tar*, are as regularly developed from the accusative (nominative) without an OE. *-we* ending, and seem to be the only examples of this kind now preserved.²

Now it is unnecessary to assume any radical departure from the ordinary workings of analogy in the case of the words we are considering. The long *wā*-stem which gives us *mead*-*meadow* had already in Old English a double inflection, as it continued to follow *wā*-stems with singular oblique cases in *-we*, or went over to the *ā*-stems with an oblique case ending in *-e*. The former gave ME. *medwe* (*medewe*, *medew*, *medow*), the latter ME. *mēde* (*mēde*), each based on the accusative or oblique case form. The change of

¹ I say accusative specifically, because without question in the majority of nouns the accusative form is more frequently used than any other. In English the dative perhaps assisted sometimes, but the history of the words in this article shows that the dative and genitive rarely, if ever, withstood the analogy of the accusative case.

² Stems ending in a vowel or *w* show coalescence of the stem and ending, so that a MnE. syllabic *-ow* (*ew*) ending was impossible. Of such *wā* stems are *claw*, archaic *rue* sb., *stōw* 'a place' in place-names like *Cheapstow*. Similar neuter *wo*-stems are *ankle*, *dew*, *low* (of a cow), *snow*, *tree*.

vowel from close to open \bar{e} , perhaps a Southernism or more likely due to the preceding low-pitched m , need not concern us here. The two ME. words have come down regularly as *mead*, *meadow*, probably both preserved by slight differentiation in use. For example, even in Middle English, *mead* is rather the poetic and literary form, — tho it exists also in compounds as *Runnymede*, — and *meadow* the common every-day variety. In the same way *leasow* 'pasture' and the rarer *lease* in the same sense are to be explained.

That the usual etymology of these words can not be correct should be clear from the Middle English forms. Thus if MnE. *mead*, *lease* came from the OE. nominatives they should have given ME. *mēd*, *lē̄s*, or with open vowel, *mē̄d*, *lē̄s*. They appear regularly as ME. *mēde*, *lēse* (*mē̄de*, *lē̄se*), in both nominative-accusative and dative so far as used, just as we should expect if they had sprung from the OE. \bar{a} -stem accusative or oblique case in *-e*. Chaucer has the ns. *mēde* in *Troil.* II, 53 and *C. T. Prol.* 89, the as. *mēde* in *R of R.* 132, and the ds. *mēde* in seven other cases cited in Skeat's glossary not counting *R of R.* 1432. He also has ns. *medewe* in *R of R.* 128, and ds. *medew* in *LGW(B)* 210, (A) 104. That is the two words were clearly distinct in Middle English declensional forms, and should be separately glossed in Middle English dictionaries just as much as OE. *scead* and *sceadu* which are from a single Teutonic root. So also Chaucer has ds. *lēse* in *HF.* 1768 and *Troil.* II, 752, when if the usual idea of the etymology is correct he should have used *leswe* (*lesow*). The latter form he does not seem to employ at all.³

Shade and *shadow* have a somewhat similar and a somewhat different history. A single word of the Teutonic *u*-stems, Gothic *skadus* 'shade, shadow,' had early become differentiated into two Old English words. An Anglian neuter *scād* (WS. *scead*) had entirely lost connection with the masculine *u*-stems, as had *frīð* 'peace' and *līð* 'joint, limb' except in compounds, while a form

³ As to poetic usage, ME. *mēde* and MnE. *mead* lend themselves so readily to rime that we should expect them to be much used, while ME. *medewe* (*medewe*, *medew*, *medow*), MnE. *meadow* could not be easily managed in rime position. Chaucer, according to the Skeat glossary, has *mēde* in rime ten times, not including *R. of R.* 1432, while neither of the examples of *medewe* (*medew*) is at the end of the line. Gower uses only *medewe*, according to Macaulay's glossary, ns. *medewe* in *Conf. Amant.* v, 4151, apl. *medwes* v, 5964, neither example in rime.

of the root with final *u*, Anglian *scædu*, WS. *sceadu*, had associated itself with the feminine *wā*-stems. That the two Old English words existed side by side must have been due to a slight differentiation in meaning or use, as today between *shade* 'shelter, protection' and *shadow* 'dark spot due to cutting off of light, immaterial thing.'

Anglian *scædu*, acc. *scædwe*, gave ME. *schadwe* (*schadewe*, *schadowe*) through the regular analogical displacement of the nominative by the more frequently used accusative. At the same time WS. *sceadu* sometimes has oblique case forms in *-e*, showing that it sometimes went over to the simple *ā*-stems as OE. *mēd* (*mād*) had gone over to the *wā*-stems. Such an inflectional form would have given ME. *schade*, and may have had some influence in the development of MnE. *shade*. On the other hand it can be shown to be more likely a development of Anglian *scæd*, altho one new effect of analogical influence enters as we shall see.

Anglian *scæd* regularly became ME. *schad*. It would naturally have remained among nouns with short stem vowel followed by a single consonant and without final unstressed *e*, since its accusative and nominative agreed. But now a new influence entered. The stem vowel of such nouns, when capable of lengthening in an open syllable, became long during Middle English in the genitive and dative singular and in the plural. There were thus in the same inflection two forms of such a noun, an accusative-nominative singular with short vowel in a closed syllable, a genitive and dative, as well as a plural of all cases, with long vowel in an open syllable. Such double forms within the declension were unusual and sure to suffer regularization by analogy. Either stem might have been eliminated and was in different examples, but it is easy to show that more commonly the stem with long vowel in open syllable prevailed, and the singular accusative-nominative conformed by assuming the long vowel and final *e*. Thus ME. *schad* would have become *schāde* (*shāde*) and probably did become MnE. *shade*.⁴

⁴The change applies only to Old English short masculine and neuter *o*-stems, since all others had a final unstressed *e* in Middle English by the phonetic change of unstressed *a*, *o*, *u*, to *e*. Nouns which in Middle English assumed final unstressed *e* from their accusatives, by the regular analogical principle, of course do not belong here. On the other hand a considerable number of borrowed words suffered the same change.

Old English neuters which lengthened their stem vowel and assumed final unstressed *-e* like Anglian *scæd* are:

(*ge*)*bed*, ME. *bēde*, MnE. *bead* 'prayer, ornament'; *blæd*, ME. *blāde* 'blade (of grass)'; (*ge*)*bod*, ME. *bōde* 'bode, warning'; *bred*, ME. *brēde*, early MnE. *breade* 'breadth' used by J. Heywood in 1560; *col*, ME. *cōle* 'coal'; *dæl*, ME. *dāle* 'dale'; *dor*, ME. *dōre* 'door'; (*in*)*fær*, ME. *infāre* 'infare, housewarming'; Ang. *ȝæt* (WS. *ȝeat*), ME. *yāte* (and *gāte* by Scandinavian influence) 'gate'; Ang. *ȝoc* (WS. *ȝeoc*), ME. *ȝōke* (*yōke*) 'yoke'; *gor*, ME. *gōre* 'dirt, dung, gore'; *græf*, ME. *grāve* 'grave, burial place'; *grot*, ME. *grōte* 'particle, groat (groats)'; *hol*, ME. *hōle* 'hole'; *hop*, ME. *hōpe* 'sloping hollow, hope' in place-names like *Stanhope*; *pos*, ME. *pōse* MnE. *pose* 'cough' reported by the *NED* from Phillips (1706); *slæd*, ME. *slāde* 'valley, slade' still used by Drayton; *sol*, ME. *sōle*, MnE. *solē* (*soal*) 'muddy place, mire,' now perhaps only a Kenticism; *staeð*, ME. *stāthe* 'bank, shore,' early MnE. *stathe* (1515), later *staithe* (*staith*), local in England. There were besides in Middle English *lōre* 'loss,' OE. *lor*; *sāle* 'hall,' OE. *sæl*, still used by Malory; *wāde* 'ford, shallow place' OE. *wæd*. To these must probably be added *beach*, OE. *bæc*, and perhaps *slope*, ME. *a slōpe*, OE. *slop* 'sliding.'

Of the fewer Old English masculines, those which lengthened their stem vowel and assumed final unstressed *e* in a similar manner are:

hwæl, ME. *whāle* 'whale'; *stæf*, ME. *stāve* 'stave'; *stær*, ME. *stāre* 'starling, stare.'

Borrowed words were also affected, as the Scandinavian neuters *star*, ME. *stāre* 'coarse grain'; *val*, ME. *wāle*, MnE. dialectal *wale* 'choice, option.' Considerably more numerous are the Old French words:

as, ME. *āce* 'ace'; *bas* m., ME. *bāse* 'foundation, base'; *cap*, ME. *cāpe* 'headland, cape'; *cas*, ME. *cāse* 'event, case'; *cas* (*casse*) f., ME. *cāse* 'receptacle, case'; *clos*, ME. *clōse* 'enclosed space, close'; *debat*, ME. *debāte* 'strife, debate'; *dol*, ME. *dōel* 'artifice,' Scotch law *dole* 'malice'; *dol*, ME. *dōle* 'grief, dole'; *estat*, ME. *estāte* 'estate'; *lac*, ME. *lāke* 'lake'; *las*, ME. *lāce* 'cord, lace'; *pas*, ME. *pāce* 'step, pace'; *palat*, ME. *palāte* 'palate'; *pal*, ME. *pale* 'stake'; *prelat*, ME. *prelāte* 'prelate';

senat, ME. *senāte* 'senate'; (*e*) *sclat*, ME. *slāte*, (*sc*lāte) 'thin flat stone, slate'; *solas*, ME. *solāce* 'solace'; (*e*) *stat*, ME. *stāte* 'condition, state'; *val*, ME. *vāle* 'valley, vale.'⁵

It was noted that this change of stem vowel belongs only to vowels capable of lengthening in an open syllable. The vowels *i* and *u* did not so lengthen it is usually believed, and this seems to be fully borne out by words of the Old English groups we are considering. Thus of Old English neuters with *i*—there were no masculines—all retain the short vowel in their modern standard forms, as *cliff*, *lid* (OE. *hlid*), *limb* (OE. *lim*), *lith* 'joint, limb,' *ship*, *tin*, *twig*, *writ*. In Middle English there were besides *lith* 'slope' (OE. *hlīð*), *lith* 'help, company' (Scand. *lið*), and *nip* 'darkness' (OE. *genip*). Old French words with *i* final or before a single consonant belong to a different class since, probably owing to the quality of the *i*, they early associated themselves with words having long *i*. Compare *cry* sb. (OF. *cri*), *delight* (OF. *delit*), *exile* (OF. *exil*), *strife* (OF. *estrif*), and *respite* (OF. *respit*) which once had a long vowel. There seem to have been no Old English words with the stem vowel *u*.⁶

⁵ In Middle English double forms naturally remain for a time, the older short form of the stem appearing beside that with the long vowel. For example Chaucer rimes *grot* 'groat' which now remains only in the long form, with *lot*, OE. *hlot*, 'portion,' which has remained short. So the short *lock*, *sod*, *swath* had Middle English long forms as *lōke*, *sōde*, *swāthe*. Both long and short forms have sometimes been retained in different meaning or use. Thus beside the independent *cot*, OE. *cot*, is *-cote* in *dovecote*, tho in the latter case an OE. *cote* wf. may have had influence. Compare also *staff* and *stave* from OE. *stæf*, and *slate*, *slat* from OF. (*e*) *sclat* (* *slat*).

In *case* 'receptacle' above the development implies a form **cas* as if masculine, rather than *casse* f. Chaucer has this form in at least two places, LGW. 982 riming with *Eneas*, and C. A. T. 2558 riming with *cas* 'event.' However this form arose, it should be mentioned in the etymologies instead of the OF. *casse* only.

⁶ These examples bear strongly upon Luick's contention for lengthening of *i* and *u* in open syllables (*Studien zur engl. Lautgeschichte*, 1903, Wyld, *Short History of English*, § 174). If such lengthening did occur, when not preceded by change of *i*, *u* to *e*, *o*, it should have affected the oblique cases of some of these words and some of them would certainly have been preserved in their long forms. That *i*, *u* did become *e*, *o* in a few cases, probably under the influence of neighboring sounds, is certainly true. For example, of these words ME. *clif* sometimes became *clef*. The latter then

Words which regularized the Middle English difference in stem vowel by preserving the short form are, as already indicated, fewer in number. Of Old English neuters—I need give only the modern form as a rule—are:

back sb., *bath*, *brass*, *broth*, *chaff*, *cot*, *fat* 'vessel' displaced by the Southern *vat*, *glass*, *God*, *grass*, *lock*, *sap*, *sod* (OE. *gesod*), *span*, *swath*, *thatch*. *Cart*, if from OE. *cræt*, early left the group by metathesis of *r*.

Old English masculines are:

brock 'badger,' *path*, *stink* sb., *staff* beside *stave* as above.

Perhaps one reason for the preservation of these short vowel forms is their phonetic character in other respects. All but *God*, *sod*, *span* have final voiceless consonants, most of which sometimes caused shortening even of long vowels.

The change of a short-stemmed accusative-nominative by analogy of the long stem form is partly, it will be clear, a change of the singular by analogy of the plural. Such a change also took place in some adjectives and in the past tenses of some verbs. Examples of Old English adjectives are:

bær, ME. *bāre* 'bare'; *læt*, ME. *lāte* 'slow, late'; *tam* (*tom*), ME. *tāme* 'tame'; (*ge*)*wær*, ME. *iwāre*, *awāre* 'aware.'

Scandinavian are:

samr, ME. *sāme* 'same'; *starr*, ME. *stāre* 'stiff, weary.'

Old French adjectives suffering the same change include:

bas, ME. *bāse* 'low, base'; *clos*, ME. *clōse* 'shut in, close'; *mal*, ME. *māle* 'evil'; *mat*, ME. *māte* 'dejected, weary'; *saf*, ME. *sāfe*, NF. *saf* beside OF. *sauf* 'safe'; *sol*, ME. *sōle* 'solitary.'

In the past tense of some strong verbs also the analogical play was between plural and singular forms. Take for example the verb *come* of the fourth gradation series with its exceptionally irregular past forms in Old English. By Middle English times, besides those from OE. *cōm*—*cōmon*, such forms as *cam*—*camen* had come into existence by analogy of other pasts of the same series, as late OE.

suffered the analogical change I have explained along with other *e* words, as shown by Chaucer's *clēves* or *clives* (LGW. 1470), tho he has also *clif* (LGW. 1497), *cliffes* (B of D. 161).

nam—namon. The *a* of the plural was itself by earlier analogy of the singular, and at first short since it never became ME. \bar{a} as an OE. \bar{a} would have done. In the plural open syllable this *a* then became long in Middle English. Similarly in the fifth gradation series ME. *ʒaf* resulted in an analogical plural *ʒaven*, which then became *ʒāven* by lengthening of the vowel in the open syllable. Later, by analogy of the plural form, the singular vowel became long and a final unstressed *e* was assumed.

Such analogical influence of plural upon singular accounts for the late Middle English pasts of gradation classes four and five—*bare, brake, came, gat(e), gave, spake, stale* ‘stole,’ *stake* ‘stuck,’ *sate, tare* ‘tore,’ *trade* ‘trod.’ By analogy of these words *swear* of the sixth gradation class also took a past tense *sware*; *strike* of the first a past *strake* (unless this is possibly a Northern form); and the weak verb *wear* a strong past *ware*. All these forms are in Malory (Baldwin’s *Inflections and Syntax of the Morte D’Arthur* § 161). Early Modern English, as shown by Shakespeare or the King James version of the Bible, still sometimes used *bade, bare, brake, came, gave, sate, spake, sware, ware, and drave* perhaps by a new analogy of such forms. Shortening before a dental had reduced *gate* to *gat*, as often *sate* to *sat*. Of these, as we know, *came* and *gave* have remained standard English, while *sate* persisted in poetry and sometimes in prose to a late period.

I have been at some pains to explain in detail this influence of analogy, both because it is somewhat exceptional, and because it has not been sufficiently recognized. That it has not been properly recognized is clear from the treatment of various words in the *New Eng. Dict.* For *bead* ‘prayer’ a possible *bedu, bed* f. is set up. Under *blade* is the comment “appears derived from oblique cases and plural.” No explanation is given under *bode, coal, dale*. *Door* is said to be a mixture of OE. *duru* and *dor*.⁷ Of *hole* it is said,

⁷ MnE. *door* pronounced *dōr* would be amply accounted for by the principle explained in this paper. The peculiarity is the early modern spelling *door*, in which however *oo* may mean no more than in *floor*, OE. *flōr*. In both words influence of *r* is to be taken into account, as well as the double forms existing today in such words as *boor, moor, poor* on the one side, and such as *door, floor, swore, whore*, dialectal *poor* pronounced *pōr, board, hoard* and others. Compare also the double pronunciation of the proper name *More, Moore*.

"may be < holh," a form which regularly accounts for the substantive, perhaps also the adjective, *hollow*. Of *mead* the NED says:

By phonetic law the *w* was dropped in the nom. sing. of OE., and retained in the other forms. Although the regular inflection is the more common, the oblique cases and plural are sometimes found assimilated to the nom. sing., as gen. and dat. *māde* (dat. also *mēda* as from a *u*-stem), pl. *māda*.

Of *shade* the explanation is:

ME. *schade* rep. OE. *sceadu* str. fem. (oblique cases *sceadwe* also irreg. *sceade*) and the by form *scead* neut. (dat. sing. *sceade*, pl. *sceadu*). The flexional form *sceadwe* is represented by *shadow* sb.⁸

The less common character of this particular analogical influence is also noteworthy. As a rule the singular form is more stable than the plural, because in most cases more commonly used. Witness the preservation of the singular only in the indefinite-interrogative *who*, the Old English relative particle *þe*, the Middle English article *the* and the relative *that*. Or take the preservation into Middle English of three forms of the singular in nouns as compared with one form of the plural, and the retention of two of those singular forms to modern times. Again only the present indicative singular retains more than one personal form in verbs, and gradation verbs preserve in the past tense the old singular rather than the plural in almost the proportion of two to one. It is the more important, therefore, that examples in which the plural had its influence should be more carefully explained.

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⁸I must note throughout this explanation the citation of WS. forms exclusively, as so often in our English etymologies, altho the differences in Anglican English from which most of our standard forms must have come are now fairly clear.

THE DATE OF THE BEWCASTLE CROSS

To one who finds it necessary each year to make an intelligent, and intelligible, statement about the date of the Bewcastle Cross, a Runic monument in Cumberland, the arguments of both Professor Cook and of Bishop Browne, of Bristol, leave much to be desired. Professor Cook's contention for the twelfth century, the reign of King David of Scotland, as the period when the Cross was erected, does not satisfy one's curiosity regarding the history plainly involved by proper names which may be read upon the Cross; and Bishop Browne, upholding the traditional date, the seventh century, adheres to the common reading of the Runic characters of the inscription which photographs do not seem to warrant. A difference of five hundred years admits of no compromise.

In such an *impasse* I felt compelled to renounce all authorities, save the photographs of Messrs. Cook, Browne and Collingwood, and with a reading-glass, not so strong as to reveal process-points, apply myself to an independent reading of the inscription. The result was better than might have been expected from such a method; it relieves one of mental reservations, and as Professor Cook's theory raised more problems than it solved, I have a feeling that the very simplicity of this result is its best advocate. All students must be grateful to these writers for their contributions to the iconography of the subject, and the recent death of Commandatore Revoira, whose decision Professor Cook invoked with finality for the twelfth century, is most regrettable.

I offer the following text, transliterated:

1	† pIS SIGBECN	
2	pUN SETTÆ H	
3	WÆTRED WOP	
4	GAR OLFWOL	
5	pU ÆFT ÆLCFRI	
6	pU EL(..F?)GUIN	(king)
7	EAC OISIEU	(king)
8	† GIBED HE	
9	ON.....INÆ SÆWHULO	

NOTES

Line 2—UN as a postpositional adjective in the older interpretations seems forced. A present plural of *þeon*, 'to do, to cause,' or a possible variant of *þon*, adv. equivalent in meaning to L. *tum*, is more reasonable. L. 3—HWÆTRED is listed as abbot in the *Liber Vitae*, and WOÞGAR as a monk. L. 5—ÆFT ÆLCFRIÞU: Professor Cook invents a lady of the twelfth century in order that Aelfcfrīþu may be feminine after *æft*. But in his translation of Sievers' Old English Grammar, p. 152, note 4, we are told that *u*, in masculine long stems of the *u* declension is retained in Runic *flodu* and *olwfwolþu*, the latter name, presumably masculine, occurring in the text above. But waiving Olwfwolþu, whom I cannot identify, ÆFT ÆLCFRIÞU may be read, and this name of a particular man, as will be seen below, is the only one that makes sense. If the construction does not agree with the grammar, then the grammar should be changed, rather than the text or the obvious meaning. L. 6—EL(. . F?) GUIN. This name is the special issue of this article. The line has been read by others as EAN KUNING; but -GUIN is unmistakable. The Runic character for C is consistently used in the inscription, and I fail to read it here. What name in EL. .GUIN fits properly? The necessity of harmonizing spelling in Searle's *Onomasticon* in order to compile the book at all disguises the protean nature of Saxon spelling of proper names: *Aelfwine* might or might not do. The genealogies at the end of Nennius left me in no doubt that the Aelfguin there recorded was the same as the EL. .GUIN on the Cross: "*Osguid genuit Alcfrið et Aelfguin et Aechfird*," § 57; "*Osguid genuit Ecgfird, ipse est Ecgfird Ailquin*," § 61; "*Ecgfird filius Osbiu regnavit novem annis*," § 65. But Ecfrið reigned from 670 (671 Browne) to his tragic death in the spring of 685. In the ninth year of his reign, 679, his younger brother Aelfwine was killed in battle. The story is told by Bede, and repeatedly expounded by historians. Zimmer's discussion of the Nennius genealogies ends: "*Der Text lautet also ursprünglich: Osguid genuit Alchfrid et Aelfguin et Aechfrid. . .*" The archaic forms of Osguid and Aelfguin will not escape notice: the British character of one of them on the Cross confirms Nennius, as Nennius thus confirms the Cross.

The order of these names on the Cross is important. Aelfrið had been under-king of Deira for a time, but he had trouble with his father, King Oswiu, and was said to have retired to a monastery. Ailguin-Aelfwine had been under-king of Deira but one year when he was killed in battle, supporting his brother King Ecgfrið, at the age of eighteen. He was beloved by all, even his enemies lamenting his death. Ecfrið's name, it will be observed, does not appear on the face of the Cross. The names of his brothers Aelfrið and Ailguin are there, and also that of his father Oswiu.

The novel reading after EL. GUIN, l. 6, and after OISIEU, l. 7, I am compelled to adopt from evidence of Saxon coins, and also from the sense of the lines. If we regard Runic \mathfrak{X} as equivalent to ING, or as a patronymic adjunct, we get no sense; for, as has been stated, Ailguin was but eighteen years old at his death. On Saxon coins the king's name is followed by an upright cross,— \dagger . Later, the final x of REX attracts the upright cross over on its two ends,—thus xx, (REXX). Joined top and bottom, as at the ends of ll. 6 and 7, the ligature not only implies *king*, but it also coincides with the Runic \mathfrak{X} , which, when standing for a word, meant 'prince.'

Lines 8 and 9 I pass over for the present, only remarking that Collingwood detected a definite chisel cutting on O, thus making a ligature ON.

I accept the statement of all writers that the names of Wulfhere, Cyniburgh and Cyneswið may be read on the Cross, on another side. Professor Cook read two *n*'s in Cyniburgh, upon which he further enforces his argument for a late date. Bishop Browne's objection to this is well taken, that there is too little difference between the forms of Runic N and I to warrant such an argument. What is important is that Aelfrið, Ailguin, Oswiu, Wulfhere, Cyniburgh and Cyneswið are royal names all related by blood or marriage. They were all active in consolidating the English church in the North under Roman, as opposed to British use. Aelfrið was the inspiring genius in the movement against Iona, to which his father remained loyal as long as he could. Finally they all came together in the Roman mission, King Oswiu joining King Wulfhere of Mercia, against whom he had fought. The first martyr was young Ailguin, for "*on fruman gear*," a fragmentary inscription hitherto read on the Cross as referring to the first year of Ecgfrið's reign, I take to refer to the first year of Ailguin's reign, when he was killed. There

was nothing notable in the first year of Ecgfrið, 670 (671 Browne), unless he wished to erect a memorial to his father. In that case Ailguin's name could not have been included, for he did not die until 679.

To sum up: As Ecgfrið's name does not appear in the memorial inscription the Cross may be reasonably conceived to have been erected in his lifetime, somewhere between 679, the death of Ailguin, and 685, the year of his own death in battle against the Picts.

I select one or two minor matters for comment. Professor Cook finds GESSUS KRISTTUS, at the top of the Cross comparable only with Danish Runic spelling of the same words in the thirteenth century. If one may look ahead so many centuries from the subject-matter of the Cross, one may also look backward for an explanation of Runic X = G for initial sound of L. *Iesu*, *Iehsu*. Am I not right in thinking that this is the only English equivalent for the name in Saxon times? The universality of *haelend* amounts to taboo of English *Jesus*, or its phonetic prototype. Even Orm explains the *haelend* tradition of his time. English Runic X = G for both palatal as well as sonant stop, whereas a different character for the latter sound is found on the Continent. Looking backward for possible additional testimony I select Wordsworth and White's note under *iesu* in their edition of the Vulgate, *Gospels*, Index Nom. Prop. p. 776: "*etiam monet nos uir doctissimus E. Nestle, Hieronymum duobus locis 'de interp. nominum Hebr.' (ed. Uall. III, 34 et 91) de littera H et uoce iesus ita scribere, ubi in litterarum serie a G ad I transiliat.*"

It has been assumed by all writers on the Cross that the figure beneath that of Christ is a falconer. It is *genre*, says Professor Cook, perhaps portraiture. But one seeing Christ in the center, and John the Baptist, presumably, above, and a figure with a bird like an eagle below would naturally suppose that this figure was intended for St. John the Evangelist. That he has no nimbus is also true of St. John Baptist, above. After the famous arguments and councils about Rome vs. Iona, the Evangelist could hardly be left out of such company. And one may appeal to 'art's early wont,' when Christ alone wore the nimbus.

Antecedent improbability of such an artistic creation as the Bewcastle Cross in the seventh century is elaborately argued by Professor Cook. Too much has been made, he thinks, of Wilfrith's

importations of foreign workmen, and of Bede's statements about Benedict Biscop's stonecutters. Bede's reference (Hist. Abbot. 5) is, to be sure, to Biscop's continental journey of 675, four years before Ailguin's death; but we know that King Ecgfrið was an enthusiastic patron not only of Biscop, but also, for a time, of Wilfrith. So far from being improbable, is it not highly probable that men who had been to Rome as many times as had Wilfrith and Biscop could succeed, in their missionary zeal, in importing the best workmen? The universal exaltation and veneration of the cross after Heraclius early in the century would, one is inclined to think, draw upon the best technique of classical art remaining. The Romulus motive on the Franks Casket joins to the Romulus motive on early Saxon coins. The checker pattern on Bewcastle is also a sacred motive in early Saracen design. Of one point about the technique of Bewcastle I feel certain: the hand that decorated the Cross was not the same that chiseled the Runic inscription. This is crude, and shows no such careful planning as is evident elsewhere on the Cross.

Germane to the subject of English Runes is the story of Nennius's invention of an alphabet, a story which both Zeuss-Ebel and Zimmer regarded as negligible in importance. Twitted by a Saxon scholar for having no alphabet—*rudimentum*—Nennius suddenly invented, *ex machinatione mentis*, an alphabet, and gave meanings to each character, as the Saxons did and as the Celts did, later. The order was not that of the *futhorc*, and the *figuræ litterarum runicis similes* Zeuss did not print. Zimmer copied them, and prints them in *Nennius Vindicatus*, p. 131. Some of the characters are Runic, though not all these of Runic value; some are undoubtedly fanciful: but the effect produced is that of a Runic alphabet. Why, if Nennius had a British alphabet, should he have flattered the Saxon monk by such imitation? And why, when the Roman alphabet was finally adopted by the English, should they have added Runic? The inscription on the Bewcastle Cross seems to me to be a natural mode of English writing in the seventh century.

One may express impatience that no competent geologist has determined the formation from which the Cross was quarried. Traditions that it was found in a local pit, or that it was carried overseas,—one recalls the high tides of the Solway in *Redgauntlet*—might, one would think, be easily denied or confirmed. But why

should the Bewcastle Cross be subjected longer to the weather? From any angle, from that of language, religion, history or art, the Cross is much too precious for further exposure.¹

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¹ References: A. S. Cook, *The Date of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses*, Yale University Press, 1912. *Some Accounts of the Bewcastle Cross*, Yale Studies in English, L, 1914. Review of Browne's *Ancient Cross Shafts at Bewcastle and Ruthwell*, *Modern Language Notes*, June, 1917.

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Zimmer, H., *Nennius Vindictus*, Berlin, 1893, p. 131; for discussion of genealogies, p. 93 f., cf. Chadwick, p. 38, text, and n. 4; also Addenda, p. 345, note to p. 38.

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Nennius, *Historia Britonum*. ed. Stevenson, English Historical Society, 1838. In *Monument. Hist. Brit.* p. 47: Gildas, *De Excidio Britanniae*, *Mon. Hist. Brit.* p. 1.

ITALIAN INFLUENCE ON RONSARD'S THEORY OF THE EPIC

A number of articles establishing the existence of Italian influence on many of the ideas of the members of the Pléiade have appeared within the last few years, but the degree of influence that the various critical treatises appearing in Italy before the year 1570 have exercised on the theoretical views of Ronsard has as yet not been stated. The problem is somewhat complicated by the fact that, although one is confronted by the similarity in thought and expression between Ronsard and the Italians, the constant reservation must be made that there is, in most cases, a common source for nearly all of the critical theory, namely either Aristotle or Horace. It has been clearly established, I think, by Lintilhac¹ that, before Scaliger (1561), Aristotle's *Poetics* were not known or cited by poets in France. To be sure, Erasmus had mentioned the title of the *Poetics* in a letter to Jean Morus, the twenty-seventh of February, 1531, and had edited it without comment at Bâle the same year, and it had been published in 1559 by Guillaume Morel, but none of the critics or poets seems to have been inspired by the *Poetics* before Scaliger. There is but a short interval of four years between the publication of Scaliger's *Poetices* and Ronsard's *Abrégé*, and one might well question the fact of Ronsard's deriving much inspiration from the *Poetics* of Aristotle directly, although we know that he was familiar to a certain degree with the work.² Be that as it may, there seems to be justification, despite the meagerness of the material available in the three short treatises of Ronsard, for believing that Italian influence is to be found in his theory of the epic. The present writer has endeavored to give cases in which Ronsard has either stated or developed his ideas in

¹ "Un Coup d'état dans la république des lettres," *la Nouvelle Revue*, 15 mai, 1890.

² In the *Abrégé de l'art poétique*, which is addressed to Alphonse Delbène: "Je te dirois icy particulièrement les propres subiectz d'un chacun poëme, si tu n'avois desja veu l'art poëtique d'Horace et de Aristote, ausquelz je te connois assez mediocrement versé." P. de Ronsard, *Euvres*, ed. Marty-Laveaux, Paris, Lemerre (1887-1893), vi, 454.

a manner similar to the Italians, and different from the treatment of the subject by either Aristotle or Horace.

In regard to the unity of time Ronsard states in his second preface to the *Franciade* that "le Poëme Heroïque . . . comprend seulement les actions d'une année entière."³ There seems to be little doubt of the fact that he has borrowed this idea from Minturno, who in his *Arte poetica* (1564) says:⁴ "Benchè egli abbia questa prerogativa di potere crescer tanto, non però la materia della Favola sia più che una, ne di cose avvenute in più lungo spazio, che di un'anno." The fact that this limitation occurs in Minturno alone of all the Italian and French critical treatises would seem to establish sufficient evidence of influence. Aristotle, it will be remembered, said only that the action of epic poetry has "no fixed limit of time."⁵

On the question of the relationship between history and poetry we find Ronsard following the Italians rather than Aristotle. "Plusieurs croyent," he says,⁶ "que le Poëte & l'Historien soient d'un mesme mestier; mais ils se trompent beaucoup, car ce sont divers artisans, qui n'ont rien de commun l'un avecques l'autre, sinon les descriptions des choses, comme batailles, assauts, montaignes, forests & rivières, villes, assietes de camp, strategemes, nombre des morts, conseils & pratiques de guerre: en cela il ne faut point que le Poëte faille, non plus que l'Historien." And again:⁷ "Encore que l'histoire en beaucoup de sortes se conforme à la Poësie, comme en vehemence de parler, harangues, description de batailles, villes, fleuves, mers, montaignes, & autres semblables choses." Daniello, writing in 1536, had said:⁸ "Conciosia cosa che molte di quelle cose ha l'Historico, che sono con quelle del Poeta comuni. Si come sono le descrittioni de i luoghi, de popoli, delle nationi, i siti, le leggi, le consuetudini, i costumi." Minturno in the *De Poeta* had said:⁹ "Narratur enim, cum describuntur personae, causae, loca, tempora, actiones, perturbationes animorum, modus, instrumentum"; and Scaliger, manifesting the same six-

³ *Ibid.*, III; 523.

⁴ Antonio Minturno, *L'Arte poetica*, Napoli, 1725, p. 25.

⁵ V, 4. Cf. I. Bywater, *Aristotle on the Art of Poetry*, Oxford, 1909.

⁶ *Œuvres*, III, 524.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 514.

⁸ Bernardino Daniello, *Della poetica*, Vinegia, 1536, p. 42.

⁹ *De Poeta*, Venetiis, MDLIX, p. 114.

teenth-century fondness for long series of words, had spoken of poetry's describing "tempestates, bella, fugas, artes varias."¹⁰ Aristotle had written: "From what we have said, it will be seen that the poet's function is to describe, not the thing that has happened, but the kind of thing that might happen, *i. e.*, what is possible as being probable or necessary. The distinction between historian and poet . . . consists really in this: that one describes the thing that has been and the other the kind of thing that might be."¹¹ In Ronsard's amplification of this thought we can see the evidence of Italian borrowing.

Plato, in the *Phaedrus*,¹² wrote: "You will allow that every discourse ought to be a living creature having its own body and head and feet; there ought to be a middle, beginning, and end, which are in a manner agreeable to one another and to the whole." Aristotle, taking this up, had written:¹³ "The construction of its stories should clearly be like that in a drama; they should be based on a single action, one that is a complete whole in itself, with a beginning, middle, and end, so as to enable the work to produce its own proper pleasure with all the organic unity of a living creature." The idea of an organism evidently underlies Aristotle's conception of unity, but it remained for an Italian, Giral di Cinthio, to amplify and embellish this conception: "Et la similitudine è, che mi pare che si possano assimigliare i corpi de i Poemi alla compositura del corpo humano. Però che come l'huomo è fatto di anima et di corpo, et il corpo è di ossa et di nervi, di carne, et di pelle, . . . così le compositioni de i buoni Poeti debbono haver parti ne i corpo loro, che corrispondano alle parti, che compongono l'huomo."¹⁴ Ronsard follows Giral di Cinthio very closely: "Car tout ainsi qu'on ne peut veritablement dire un corps humain, beau, plaisant, et accomply, s'il n'est composé de sang, venes, arteres et tendons, et sur tout d'une nayve couleur; ainsi la Poësie ne peut estre plaisante . . . sans belles inventions, descriptions, comparaisons, qui sont les nerfs et la vie du livre."¹⁵

¹⁰ Julii Caesaris Scaliger, *Poetices*, MDXCIV, lib. I, cap. 1.

¹¹ IX, 2. Cf. Bywater, *op. cit.*

¹² *The Dialogues of Plato*, translated into English by B. Jowett, I, 569.

¹³ Ch. XIX, Bywater, *op. cit.*

¹⁴ Giovambattista Giral di Cinthio, *Discorsi*, Vinegia, 1554, p. 16.

¹⁵ *Euvres*, VI, 451.

"Le Poëme Heroïque . . . est tout guerrier," says Ronsard;¹⁶ and again:¹⁷ "le Poëte heroïque . . . décrit les batailles et assauts, factions et entreprises de guerre," an idea which had been expressed by numerous Italians. Daniello, for instance, laments that up to his time no one had written "heroicamente 'delle guerre,"¹⁸ and Varchi asserts that "la guerra pare piu atto, e piu proprio soggetto de poeti Heroici."¹⁹ This idea, of course, may have been deduced from Horace's

Res gestae regumque ducumque et tristia bella
Quo scribi possent numero monstravit Homerus,²⁰

but it is more than probable that Ronsard was merely following the accepted idea of the subject of the epic poem.

Ronsard writes:²¹ "Et davantage je ne scaurois croire que Priam, Hector, Polydame, Alexandre, et mille autres tels ayent jamais esté, qui ont tous les noms Grecs, inventez par Homere: Car si cela estoit vray, les chevaliers Troyens eussent porté le nom de leurs païs Phrygien, et est bien aisé à cognoistre . . . que la guerre Troyenne a esté feinte par Homere"; and again:²² "Les excellens Poëtes nomment peu souvent les choses par leur nom propre." Regarding this question of the employment of true names, Minturno states:²³ "Ma benchè l'Epico, ed il Tragico Poeta usino i veri e conti nomi, non però dal genere, e dalla natura universale si dipartono. Come dicon' alcuni, che l'Epico usa pochissimi veri nomi? Io non so per quale cagione. Ma certamente dirien menzogna, se intenderessero delle persone, le quali sien della Favola tolta dalla Storia: conciossiacosachè, di quelle i nomi tutti sien veri appo Virgilio, ed Omero." There is nothing to suggest the idea of the employment of true names to Ronsard unless he had borrowed it from the Italians, except a somewhat unrelated passage in Horace, which would not seem to bear greatly on the point at issue:

Ficta voluptatis causa sint proxima veris.²⁴

Ronsard refers frequently to the Italians in his prefaces and in

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 523.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *Della poetica*, p. 131.

¹⁹ Benedetto Varchi, *Lezzioni*, Firenze, MDXC, p. 616.

²⁰ *Ars poetica*, 73-74.

²¹ *Œuvres*, III, 515.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 521.

²³ *L'Arte poetica*, p. 39.

²⁴ *Ars poetica*, 338.

the *Abrégé*,²⁵ and there are many evidences that would lead one to suspect Italian influence where it cannot be verified. The probability is very strong that Ronsard was familiar with Minturno and Daniello, although he mentions neither by name. To sum up, then, there are certain statements which Ronsard makes which are found only in his Italian predecessors. His restricting the epic to one year could not have been suggested by Aristotle; his discussion of the relationship of historian and poet is not at all similar to Aristotle's, nor is his development of the idea of an organism to be found in the Stagirite.

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REVIEWS

Edmund Spenser. A Critical Study. By HERBERT ELLSWORTH CORY. Berkeley, University of California Press. 1917. VIII, 478 pp.

Mr. Cory's volume is an important testimony to the large place now held by the poetry of Spenser in the field of American philological scholarship. In his Preface, the author sets forth a two-fold purpose: first, "to come to certain conclusions about Spenser only on the basis of a vast number of experiences of other readers of Spenser in every decade from 1579 to 1917," these conclusions, he thinks, having grown "with a logical and almost biological continuity from many earlier interpretations," and deriving their authority not only from literary criticism, but from hints of method, from facts, and from relevant interpretations gained through the study of modern science. Second, Mr. Cory seeks to relate his study of Spenser to "twentieth-century nationalism, imperialism, feminism, and that socialistic-syndicalistic controversy which is to be the twentieth century version of the old struggle between those who emphasize the social contract and those who emphasize the rights of individuals and of minorities." In working out these purposes Mr. Cory gives a review of the entire corpus of Spenser's poetry, with a digest of Spenser criticism extending to 1917. This digest, in view of the advance in Spenser scholarship

²⁵ *Œuvres*, III, 514, 525, 534, 535; also VI, 450, 454.

in recent years, is of high value despite the lack of an index and the failure to supply a bibliography.

In the course of his review of Spenser's poetry and the work of previous critics, Mr. Cory comes to certain conclusions that require careful examination. The most important of these is a theory of the structure of the *Faerie Queene*. Mr. Cory justly protests against regarding Spenser merely as a dreamer and visionary. He sees substance of thought as well as fancy in the great poem. "No single age," he remarks, "has as yet begun to comprehend the innumerable facets, the myriad flashes of history, and philosophy, poetry and prophecy, in the *Faerie Queene*." As a means to such comprehension, Mr. Cory sets forth two propositions concerning the structure of the poem: first, that it was planned by Spenser to be what Mr. Cory calls "an epic of the future"; and, second, that it reveals a progressive disillusion, causing a "crumbling of the structure" of the poem, and proceeding from the poet's despair because Leicester's death made impossible what the poet had hoped for, a union of Leicester and the Queen and an epoch of national greatness which, in Mr. Cory's thought, Spenser foresaw if this union had taken place.

The first of these propositions leads Mr. Cory to the hypothesis that Spenser proposed to "overgo" Ariosto, not by writing a better poem in the same kind, but by inventing an entirely new type. To him, we are told, "came a vision so audacious that even his warmest admirers have not yet comprehended it: a vision to write an epic which would make history through the great light of a cloudy allegory fairly incandescent with prophetic convictions, an epic not of the past but of the future" (p. 53). Mr. Cory repeats this idea at various places: the *Faerie Queene* was to be "a new epic type, an heroic poem whose main theme set forth the great national achievements of the future"; "a new epic type that turns from the old mode of remembering and exalting the past to foreshadowing the future"; he "would write history before it was made in fact"; its secret is in "its superb arrogation of omniscience"; it was to be "an epic of the absolute future, not to celebrate history but to make it" (pp. 55, 56, 58).

Now if one could accept Mr. Cory's theory it would indeed, as he says, "reveal depths in the *Faerie Queene* sufficient to allure even the most casual readers." But the evidence that Mr. Cory brings in support of his contention is both inconsiderable and

unsatisfactory. If we could interpret his phrase "epic of the future" as meaning merely that Spenser aligned himself with the progressives at Elizabeth's court, advising continued war on Spain, bold advocacy of a militant Protestantism, the establishment of a strong navy, and the building of an imperial domain overseas, we should have some grounds for agreement. But the part of the poem in which Spenser comes nearest to advocating such a program is the fifth book, which belongs to what Mr. Cory calls the period of disillusion when the poet had given up his dream of an Elizabethan Utopia. Spenser *was* a progressive; he contended all his life against the cautious policy of Burghley; he was in sympathy, successively, with Leicester, Sidney, Essex, and Raleigh; but Mr. Cory makes small use of this political idealism, and even if he had pressed the point it would not have explained the phrase in the sense in which Mr. Cory uses it. In fact, Mr. Cory has no sympathy with the "ruthless imperialism" of Book V, and his characterization of that book, far from supporting his theory, militates against it (p. 290).

Other evidence drawn from the poem there is none, except for his reference to the first book, on which Mr. Cory remarks that he believes, "calling the *Faerie Queene* as I do an epic of the future which sought to prophesy history, that Spenser intended merely to voice a personal and a popular English fear of the danger of leaving Una (Truth) to be the paramour (sic) of Duessa (Falsehood, Mary Queen of Scots), who would lead St. George to be the prey of Orgoglio (the Catholic church) (p. 78).

Mr. Cory's whole cause, therefore, rests on mere conjecture, except for the use he makes of the idea, familiar since Upton's time, that in Prince Arthur Spenser meant to portray Leicester and that the purpose of the poem as originally conceived was to celebrate the hoped-for marriage between Leicester and the Queen. The suggestion of this marriage, Mr. Cory thinks, the poet put forward "with Parthian reticence." He quotes from the letter to Raleigh Spenser's statement of his intention, if the first twelve books should be well received, to write a second series of twelve books, dealing with the history of Arthur as king, on which Mr. Cory remarks: "He was, if these twelve books were 'well-accepted,' and if Arthur and Gloriana were married, to write an epic sequel celebrating the deeds of Leicester as king-consort or, perhaps,

boldly prophesying for Leicester and Elizabeth the ways that they should follow to be illustrious" (p. 56).

Now, although it is quite possible that in the courtship of Gloriana by Prince Arthur Spenser may have had in mind, at times, Leicester's long ambition, there is no reason whatever to suppose that the poem had for one of its purposes either prophecy of a union between the two or poetical propaganda to bring such a union to pass. For one thing, Spenser's explanation of his general intention in the *Faerie Queene*, given in his letter to Raleigh (dated 23 January, 1589), could not have been written until after Leicester's death, after all thought of a marriage had been abandoned for many years, and after Spenser's bitter complaint about Leicester's abandonment of him had been expressed in *Virgils Gnat*. Mr. Cory's conjecture about the nature of the second twelve books is thus by a simple matter of chronology untenable. Furthermore, the only place in the *Faerie Queene* where Arthur may plausibly be identified as Leicester is in the fifth book, and even this identification is rendered uncertain by the fact that the Arthur of Book V frees Belgae, while Leicester assuredly did not settle the problem at all, but rather was called ignominiously home. The pitfalls that lurk in the path of any one who applies too rigidly any scheme of identification of the personages in the poem may be seen if we consider what the poet does with his personifications of Elizabeth. We know, for example, from the letter to Raleigh that he shadows forth the Queen not only in Gloriana but also in Belpheobe. We also know that Mercilla represents Elizabeth, and Britomart. Now Britomart and Artegal are lovers, and Artegal, part of the time at least, is Lord Grey. Does this prove that Spenser contemplated a marriage between Grey and his Queen? The fact is that the union between Artegal and Britomart symbolizes the union between British justice and the might of Britain in war. At a given moment the course of British justice is made concrete in the course of Lord Grey in Ireland. Artegal, *for this moment*, is Lord Grey. It is the same with the identifications of other major characters. The union of Arthur and Gloriana symbolizes the restoration of the old British line, through the Tudor family, to the supreme power in England.¹ A cardinal

¹ I have discussed this point at some length in an article on "Spenser's Fairy Mythology," *Studies in Philology*, April, 1918.

principle of Spenser's political philosophy was that this new Britain ought to crush the growing menace of Spain. To do this, not only must Ireland be freed from Philip's propaganda, but the Low Countries must be given their liberty. The Queen, half-heartedly, aided the Low Countries, and at one time Leicester was in command of an expeditionary force there. *For this moment*, therefore, Arthur, representing Britain, becomes concrete, personalized, in Leicester. It is no more necessary to believe that Arthur is *always* Leicester than it is to believe that Artegal is always Grey. It is not necessary, therefore, to any one familiar with Spenser's methods in allegory, to suppose that the union between Arthur and Gloriana, the union between England and the old British line, meant to Spenser any actual marriage of the Queen to Leicester or to anyone else. And even if he had begun the composition of his poem with any such idea, it was obviously impossible at the time when the letter to Raleigh was written, and there are no traces of it remaining in the poem itself.

Finally, the dedicatory letter, far from suggesting that Spenser contemplated a second poem of twelve books celebrating the deeds of Leicester as king-consort or at least pointing out the path which the royal pair should follow, is in reality to be explained on quite other grounds. Spenser himself is explicit as to his intention. He says that Homer, in the persons of Agamemnon and Ulysses, had portrayed a good governor and a virtuous man; that Virgil had combined the private and public virtues in the person of Æneas, and Ariosto in his Orlando; Tasso, he says, separated the two sets of virtues, public and private, in his Rinaldo and Godfredo. Following these illustrious examples, Spenser proposes, in the first twelve books, to deal with the twelve private virtues; if these books are well received he will continue with an exposition of kingship. There is, therefore, no basis for any conjecture about an "epic of the future," devoted to Leicester's deeds as king-consort, just as it is impossible to construct out of the adventures of Arthur in the first six books, except for the expedition to the Low Countries, any history of Leicester as king-consort-elect. An epic of Britain, glorifying the reigning house, and containing, according to the poetical theory of the time, an exposition of perfect courtiership, was the object of Spenser's endeavor; herein lies the explanation of the structure of the poem.

The second proposition on which Mr. Cory's theory of the struc-

ture of the *Faerie Queene* rests is closely related to the first. It is that Spenser's plans for writing an epic of the future, giving firm foundation for the first two books of the poem, were dissipated by the death of Leicester, resulting in the third book in a certain confusion and uncertainty, while Books IV-VI became chaotic, the work of "a bewildered and a bitter hand" (p. 160). To quote Mr. Cory:

The fact that Spenser's hero (Leicester not Sidney) died, probably before Spenser had completed his third book, must have been to a hero-worshipper so sincere, the most deadly of destructive influences. The third book shows many signs of confusion. The fourth book is chaos. The fifth book, as an isolated poem, is better, but its strands are not well-woven into the poem as a whole. The sixth book is almost completely disjointed and closes with a bitter anticlimax.

This theory underlies everything that Mr. Cory presents throughout his long analysis of the poem, and indeed all that he presents on the relations of other poems, such as the *Complaints*, to Spenser's life. The value of Mr. Cory's book, therefore, depends in a large sense upon the soundness of this interpretation. After Leicester's death, Mr. Cory contends (p. 64):

Reality refused to pour itself into Spenser's mighty mould for an epic of the future. The break-up of the vast structure of the poem itself, the increase of the casual and the episodic, the influx of chaos, the cry of despair in the last stanzas of the sixth book were inevitable.

After "the unfaltering conviction of the first book" and "the architectonic strength and continuity" displayed in it and in Book II, "he lost his grip"; in Books III and IV "we have an almost complete crumbling of the general structure accompanied with a series of personages taken mainly from romance and often with no allegory whatsoever" (pp. 64, 85, 144, 145). The reason Mr. Cory finds in the death of Leicester, which he thinks took place before Spenser had proceeded very far with the third book. It is impossible to illustrate the many ways in which this theory affects Mr. Cory's judgment even of episodes in the poem; such, for example, as his idea that Arthur fails to take any part in the main action of Book III because Leicester was dead,—“Surely here is our reason. England was failing to become Utopia. Leicester

was dead before the rich materials of the third book had been resolved into the intricate harmonies of which Spenser dreamed."²

Mr. Cory's method is the method of repeated assertion. Of positive argument he gives very little. At times he seems to think that there is proof of the crumbling of the structure of the poem in the fact that after the first two books the allegory is less sustained, appearing only fitfully if at all. But this is not proof of a crumbling structure; it is evidence of a change in Spenser's conception of his poem, an improvement on the whole, and due in large part to the difference between the virtues that form the subject of the third, fourth, and sixth books and the virtues of the other books. "Holiness" is mediæval; "Temperance" is partly mediæval, partly classical; "Justice" is classical; while "Chastity" (Love), "Friendship," and "Courtesy" are treated by Spenser chiefly in the manner of the Renaissance. Book I has the precise and formal structure of mediæval allegory. It is an exceedingly effective complex of the morality play and the Arthurian romance. The pleasure that it gives is in part due to this sense of form. Book IV, on the other hand, is like Sidney's *Arcadia*, which was regarded, at the time when Spenser was writing, as a sublime poem.³ This story of Calidore is romance of the new Renaissance type. The allegory in it is the allegory that the Elizabethans found in *Cyropaedia* or *Arcadia*. To say that because Book IV lacks the formal excellence of Book I therefore the "vast structure" of the epic was "crumbling" is like finding fault with *Cymbeline* or the *Winter's Tale* because they do not have the academic symmetry of structure of *Love's Labour's Lost*.

Mr. Cory seems troubled, also, by the number of unpleasant people one meets in Spenser's poem. These people, with their stories, seem to him not to be brought into close relations with the main plots in the later books. As we go on, he says, we come across many figures "so small, so sordid, we feel that they are drawn by

² P. 147. Even the change in the last stanzas of Book III in the edition of 1596 is due, Mr. Cory thinks, not merely to Spenser's desire to extend Britomart's story into the following book, but "we may be equally sure that his growing disillusion, his growing fear that England was not to become a Utopia, impelled him to close his first symphony on a desolate unresolved chord" (p. 170).

³ For a summary of this theory and its relations to Spenser see "Sidney's 'Arcadia' as an Example of Elizabethan Allegory," in *Kittredge Anniversary Papers*, 1913, pp. 327 ff.

a bewildered and a bitter hand" (p. 160). Now this idea, which Mr. Cory returns to again and again, betrays a serious misconception of the very essence of Spenser's method. This method, which is very similar to the use of the *exemplum* by mediæval writers, springs from the conception of poetry held by Spenser and his contemporaries. It is philosophy teaching by example, more gracious than by rule.

Fundamentally, Spenser uses the technique of the Arthurian romances, especially in the first three books. The damsel in distress of Book I; the complaint, in Book II, of the Palmer in behalf of the infant with bloody hands; the groom in Book III with his plea for a champion to rescue the damsel from Busirane—these are familiar romance motifs. Likewise, the interference of Arthur is not merely designed to show that no one virtue is sufficient unto itself; it is an application of the thoroughly conventional motif of the greatest knight in the world, coming to the aid of the knight who is the titular hero of the story. Even in Book III Arthur's failure to appear is not due, as Mr. Cory imagines, to Spenser's disappointment over the death of Leicester, but to the fact that Britomart is in a sense Arthur's equal, the feminine counterpart of that for which Arthur stands. Book III is complementary to Book II. In the story of Guyon the classical ideal of Temperance is exalted. Guyon is sorely tried, but in the end destroys Acrasia, who typifies the hedonistic conception of life implied in Marlowe's conflict between the passion for beauty and the consciousness of sin. Alma, in whom we see, as the editor of the Oxford Spenser has observed, "the soul in perfect command over the body," prepares Guyon to resist the earthly Venus. But in Britomart we have a deeper and warmer conception. She is not, like Guyon, a man struggling for perfection; she is love itself, in whose presence Busirane is as powerless as Comus in the presence of the Lady. She is allegorical in the Platonic, not the mediæval sense. But she also corresponds to Arthur and achieves the triumph appropriate to the greatest knight in the world. Her book, therefore, is closely linked to the two preceding books, while it looks forward, in its stress on the religion of love and beauty, to Book IV.

This method of plot-making becomes even clearer when we consider that Spenser drew his conception of his great knights from the romances. To give but a few of many examples that will instantly occur to the reader, already in *Amis and Amiloun* we

have the virtue of friendship, prototype of Spenser's Cambell and Triamond; Sir Cliges is the embodiment of charity, Isumbras of humility, Sir Gawain of courtesy; the Squire of Low Degree typifies merit and virtue in humble position, ever a favorite theme with Spenser. Thus Red Cross, Guyon, Britomart, Calidore, Artegal, are not mere abstractions, such as one finds in the *Passetyme of Pleasure* or in *Magnyfycence*; they are conceived in the spirit of the romances. To try Spenser, therefore, as Mr. Cory does, by narrow canons of formal allegory; to complain because the later books are free from the scholastic categories of the first book; to say that because the framework is less palpable therefore Spenser was losing his grip, was allowing the structure of his poem to crumble, was inhibited by despair, is singularly to miss the soul of the *Faerie Queene*.

The second observation I would make is that Spenser, following the later Arthurian romances, uses romance situations as *symbols* of spiritual matters. Thus, in *Rigomer*, a girl appears at Arthur's court and calls for a knight. Lancelot goes with her and finds in Ireland an enchanted castle where is a girl who will marry only the best knight in the world. Lancelot fights the monster serpent but can not complete the adventure, until Gawain, like Spenser's Arthur, comes and releases the people in the castle from enchantment. Now here is a primitive situation, without symbolism. But in Chrétien the same situation becomes symbolic, and in Spenser's first book it supplies the framework of the plot. To take a variant, Galahad's rescue of the maidens in the *High History* represents Christ's freeing of the Christian graces from the Seven Deadly Sins, an incident that Spenser transfers bodily to his story of the siege of Alma's castle. Thus Spenser does not copy literally the romances; he uses romance situations as symbols; he uses this method constantly, not occasionally or fortuitously; the episodes of which Mr. Cory and others have complained are of the essence of his method; the increase in this element as he gets away from the morality play structure of Book I is not a proof of failing inspiration but an ever-varying source of new interest. In Caxton's remarks about Malory's Arthur we find one of the chief clues to the method:

Herein may be seen noble chivalry, courtesy, humanity, friendliness, hardiness, love, friendship, cowardice, murder, hate, virtue and sin. Do after the good and leave the evil. . . . All is written

for our doctrine, and for to beware that we fall not to vice nor sin, but *to exercise and follow virtue*.

Finally, the use of the episodes, which as Mr. Cory observes become increasingly noticeable as we go on in the poem, is closely related to this conception of romance situation as symbol. In Guyon's book, for example, an episode like that of Phaedria symbolizes the classical excess, which results in intemperance. In the third and fourth books, where the Renaissance religion of love is the theme, the episodes either exemplify the virtues, to be emulated, or they are sins against love, to be shunned. Especially in the fourth book is the virtue of friendship presented by showing what it is *not*. Hence these spiteful and petty figures that give Mr. Cory so much pain are essential to Spenser's plan, not signs of incoherence and disillusion. In Artegal's book this use of the *exemplum* forms the heart of the structure. Spenser's purpose is to show the defects of the vacillating policy of the government with respect to Ireland. The murdered lady represents the spirit of lawlessness; the episode of the Saracen and his daughter is an *exemplum* showing the evils of bribery. The giant with scales shows the futility of communism, a species of injustice, the negative or obverse of the virtue to which the book is dedicated. Braggadocchio figures as a cowardly boaster who steals the credit that belongs to others. The story of the two brothers is a defense of the imperial policy; while the Radigund episode, which is very similar to an episode in the old romance of *Rigomer*, is a satire on womanish methods of dealing with the Irish problem.

There are no better illustrations of the relation of this method to Spenser's idea of structure than are found in Book VI, which Mr. Cory regards as marking the utter disillusion of Spenser and the chaos that had descended upon his poem. It is the Book of Courtesy. The stress is on the lowly life, or life away from the artificiality and tinsel glitter of the court. The mood is that of *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*. The method, as in Book V, is cumulative, leading directly to the great scenes of Calidore's life among the shepherds. Calepine, Tristram, Aladine, though noble, seem to be men of base origin, outside the group of great knights. The savage man, also of noble blood, is more truly courteous than others. The hermit has left the court, like the Duke in Shakespeare's drama. Indeed, the whole atmosphere of the book, as I have pointed out elsewhere, is that of plays like *As You Like It*,

Cymbeline, and *Winter's Tale*.⁴ The climax is in the story of Melibœus and the pastoral of Calidore and his love. It is not bitter. It has no more of disillusion than comes to any man who has attained years enough and wisdom enough to distinguish between the shows of things and reality. To postulate despair and chaos in mind and structure is critical blindness. It is to miss the ripeness, the wisdom, the charm, of poetry that has welded life and verse into imperishable harmonies. It is to prefer the glitter of *Love's Labour's Lost* to the maturity of the *Tempest*. What is far worse, for a student of literary history, it is to miss the fascination which the contemplative life exerted over the finest minds of that time of action, the Renaissance. It is to deal falsely, not only with Spenser, but with the mind of his age.

The key to the fallacy in Mr. Cory's interpretation is to be found, I believe, in the sentence from his Preface quoted at the beginning of this review, to the effect that his conclusions have grown "with a logical and almost biological continuity from many earlier interpretations." His entire theory is based, apparently, upon Dryden's remark, quoted on page 59, that "Prince Arthur, or his chief patron, Sir Philip Sidney, whom he intended to make happy by the marriage of his Gloriana, dying before him, deprived the poet both of the means and spirit to accomplish his design." For Sidney Mr. Cory substitutes Leicester, a suggestion that is as old as Upton; accepts, in effect, the old quarrel of the eighteenth century critics about the unity of the poem, modified somewhat by the view current in recent times that the *Faerie Queene* is but "the fragment of a splendid and incoherent design";⁵ and finds a new explanation for the "breakdown" by following out Dryden's ingenious but utterly wrong-headed assertion about the inhibition produced upon Spenser by the death of his "hero." In accordance with this theory Mr. Cory explains the publication of the *Complaints* volume in 1591, neglecting the obvious fact that a collection of juvenilia by a poet who had just scored an emphatic success was a good business proposition, and also neglecting the testimony of *Colin Clout*, to say nothing of the fifth book of the epic. Given this hypothesis, Mr. Cory can see in the later books of the *Faerie Queene* only that

⁴ "Shakespeare's Pastorals," *Studies in Philology*, April, 1916.

⁵ Courthope, *History of English Poetry*, II, p. 3.

The building of Utopias became necessarily less and less easy, and many of his cloudy symbols must have become for him strange mocking runes written in wandering fires . . . the allegory . . . but enigmatic gropings. . . . The political allegory is hopelessly episodic, the moral allegory is capricious and, when vital, almost invariably bitter. At the same time the capricious and almost meaningless romances which we saw increasing in the third book grow more and more numerous and elaborate and confusing" (p. 256; cf. also p. 331).

Mr. Cory's conclusions thus grow, indeed, with biological continuity from the observations of previous critics. His method is fundamentally the method of certain eighteenth century critics of the great Elizabethans—a sincere but often impressionistic appreciation of the "beauties" of the poet, held in check by the application of conventional tests of unity, and, in this case, by the presence or absence of that formalism contributed by the allegory. In Mr. Cory's book the two types of comment, the "beauties" and the form, are coördinated; he does not grapple with the problems presented by the *Faerie Queene* as a whole, or even with those presented by a single book; he applies his test of disillusion and approaching chaos in structure, and then quotes passage after passage with the enthusiasm of a lover of poetry who has forgotten every standard in abandonment to his own enjoyment. To such familiar debates in eighteenth century criticism as the question whether Shakespeare knew or did not know the ancients, or whether *Paradise Lost* fulfills the requirements of the classical epic or not, there succeeds, in Mr. Cory, the hypothesis that the failure of the *Faerie Queene* to measure up to the pseudo-classical formalism is due to the poet's bitter disappointment over the course of English history. That is, the pseudo-classic tests have grown, by biological continuity perhaps, into the romantic method of Dowden's *Shakespeare*. And this romanticism, manifested in the lack of concreteness, the substitution of assertion for argument or fact, and the wholly sentimental view he holds of Spenser's mind, is but thinly disguised by the frequent references to social movements, labor unrest, woman suffrage, contemporary literature, and the like.

On that large part of the book which is made up of selections of noble numbers from the great poem, with the enthusiastic and often penetrating comments which the author adds to justify his selection, there is here no space for comment. It is sufficient to

say that here is God's plenty, and that Mr. Cory deserves hearty appreciation for opening, more fully than one finds in any previous book on Spenser, the riches in the later portions of the epic. Most essays of Mr. Cory's school, from Macaulay on, give the impression that a few early cantos sufficed the critics, who did not really care to find out whether the Blatant Beast met death or not. The charge cannot be brought against Mr. Cory. He has read every line, and his quotations and his comments send us to the poem. In every age we shall need this personal appraisal, the record of adventures among books. But for our interpretation of the work of a great poet as a whole, we shall need to avoid biological analogies, the idea that to-day's criticism is from the same root as Dryden's or Upton's or Lowell's, and to use the method of history and science instead.

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Molière, Le Tartuffe ou l'Imposteur. Edited with introduction and notes by BERT EDWARD YOUNG. New York: Oxford University Press, 1918. xcii + 118 pp.

Good editions of this masterpiece, so indispensable to all students of the French drama, have not been lacking—one need only mention, for instance, the texts edited by such American scholars as Professor C. H. C. Wright and Professor J. E. Matzke. Hence, to call for special comment, a new contribution to the list must possess particular merit. This, it seems to the writer, is precisely the case with the book of Professor Young. The fruit of long and patient research, comprising not only a study of the best commentators, but also reference to original and infrequently seen contemporary works, his introduction and notes offer American students the most accessible material for a thorough study of the play in all its bearings of which the reviewer has any knowledge.

Exception might be taken—for no edition can please every one—to the very summary fashion in which the facts of Molière's life are relegated to a brief statement in the notes. No mention is even made here of the poet's unhappy marriage, which, in the judgment of many, profoundly affected his work. References are, however, given to the important biographies of the dramatist, and it is

evidently the author's intention here, and elsewhere, to stimulate the desire of the student to look up such things in the fuller accounts, saving space to deal primarily with *Le Tartuffe*.

Thé editor proceeds at once, therefore, to a concise, yet very judicious and adequate treatment of the setting of the play historically, its place in the development of French comedy and in the author's own dramatic growth. In his laudable endeavor to be brief he fails to assign sufficient importance to the comedy anterior to Molière, which is a failing common to most Molierists. Corneille, Cyrano de Bergerac, and Scarron are mentioned, but no allusion is made to Corneille's early plays, with their pictures of contemporary society—*La Veuve*, *La Galerie du Palais*, *La Place Royale*—nor do we find the names of Boisrobert, Desmarets (*Les Visionnaires*), Rotrou, or Gillet de la Tessonnerie (*Le Campagnard*), in all of whom are to be found traces of the development of a more realistic tendency and truer character-drawing. From all of them our dramatist drew material or suggestions of some kind.

Professor Young next discusses the vicissitudes of the production of the play in public, offering plausible explanations for the attitude of the different parties interested—author, clergy, king, and public—following this with a careful presentation of the conflicting views regarding the "Purpose of the Play." He quotes Brunetière, Faguet, Allier, Lefranc, and others, concluding that the author "with his back to the wall, was here defending the general principle of liberty, the liberty and right of his art to live and to speak against all and sundry bigots, whether Jansenists or Jesuits, casuists, illuminists, or *directeurs de conscience*—all who had attacked the theater." This is, in the main, the view of Professor Lefranc, that *Le Tartuffe* is merely an incident in the age-long warfare between the Church and the stage.

The editor then proceeds to indicate some of the factors which may have induced Molière to write the play just at that time, but claims that they should all be disregarded in the real consideration of its merits: "Yet if the play is to be regarded as the first great social drama of France, as one of the chief masterpieces of literature, it must be susceptible of complete detachment from its author. No proper conception of its purpose and scope can carry with it such implication of personal vengeance or literary venality as will restrict its application to any one period or any one controversy. Molière's vengeance is the vengeance of humanity upon a general

and eternal abuse; whatever the occasion of his work, his genius made it universal, and a synthesis of all hypocrisy."

It is well to emphasize this fact, but, at the same time, one must remember that it was not with this fine detachment that the poet wrote. He was not deliberately starting out to write a masterpiece, nor to deliver a staggering blow to the opponents of the theater—else he would have Tartuffe allude to it more directly. As for the immediate occasion of this play, Molière continually attacked all forms of hypocrisy. He hated shams of all kinds—sham education, the *précieuses*; sham nobility, the marquis; sham medicine, the quack—and he mocked those who were duped by them. It was perfectly natural that he should attack at this time sham religion, whose representatives were common enough *pour crever les yeux*. For him the function of comedy was to paint men as they were, and principally the men of his own generation. The spectator must see himself, or more likely, his neighbor or his enemy. He saw the living exponent or representative of the vice first, and then generalized and combined several of them to form a type. And therein his genius appears, since by it he was led to seize on those general qualities and traits, inseparable from human nature, which endure from one age to the next, and to clothe them, and place them in the surroundings and relations of life which would best bring them out. Thus, not only did they appear real to his contemporaries, but, under slightly altered dress, are current among us today. Motives and characters truly portrayed for one day remain true for the succeeding generations, and in this fidelity to nature our poet excelled. To my mind it was the very controversy over *Le Tartuffe*, following that over *L'Ecole des femmes*, which fixed more intensely in the dramatist's conception his rôle as a social reformer.

In this connection more attention might have been drawn in the Introduction (pp. xxvii and xxviii), or at least in the note to page xci, l. 13, to the relation between the author's statement in his petition to the king: "Il ne faut plus que je songe à faire de comédie," and the interruption of the performances by the troupe in the weeks immediately following, together with the reference made in the opening lines of the next play, *Amphitryon*, to the difficulties of serving the prince, and the necessity for obeying his behest, whatever the personal inclination.

Professor Young is very careful to avoid the dangerous ground of subjective criticism, and properly so. He merely suggests the applicability of Elmore's speeches to the dramatist's theory of the proper mode of action for his wife. The reviewer does not feel constrained by the same responsibility, and ventures the opinion that much of the character of Elmore, as it appears, is a reflection of the life and mode of conduct of Armande, and of her husband's views regarding it, whether given in extenuation or as suggestion.

The chapter upon the sources of *Le Tartuffe* is unusually complete, with useful references and citations. It is followed by one upon the literary importance of the play, not only in its influence in French literature, but also on foreign imitations and adaptations. The bibliography of eight pages contains the titles of a large number of works, chosen with discrimination and conveniently grouped. The text clearly indicates its purpose to serve for advanced classes, students who have an appreciation for scholarly research and thoroughness. Perhaps it is for this reason that no general explanation of French versification is given, which would be useful to students having their first introduction to the classic poets in a course on Molière.

The text of the play which is followed, it is hardly necessary to state, is that of *Les Grands Ecrivains* edition, and the printing is very clear and accurate. Surely there must be misprints, but the reviewer failed to find any.

The notes are concerned chiefly with the explanation of the more unusual words and constructions peculiar to the seventeenth century, with translation of difficult lines. Here, again, is evidence that the edition is intended for students of maturer preparation, for many inversions and similar traps for the unwary or untrained are passed over unnoted. Needful material for a study of the play is furnished, but the student is not relieved of the necessity for personal effort, nor the professor of opportunity for his own explanation. A few additional lines or words which struck the reviewer as reasonably worthy of a note are: l. 160, *docteur*; l. 258, *La part que vous prenez à sa convalescence*; l. 325, *On n'est point les esclaves*; l. 360 ff., a smooth translation; l. 479, *Vous moquez-vous des gens d'avoir fait ce complot*; l. 503, *ennui*; l. 806, indicate that the ill omens mentioned are still current in some sections of the United States, breaking a mirror being universally a bad por-

tent, and dreaming of muddy water foretelling a death in the family; l. 845, *Mais ce valet m'a dit qu'il s'en alloit descendre*.

At the end of the third act attention might well be drawn to the impression which would be produced were the action to end there, as we are to assume that it did at the first performance. The lines furnish a *dénouement* which might serve at a pinch, but which would justify protests, leaving the Hypocrite victorious as it does. This would explain the opposition which the play aroused even from those who would not feel themselves personally attacked in it. The circumstances are essentially horrible if such a vice is to come forth triumphant, yet the verses themselves and the stage play immediately preceding are in a high degree comic, and would afford the final laugh. Did the dramatist have in view the complete play from the start? I do not believe that he did, though he would hardly have left it as we find it at the end of this act.

The suggestions which have been offered, and the differences of opinion which have developed in the course of this review, would not have arisen in connection with the ordinary school text. They only prove with what fulness and scholarly care the editor has set forth the many questions which interest the student of this play, not hesitating to present his own view, but offering the reader opportunity to form judgment for himself. The edition is one which reflects credit upon American scholarship, and should certainly be in the hands of every teacher who uses this play in class, and of the students who desire really to understand and appreciate it.

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CORRESPONDENCE

ANGLO-SAXON RIDDLE 56

It has not been noted apparently that in lines 5-7 of *Riddle 56* in the Anglo-Saxon collection there is an interesting echo of a figure common in medieval hymns of the cross:

Ond rode taen þæs us to roderum up
hlædre rærde, ær he helwara
burg abræce.

In the Latin hymns of the cross we have the following:

Ave, scala peccatorum
 Qua ascendit Rex coelorum
 Ut ad choros angelorum
 Homo sic ascenderet,

found in Kehrein's *Lateinische Sequenzen des Mittelalters*, Mainz, 1873, p. 589, to which may be added the following: Mone, I, p. 142, st. 20, l. 39 (Tu scala, tu ratis); Kehrein, p. 67, no. 60, st. 5 (Haec est scala peccatorum); p. 75, no. 73, st. 2 (Haec est scala novae legis); p. 76, no. 75 (To scala, tu ratis). The list might be easily increased, but this will be enough to show the general popularity of the figure. The beginning of the idea may perhaps be found in the apocryphal *Acts of Philip*, for which reference I am indebted to Professor G. G. King of Bryn Mawr College:

"And the Saviour having turned, stretched up His hand, and marked a cross in the air coming down from above even to the abyss, and it was full of light, and had its form after the likeness of a ladder. And all the multitude that had gone down from the city into the abyss came up on the ladder of the luminous cross; but there remained below the proconsul, and the viper which they worshipped." (*Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, XVI, Roberts and Donaldson, Edinburgh, 1870, p. 311.)

For such a conception some early allegorization of Jacob's ladder, which was common enough in medieval art, no doubt gave the first hint. The Latin form of the apocryphal passage seems to have been known by the sixth century (*op. cit.*, p. xiv); and in the sixth century too the idea received extensive elaboration at the hands of Johannes Climacus, thus styled because of his work the *Klimax*. This book is conveniently described and its illuminations reproduced in the *Studies in East Christian and Roman Art*, Denison and Morey, N. Y., 1918, pp. 1 ff. An allied tradition is that of the ladder on the robe of the Lady Philosophy of Boethius, and also that of the *Scala Perfectionis* of the mystics. In connection with these may be cited the *scala coeli* of Honorius of Autun (*Patr. Lat.*, CLXXII, coll. 1229 and 1239), which possibly served as the basis for the adaptation in Alanus de Insulis (*Patr. Lat.*, CCX, 224) where the ladder has six steps corresponding to six virtues leading to heaven. And here belongs the ladder of Contemplation in the *Paradiso* (XXI, ll. 28 ff.). A ladder with three steps, Contrition, Confession, and Satisfaction, appears in a common exemplum: "Walter in search of a kingdom" (*Gesta Romanorum*, CI; and *Percy Soc. Pub.*, VIII, pp. 48-9, see note p. 226), with a possible parallel in the steps in the *Purgatorio* (IX, ll. 76 ff.). Finally compare the figure used in regard to the saints, *Rev. Celt.*, XX, 260, 68; 270, 92.

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A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE PUBLISHED WORKS OF
FEDERICO HANSSSEN

Dr. Federico (Friedrich) Hanssen, Director of the Instituto Pedagógico of the University of Chile, died August 29, 1919, at Santiago de Chile. He was born (1857) in Moscow of German parents, and was educated in Germany. His first work was in Greek and Latin grammar and prosody. Dr. Hanssen was both a scholar and a teacher of note. He went to Chile in 1889 at the request of the then Minister of Public Instruction, Don Julio Bañados Espinosa, to found the Seminario Pedagógico. This institution developed later into the Instituto Pedagógico, which is an integral part of the University and prepares young men and young women to become professors in the liceos.

The following list of Dr. Hanssen's publications is not complete. It does not contain his early writings on Comedian, Anacreontic poetry, Latin syntax, etc., but it includes all the titles of his works that are to be found in the Library of The Hispanic Society of America or in my own private collection and a few others. The works that are in the Library of The Hispanic Society are marked with an asterisk.

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THE SOURCES OF ROUSSEAU'S *Edouard Bomston*

I have read with a great deal of interest, in *Modern Philology* of July last, the article by Professor George R. Havens on *The Sources of Rousseau's Edouard Bomston*.

It would be difficult not to admit the existence of the two "chief sources" referred to: Prévost's *Cleveland*, and Muralt's *Lettres sur les Anglais*. I wonder, however, if more could not be made of Muralt if one went deeper into the spirit of the *Lettres*, and did not allow himself to be so much limited by verbal resemblances, which are, after all, only external signs of a much deeper relation between the two authors. As to Prévost's *Cleveland*, its importance appears somewhat diminished when one reflects that the "English gentleman" was in the eighteenth century in France, a sort of

Type littéraire, as the *Honnête homme* was in the seventeenth. I am not prepared to maintain that *Cleveland* was not specially present in Rousseau's mind while he was writing *la Nouvelle Héloïse*, although the passages quoted to prove that it was are not altogether convincing. On the other hand, is it not a little surprising that one who is trying to find a direct source of Edouard Bomston has kept absolutely silent about Colonel Morden, the "English gentleman" in *Clarissa Harlowe*? As long as *Clarissa Harlowe* is the novel which Rousseau tried to re-write on a higher plane, so to speak, Morden would seem to offer to the scholar the first parallel to the character of Bomston. Let us recall the passage of Joseph Texte's *J.-J. Rousseau et le Cosmopolitisme littéraire*.¹ ". . . Puis, il y a symétrie dans la disposition des personnages. Julie ressemble à Clarisse, comme Claire à Miss Howe. . . . De même que Miss Howe épouse le lourd et excellent Hickman, de même Claire devient la femme du bon et honnête M. d'Orbe. . . . Et de même encore, Julie a comme Clarisse, un père dur et insensible, une mère bonne et insignifiante. Comme Clarisse trouve un protecteur en le colonel Morden, de même Julie et Saint-Preux ont un confident en milord Bomston. Comme Morden, Bomston est l'honneur personnifié; comme lui, il est fier et généreux. Wolmar . . . etc."

Even should Professor Havens reach the conclusion that Rousseau's Bomston reminds us less of Colonel Morden than of Cleveland, mention of Morden ought not to be omitted, since my information, even of a negative character, is of interest to the scholar. But there are good reasons to believe that Professor Havens would find it very stimulating to compare the treatment of Bomston by Rousseau with the treatment of Morden by Richardson. Of course, an investigation of this sort would require more than a mere search for parallel passages; it would require keen psychological insight into the various motives which inspired Richardson and Rousseau when they drew up their respective pictures of the ideal English gentleman; as a matter of fact, the differences between Morden and Bomston would afford at least as much food for reflection as their similarities.

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LOWELL ON MILTON'S *Areopagitica*

In James Russell Lowell's essay, "*Milton's Areopagitica*," appears the following passage:

"The *Areopagitica* is the best known and most generally liked of Milton's prose writings, because it is the only one concerning whose subject the world has more nearly come to an agreement. In all the others except the tract concerning Education, and the *History*

¹ Hachette, 1895, pp. 286, 287.

of *Britain* in its first edition, there are embers of controversy which the ashes of two centuries cover but have not cooled" (*Latest Literary Essays and Addresses*, ed. 1892, p. 99).

Lowell here implies that all editions of the *History of Britain* after the first contained "embers of controversy." His allusion is manifestly to the invective which Milton pronounced in that work against the Long Parliament and the Westminster Assembly. The digressive passage containing this invective was, however, omitted not only from the first ed. (1670), but also from the editions of 1677, 1695, 1698 (in Toland's collection of the Prose Works, with the date 1694 on the title-page of the *History*), 1706 (in Kennett's *Complete History of England*), and 1719 (a reprint of the text of 1706). It did not appear in a Miltonic context until 1738, when Thomas Birch, in his edition of the Prose Works, inserted it near the beginning of the Third Book of the *History*.

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HARRY GLICKSMAN.

THE OLD ENGLISH LIFE OF ST. CHRISTOPHER

The first 1939 lines of *Beowulf* and the three prose pieces immediately preceding the Old English epic in MS. Cotton Vitellius A XV, are written in one and the same hand. Of these texts, the fragmentary and unique Old English version of the *Life of St. Christopher*—first printed in 1888 by G. Herzfeld (*Englische Studien*, XIII, 142)—is decidedly the one most injured by the fire of 1731, the margins of its pages offering such difficulties to an editor as are scarcely encountered on any but a few of the worst folios of *Beowulf*. The condition of the first page is especially bad; in addition to being charred, it is considerably soiled. These difficulties were by no means adequately met by Herzfeld's edition. Five years later there appeared in *Anglia* (XVII, 110) a second study of the fragment by Einenkel, in which the text is reproduced line by line with the Latin version. So far is this reproduction from being an improvement on Herzfeld's work that no justification can be found either for the flagrantly inaccurate text which Einenkel prints or for the injudicious and altogether unwarranted prefatory remarks with which he introduces his untrustworthy edition. That no misunderstanding of this questionably severe statement may arise, the following long quotation from Einenkel is given:

"Die altenglische Übertragung ist zum ersten und einzigem male abgedruckt worden nach Herzfeld's Abschrift. . . . Dass ich sie hier nochmals nach meiner Abschrift folgen lasse, begründet sich durch eine ziemlich grosse Anzahl von Abweichungen, welche sich durch eine genauere Einsicht in das MS. ergab. Diese Abweichungen erklären sich zum einen Theile aus Lesefehlern zum anderen aus Druckfehlern. Der grösste Theil jedoch besteht darin, dass Herzfeld im Mai 1888 so viel Wörter, Silben und Buchstaben mehr gesehen

hat, als ich im August 1893 zu erkennen im stande war, obgleich ich mich eines recht scharfen gesichtes erfreue und während der abschrift von dem wetter sehr begünstigt wurde. Woraus dieses Herzfeld'sche plus sich erklärt, ist nicht so leicht zu sagen. In manchen fällen wird wohl Herzfeld in den fehler vieler geübten Copisten verfallen sein, die wahrscheinlich für die wirklichkeit zu halten, d. h. nicht mit den augen, sondern dem geiste zu copieren. Scheiden wir aber diese wenigen fälle aus, so bleibt uns für die grosse zahl der übrigen nichts als anzunehmen, dass die schriftzüge der handschrift in der kurzen spanne von fünf jahren an ungemein zahlreichen stellen bis zur völligen unleserlichkeit verblasst oder verdunkelt sind. Dies ist überaus lehrsam. Es giebt uns den deutlichen rat mit der abschrift alles dessen, was bisher noch nicht gedruckt vorliegt, nicht mehr lange zu zögern."

A statement like this is certainly an excellent trial of scholarly patience. On the face of it, if words be not minced, it is sheer nonsense. That it should find its place, unchallenged and unrefuted, in a reputable periodical of scholarly standing, is a lamentable index of the lack of interest in, and perhaps ignorance of, manuscripts themselves as opposed to their contents. To anyone at all familiar with paleography, Einkenkel's vision of all our Old English mss., rapidly fading away from sight before our very eyes, is too preposterous to merit serious attention. Were his work as an editor reliable, his frequent departures from Herzfeld's reading of the ms. would have to be attributed not to the evanescent nature of century-tried ink, but indeed to a lack of accuracy on the part of Herzfeld. This, however, is not the case. Careful collation of each edition with the ms. brings out most unmistakably the fact that Einkenkel's text is far inferior to that of Herzfeld which he presumes to rectify. In fact, were the two editions undated and unprefaced, no critic would fail to let Einkenkel's version antedate Herzfeld's text. In instance after instance Einkenkel fails to see what in the ms. is absolutely clear. Time after time he sarcastically notes that he can see nothing of what Herzfeld prints. Reference is not now being made to smudged or scorched or faded passages where reading is difficult, but to plain, easily legible parts of the ms. where doubt as to the reading is impossible. In a forthcoming edition of the text¹ will be duly recorded these lapses of vision and the accompanying remarks with which Einkenkel lays himself open to correction. Here, it is unnecessary to add more than that Einkenkel read the ms. neither "mit dem Geiste" nor "mit den Augen," and that his criticism of Herzfeld's work is altogether unfounded and certainly unjust. Herzfeld's text, as will be shown in the new edition, is by no means perfect; but so far superior is it to Einkenkel's work that the latter may safely be neglected.

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¹ Now in preparation for the Early English Text Society.

BRIEF MENTION

Poetry and Dreams. By F. C. Prescott (Boston, The Four Seas Company, 1919). In the history of literature the use of the dream as a structural device is to be noticed in all periods; in medieval times it commands very special attention and has elicited several monographs. W. Baake's *Die Verwendung des Traummotivs in der englischen Dichtung bis Chaucer* (Diss. Halle a. S., 1906), may be mentioned, not for exceptional merits, but because it supplies a study of the subject in English literature of a period that keeps the dream in the category of stylistic devices against the background of popular belief. He asks the psychological question "denn was ist der Traum anders als ein unbewusstes Erdichten, oder das Dichten anders als ein waches Träumen?" merely to imply that this doctrine was not in vogue in the objective, realistic period studied by him, and that it has often misled writers to accept the rubric "Das Leben ein Traum" (p. 54). He finds that medieval literature, not admitting individual subjectivity in the modern sense, restricts the subconscious activity of the dreamer's mind chiefly to a pictorial or dramatic reflection of the objects, events, and ideas of the time. Chaucer and the author of *Piers the Plowman* are 'makers'; not dreamers but the makers of dreams. Not to digress into a discussion of what Goldsmith named "the disagreeable institution of effect and cause," the connotations of poetry, inspiration, and dreams have become intimately interlocked and blended in a psychological interpretation of the activities of the creative imagination. Hebbel (quoted by Mr. Prescott, p. 5) exclaims, "My belief that dream and poetry are identical, is more and more confirmed." Other witnesses are called. Charles Lamb says, "the true poet dreams being awake," and Sully Prudhomme defines poetry to be "le rêve par lequel l'homme aspire à une vie supérieure." The witnesses are many and in essential agreement. The 'divine madness' has now come to be regarded as a subject for investigation in the psychological laboratory, where it responds to tests of the different aspects of consciousness and discloses the nature of sleep and the characteristics of genius. This was sure to follow such utterances as have been cited, to which may be added that of Jean Paul Richter: "Genius is, in more senses than one, a sleep-walker, and in its bright dream can accomplish what one awake could never do." The power of creative detachment is to be understood as superior ability in the act of dreaming, superior control of what is stored up in the subconscious treasury.

No more recent investigator and writer has handled the subject of the interaction of subliminal mentation and conscious thought in a more fascinatingly suggestive manner than that maintained by Frederic W. H. Myers in the initial chapters of *Human Personality* (1903). In his view it is by 'subliminal uprushes' that con-

scious efforts are spiritually and artistically enriched and heightened; that these uprushes "often contain knowledge which no ordinary method of research could acquire"; and that the "inspiration of Genius" is therefore "a subliminal uprush, and emergence into the current of ideas which man is consciously manipulating of other ideas which he has not consciously originated, but which have shaped themselves beyond his will, in the profounder regions of his being." The confirming confession of Wordsworth is cited:

An auxiliar light
Came from my mind, which on the setting sun
Bestowed new splendor.

Bodily eyes
Were utterly forgotten, and what I saw
Appeared like something in myself, a dream,
A prospect in the mind.

Again, to follow Myers in the reiteration of his leading proposition: "When the subliminal mentation co-operates with and supplements the supraliminal, without changing the apparent phase of personality, we have *genius*." The degree of his superior ability to avail himself of the subliminal storehouse measures the genius of a man, and constitutes the characteristic difference between genius and average ability. Now, it is in Art that the results of this drawing upon the deeper knowledge and wider symbolism stored up subliminally will be likely to become manifest above the conscious threshold.

Myers insists on spiritistic implications of his theory. He does not let the matter rest in the statement that genius is "that happy mixture of subliminal with supraliminal faculty," but adds that, in his view, the subliminal "is in closer relation than the supraliminal to the spiritual world." By this he is drawn into observations on the difference, the temperamental difference, between men, which conditions the character and the limitations of their respective endowments in subliminal resources. Not to pronounce on the value of this branch of his speculation, it remains true that Myers has left a discussion of the two aspects of consciousness that is unsurpassed as an introduction to the psycho-analysis of the literary artist, to say nothing of the ever widening reach of this new manner of analyzing old experiences.

Mr. Prescott has made no reference to Myers, but he cannot be supposed to deny the pertinence and the advantage of keeping him in mind. Besides, there is, what may not be at once suspected, an excuse for Mr. Prescott's omission of an introduction to his subject that would necessarily contain some consideration of the chapters in Myers' book. The excuse emerges from the inherent difference between a book and a 'paper' or article in a periodical, for Mr. Prescott has merely detached and put forth in book-form an article he had published in *The Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, VII

(1912-13), 17-46; 104-143. The reader may think that he is rather unfairly left to discover this for himself. There is no preface or note giving the information, and the imprint, "Copyright, 1912," is not in itself clear. Mr. Prescott's 'book,' tho dated 1919, is therefore not less than seven years old. That the 'article' in this form will become more widely known in the circle of literary students must be Mr. Prescott's reason for reprinting it as a book, and the same motive may be valid as a justification of this 'brief mention.'

It would be futile to deny that psycho-analysis can contribute nothing of importance to the deeper understanding of literature. The new science is too much concerned with the activities of the creative imagination to have no effect on literary criticism and the interpretation of the critic's terminology. The student of literary art is not required to become a Freudian, but he cannot afford to stand apart and refuse to avail himself of any advantage that may be gained from a set of new symbols. This describes the attitude of Mr. Prescott. He is not a psycho-analyst, but merely as a student of literature examines the "resemblance and unexplained relation between poetry and dreams" in the light of Freud's *Traumdeutung*, assuming "the soundness of Dr. Freud's theory, though this may be still in debate among psychologists."

As already noticed, Myers appealed to the poets themselves for confirmation of his interpretation of the activities of creative 'genius.' Mr. Prescott does the same, and justifies the method: "New theories of this kind, if at all important, are seldom new in the sense that they have not been surmised and foreshadowed by poets and other imaginative writers. This is a part of the function of poets as prophets—to see truth imaginatively before it is grasped intellectually. It is one of the tests of new doctrines to ask if they thus find confirmation in literature" (p. 7). The creative genius being operative in all departments of literature and the other arts, the appeal is wide in its reach. Both Myers and Prescott find the new metaphor confirmed in clearest terms by Robert Louis Stevenson's acknowledgment of the help of the Brownies (Myers, p. 91), and Myers quotes (*inter alia*) the words of De Musset: "On ne travaille pas, on écoute, c'est comme un inconnu que vous parle à l'oreille"; and the summary statement of M. Ribot: "It is the unconscious which produces what is vulgarly called inspiration." Accepting, then, the metaphors of the discussion (see Myers, p. 14, note), the subconscious activity of the mind is, of course, common to all men (Prescott, p. 66); but the man of genius has the superior power to bring under supraliminal control the subliminal thought and desires of the average man, and thus add to what Carlyle describes as "the uttered part of man's life" (p. 23).

Too much is brought together by Myers and Mr. Prescott that relates to the old metaphors such as imagination and fancy, inspira-

tion and enthusiasm, instinct, poetic frenzy or ecstasy, insight, prophecy, abstraction, and the like, to favor an inclination on the part of the literary student to be indifferent to this subject. He is being drawn into it by books and periodicals that might be supposed to be outside of his special province, as, for example by Dr. Coriot's book, *The Hysteria of Lady Macbeth* (1912), from which a chapter has been translated and taken up in the *Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse und Psychotherapie* (IV, 384 ff.); and the first appearance of Mr. Prescott's contribution evokes connotations of the same character.

What is the source of the perceptions and desires expressed beneath the threshold of consciousness? How Myers deals with the question has already been indicated. Mr. Prescott moves somewhat in the same direction when he connects the irresponsible world of dreams with the acts and feelings of childhood: "In general the dream experiences, as compared with those of waking, have a kind of freshness and vigorous youthfulness about them as if they stood nearer to life's source" (p. 36; cf. also p. 63 note 2). But the creative endowment is made effectual thru education and discipline. Coleridge outlined the comprehensive knowledge to be acquired by one that would aspire to achieve an epic, and Keats longed for time and privilege to learn more so that he might write better. There is an empirical view of how things are done that will not be relegated to the area of the vague when products of the creative mind are considered. Locke is not yet altogether superseded. One cannot build without acquired building-material. At this angle another set of symbols may be introduced to figure the activities of the creative mind, and M. Nicolas Kostyleff comes forward with *Le Mécanisme cérébral de la pensée*, denying the Freudian theory of poetic inspiration. The poet, fitted by temperament and specific sensibility, must above all have an efficient "personal mechanism of verbal reactions. This mechanism is a part of inspiration." What is stored up in the mind in association with words sinks into the subconscious, whence it is drawn forth by interlocking chains of association. Myers' 'uprush' now becomes "a verbal discharge of automatic associations." In the composition of poetry, "no sooner does one flight of ideas come to an end than some overtone in it awakens further associations and another flight begins."—The mystery takes on various names, but remains a mystery.

This notice was in the hands of the printer before it was observed that Myers' *Human Personality* has been re-issued in an abridged form (Longmans, Green & Co.; see *The Athenæum* for Jan. 16). This fact does at least not contradict the judgment, expressed above, that Myers has supplied the best introduction to the theory of subconscious activities.

Since the publication in which it appears has not been generally accessible and the discussion itself is of considerable importance, it may be worth while to call the attention of students of early French literature to a pamphlet by Karl Christ called *Die altfranzösischen Handschriften der Palatina* (*Beihefte zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XLVI, Leipzig, 1916). Dr. Christ, believing that the three Old French manuscripts in the University library of Heidelberg could hardly have been the only representatives of that language among the great collections of the counts of the Palatinate, came to the conclusion, especially after studying early inventories, that the missing volumes must be among the *Palatini latini* in the Vatican. Accordingly, he searched the cases containing these Palatine manuscripts, and was richly rewarded by the discovery of some twenty-five uncatalogued and, for practical purposes, unknown French manuscripts.

The contents of these as well as of the three manuscripts at Heidelberg he has carefully described in his pamphlet. Moreover, he not only gives generous excerpts from the various works in each manuscript, but in most cases adds valuable literary and historical notes as well, so that his discussions are a distinct contribution to the literature of the subjects considered. Space forbids giving a complete catalog of the material thus brought to light. It includes a fragment of the *chanson de geste*, *Aspremont*, manuscripts of *Folque de Candie*, *Partonopeus de Blois*, *Floire et Blancheflor* (fragment), *Amadas et Idoine* (frag.), Wace's *Brut* (frag.), Gautier de Coincy's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, a prose *Tristan* and *Mort d'Artus*, a translation of the *Belli sacri historia*, William de Wadington's *Manuel des péchés*, Jean Chapuis' *Sept articles de la foi* (frag.), a *Passion* play, a *Bible abrégée* (prose), Guillaume de Deguillville's *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine*, Aldebrandin de Sienne's *Régime du Corps*, various short theological and didactic works in prose and verse, Christine de Pisan's *Cité des dames*, Alain Chartier's *Livre des quatre dames* and *Consolation des trois vertus*, Laurent de Premierfait's translation of the *Decameron*, Martin Le Franc's *Champion des dames*, Raoul Lefèvre's *Recueil des histoires de Troie*, and finally two important sixteenth century manuscripts: a collection of poems by Clément Marot, Melin de Saint-Gelais and their friends, and a Protestant play of the Reformation, the *Tragédie du Sac de Cabrière*.

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GRIMMELSHAUSENS ANTEIL AN DER SPRACHLICHEN GESTALT DER ÄLTESTEN SIMPLICISSIMUSDRUCKE

(Schluss)

Es ist eine nützliche Arbeit, die Törnvall verrichtete, als er auf der neuen Grundlage der Druckverhältnisse die Sprache des *SS 1669* und des *üSS 1669* einer vergleichenden Durchforschung unterzog. Die Resultate haben in doppelter Hinsicht ihre Bedeutung: sie befestigen, wie ich oben nachgewiesen habe, gewisse Ergebnisse der Grimmelshausenforschung, bilden aber daneben auch erwünschte Ergänzungen und Berichtigungen früherer sprachlichen Untersuchungen auf diesem Gebiet.

Aus der Lautlehre ist besonders Törnvals' Behandlung des *e* in nachtonigen Silben bemerkenswert. An der Hand von Kögels Ausgabe hatte seiner Zeit Johann Wiesner als einen *Beitrag zur Grammatik der frühneuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache*, Wien 1889, *Suffixales E in Grimmelshausens Simplicissimus* untersucht. Was Wiesner für die Sprache Grimmelshausens hielt, ist in der Hauptsache die Orthographie des Korrektors. Das Bestreben, das Törnvall dem Korrektor nachweist, läßt sich im allgemeinen folgendermaßen umschreiben: gewisse Härten des Auslauts werden durch Einschlebung eines tonlosen *e* gemildert; das Zusammenstoßen zweier tonlosen *e* besonders vor und nach *r* wird vermieden. Sehr auffällig ist die Tendenz, die *e*-Synkope für die Unterscheidung von Einzahl und Mehrzahl zu verwenden. Beim Adjektiv mit stammeschließendem *r* oder mit den Ableitungssilben *er*, *en* gebraucht der Korrektor in der Einzahl synkopierte Formen, wie *eigne*, *andre*, *unsre*, *eure*, während er in der Mehrzahl die vollen Formen *eigene*, *andere*, *unsere*, *euere* benutzt. Wo diese Unter-

scheidung unnötig ist, da sich die Einzahlform sowieso als solche dokumentiert, wie *eigenes*, *eigenem*, werden auch im Singular die vollen Formen gebraucht. Auch beim Zeitwort zeigt der Korrektor eine Neigung für nicht-synkopierte Formen, die der Sprache "einen würdevolleren, gewichtigeren Charakter als die Kurzformen" in der ursprünglichen Fassung verleihen. Törnvall macht hier auf die Übereinstimmung mit der Nürnberger Druckersprache aufmerksam, wie sie in Harsdörffers *Poetischem Trichter*, Nürnberg 1648, und Ernestis *Wol-eingerichteter Buchdruckerey*, Nürnberg 1721, gehandhabt wird. Die für Grimmelshausens eigene Sprache, wie sie sich auch in den wenigen erhaltenen Urkunden findet (vgl. z.B. Bechtold: *Grimmelshausen und seine Zeit*, Seite 81-82, 90-94, 210-211), so charakteristische Apokope des *e*: *alle Jahr*, *keine Knecht*, *die Stub*, *die Sach* u. ähnl., unterscheidet in sehr bezeichnender Weise den *SS 1669* von der überarbeiteten Fassung: der Korrektor führt ziemlich konsequent das suffixale *e* wieder ein und gebraucht *Erbe*, *Jude*, *Schwede*, *Böhme*, *Drache*, *Affe*, *Bote*, *Hemde*, *Bette*, wo Grimmelshausen sicher *Erb*, *Jud*, *Schwed*, *Böhm*, *Drach*, *Aff*, *Bott*, *Hemd*, *Bett* sprach und schrieb. Auch in der Mehrzahl der einsilbigen männlichen und sächlichen Wörter, wo bereits Harsdörffer die apokopierten Formen verurteilt hatte, ersetzt der Korrektor Formen wie *die Bäum*, *die Wölff*, *die Frösch* durch die schriftgemäßen *Bäume*, *Wölffe*, *Frösche*. Über all diese Punkte bringt Törnvall ein reichhaltiges, zuverlässiges Material, an dem die Grammatiker der frühneuhochdeutschen Forschung nicht achtlos vorübergehen dürfen.

Die Abweichungen, die den Konsonantismus betreffen, sind im allgemeinen von weit geringerer Bedeutung als die auf dem Gebiet der Vokale. Die für Grimmelshausen so typische Orthographie *mb* im Auslaut, die urkundlich u.a. in dem meinen *Problemen* beigegebenen Faksimile eines Briefes vom 17. Januar 1654 belegt ist (*gehorsamblich* und *gehorsamber*), trennt wieder den *SS 1669* vom *üSS 1669*: in ersterem Formen wie *umb*, *Irrthumb*, *Kaiserthumb*, *gleichsamb*, ja sogar *Amsterdamb* (Keller I, Seite 634); in der überarbeiteten Fassung wird das *b*, das Törnvall als "orthographischen Schnörkel" auffassen möchte, gestrichen. Der Korrektor ist hier wieder mit der Regel der Schriftsprache im Einklang, die von Schottelius folgendermaßen formuliert wird: "Es ist bisherq durch einen wunderlichen Misbrauch eingeführt, daß man das *B*

hat allemal zu Ende eines, auf *m* ausgehenden Wortes, beygesetzt, als *Kaysertukmb, komb, Lamb, fromb, Stamm, warumb, drumb*, etc.; es gehört aber das *b*, daselbst gar nicht hinein, sondern muß von allen solchen Wörtern ausgelassen werden" (*Ausführliche Arbeit von der Teutschen Haubt-Sprache*, Braunschweig 1663, Seite 204; vgl. auch Törnvall Seite 153.)

Auf einige weitere Korrekturen mit Bezug auf den Konsonantismus weise ich vorübergehend hin. Grimmelshausen schrieb durchweg: *Daube, dapffer, Bosse, Balme, Harpfe, scharpff, hinder, unden*, während der Korrektor *Taube, tapffer, Posse, Palme, Harffe, scharff, hinter, unten* druckt. Ebenso finden wir im *SS 1669*: *Wittib, Pfenning, empfaen, bachten* und *gebachten, Thurn*, wofür die überarbeitete Fassung *Wit(e)we, Pfennig, empfangen. backen* und *gebacken, Thurm* einsetzt.

Auch auf dem Gebiet der Deklination fallen interessante Unterschiede auf. Grimmelshausen flektiert: *in der Kirchen, an der Sonnen, mit der Frauen*; der Korrektor läßt das Femininum in der Einzahl unverändert. Für schwaches *des Pfauen, des Hahnen. des Herzogen* setzt der Korrektor starke Formen ein. Pluralbildungen wie *Hemder, Stücker* resp. *Stuck, Kleinoder* im *SS 1669* werden im *üSS 1669* in *Hemde* (Kögel 317, 26) resp. *Hemden* (Kögel 362, 26), *Stücken* (Kögel 406, 30 resp. 16, 8) und *Kleinodien* (Kögel 389, 21) verwandelt. Das flexionslose Adjektiv in Verbindungen wie *der gut Gesell, das höllisch Feuer* wird im *üSS 1669* regelmäßig flektiert.

Sehr zahlreich sind Veränderungen mit Bezug auf das Genus. *Der Last, der Lust, der Luft, der Banck, der Butter, der Gewalt, der List, der See, der Zuflucht, der Leinwat* werden von dem Korrektor weiblich gebraucht; sehr belehrend ist dabei für das Verhältnis der Drucke das Wort *See* (*PBB* 40, Seite 289 fgg.). Umgekehrt wird für *die Witz, die Ducat, die Sermon* das männliche Geschlecht eingesetzt. Grimmelshausen sagt *der Erdbidem*, der Korrektor *das Erdbidem*. Ich füge hier eine von Törnvall nicht-erwähnte Parallele hinzu: *SS 1669* hat *der Model* (Keller 398, 3 und 728, 17); *üSS 1669*: *das Model* (Kögel 213, 19 und 404, 10).

"Ein charakteristisches Merkmal unserer Texte," bemerkt Törnvall anlässlich der Flexion der pronominalen Wörter, "bildet der Wechsel *B einig*: *A einzig*. Die ältere Version schreibt ganz überwiegend *einig* in dem Sinne von *unicus*, sowie auch mit der

Bedeutung *aliquis* (Sing. und Plur.) ; A setzt fast ausnahmslos die unorganische Neubildung *einzig* dafür ein, sowohl wenn *unicus* als wenn *aliquis* gemeint wird. Die Belege sind äusserst zahlreich (Seite 191).“ Ich weise außer den genannten noch auf Keller 380, 4 resp. Kögel 202, 4 hin und erwähne in diesem Zusammenhang eine damit parallel laufende Veränderung in folgendem Satz: “Ich erkundigte auch, wie ich meine Räis anstellen mochte, daß ich am sichersten fortkäme, befand aber, daß es so alleinig zu Pferd nit geschehen könne” (Keller 697, 14). In der überarbeiteten Fassung lesen wir: “daß es so alleinzig zupferd nicht geschehen könne” (Kögel 385, 36). Die Form *alleinzig* neben *alleinig*, wie *einzig* neben *einig*, ist einer der deutlichsten Hinweise, wie mechanisch die Korrektur vorgenommen wurde. Sie wirft ein helles Licht auf das Verhältnis der Drucke und die Frage nach Grimmshausens Anteil an der sprachlichen Gestalt der überarbeiteten Fassung.

Für das starke Verb hatte Paul O. Kern im *Journal of Germanic Philology* (II, S. 33 ff.) eine eingehende Untersuchung gebracht. Durch Törnvals anders orientierte Studie heben sich einige Punkte deutlicher ab; so die Normalisierung dialektischer Formen: *gelung*, *stunck*, *befohl*, *kieffe*, *vergleichete*, *gedeyete*, *gewinnete*, *gewest*, wofür der sprachkundige Korrektor *gelang*, *stanck*, *befahl*, *kauffte*, *verglich*, *gedige*, *gewann*, *gewesen* einsetzt.

Auf dem Gebiet der Wortfolge bezieht sich Törnvall auf meinen oben zitierten Aufsatz in den *Beiträgen* und beschränkt sich in der Hauptsache auf einige Ergänzungen. Zwei seiner beigesteuerten Belege veranlassen mich indessen zu einer näheren Auseinandersetzung. In einer Note verzeichnete ich auf Seite 284 des erwähnten Aufsatzes einige Beispiele aus dem *Simplicissimus* (Keller), wo sich Grimmshausens unbewußte Sprachtendenz offenbart, das Verbum finitum im Nebensatz nicht ans Ende, sondern vor ein Partizip oder einen Infinitiv zu stellen. Diese Beispiele lassen sich natürlich mühelos nach Belieben vermehren. “Beispielsweise” weist Törnvall (Seite 210) auf Keller 141, 9 hin. Wir lesen daselbst: “Offenbar sind alle Werke deß Fleisches, als da sind Ehebruch, Hurerey, Unreinigkeit, Unzucht, Abgötterey, Zauberey, Feindschafft, Hader, Neid, Zorn, Zanck, Zweytracht, Rotten, Haß, Mord, Sauffen, Fressen und dergleichen, *von welchen ich euch habe zuvor gesagt* und sage es noch wie zuvor, daß, die

solches thun, werden das Reich Gottes nicht ererben." Von allen Beispielen, die ihm zu Gebote standen, hätte der Verfasser nun eben dieses nicht bringen sollen, denn hieraus läßt sich nichts für Grimmelshausen schließen, sondern nur für die Luthersche Bibelübersetzung (Galater 5:19-21), deren Wortfolge er einfach übernimmt.⁴

Unter falscher Beleuchtung steht ebenfalls das Seite 211 erwähnte Beispiel nach Keller 661, 17, das ich hier zur Richtigstellung nach beiden Fassungen in extenso herübernehmen muß.

Keller 661, 11-23:

Da wir Breysach zu entsetzen im Werk waren und ich sahe, daß es unser seits so schläfferig hergieng, armirte ich mich selbst und gieng dergestalt auff die Schiffbrücke mit an, als ob ichs allein hätte vollenden wollen, da es doch damals weder mein Profession noch Schuldigkeit war; Ich thäts aber den andern zum Exempel, und weil wir den vergangenen Sommer so gar nichts außgerichtet hatten; *das Glück, oder vielmehr das Unglück wolte mir*, daß ich unter den ersten Angängern dem Feind auch am ersten auff der Brücken das Weiß in Augen sahe, da es denn scharff her gieng, und gleich wie ich im Angriff der erste gewesen, also wurde ich, da wir der Frantzosen ungestümmem Ansetzen nicht mehr widerstunden, der allerletzte und kam dem Feind am ersten in die Hände.

Kögel 369, 20-33:

Da wir Breysach zuentsetzen im Werck waren, und ich sahe, daß es unsererseits so schläfferig herging, armirte ich mich selbst, und ging dergestalt auff die Schiffbrücke mit an, als ob ichs allein hätte vollenden wollen, da es doch damals weder meine Profession noch Schuldigkeit war; ich thäts aber den andern zum Exempel, und weil wir den vergangenen Sommer so gar nichts außgerichtet hatten, *wolte mir das Glück, oder vielmehr das Unglück*, daß ich unter den ersten Angängern dem Feind auch am ersten auff der Brücke das Weise in Augen sahe, da es dan scharff herging, und gleichwie ich im Angriff der erste gewesen, also ward ich, da wir der Frantzosen ungestümmen Ansetzen nicht mehr widerstunden, der allerletzte, und kam dem Feind am ersten in die Hände.

Bei der Umstellung *das Glück . . . wolte mir in wolte mir das Glück* handelt es sich nicht um eine einfache Aenderung der Wortfolge "bei vorangehendem Nebensatz," sondern um eine.

⁴ Grimmelshausen weist selbst darauf hin, daß er zitiert; für die Frage nach der Vorlage vergleiche man den reichhaltigen Aufsatz Richard Maria Werners: *Historische und poetische Chronologie bei Grimmelshausen* in den *Studien zur Vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, VIII, 436.

Verballhornung des allerdings etwas komplizierten Satzgebildes, die vielleicht wohl auf eine fälschlich angewandte Tendenz, die Wortfolge nach dem angegebenen Prinzip zu modifizieren, schließen ließe, tatsächlich aber nur in der überarbeiteten Fassung eine syntaktische Verbindung herstellt, die logischer Unsinn ist. Auch diese Veränderung, auf die nun wieder zufällig die Aufmerksamkeit gelenkt wird, scheint mir für meine Annahme eines berufsmäßigen Korrektors nicht ohne Beweiskraft zu sein.

Durch die Neuorientierung hinsichtlich der Druckverhältnisse treten auch die Resultate von Klara Hechtenbergs Untersuchung *Das Fremdwort bei Grimmelshausen* (Heidelberg 1901) in ein anderes Licht. Es wurde darin schon festgestellt, daß Grimmelshausen sich in seinem Hauptwerk, für das die Verfasserin denn auch den nicht-überarbeiteten Text der Kellerschen Ausgabe zugrunde gelegt hatte, keineswegs fremdwortfeindlich zeigt: "Wir werden sehen, daß gewisse Prosaiker des Siebzehnten Jahrhunderts Grimmelshausen an Reinheit der Sprache übertrafen (Seite 3)." Die Nachprüfung der Arbeit des Korrektors bestätigt ihre Konstatierung und zeigt, daß dieser manches Fremdwort beanstandete, welches Grimmelshausens freiere Auffassung für zulässig gehalten hatte. Törnvall gibt dafür folgendes Verzeichnis:

<i>SS 1669</i> (nach Keller)	<i>üSS 1669</i> (nach Kögel)
189, 3 concipirte	überlegte 92, 44
344, 28 gieng spatzieren	lustwandelte 184, 11
444, 15 spatzieren geritten	spaßgeritten 241, 39
352, 25 brave Soldaten	wackere Soldaten 188, 9
357, 18 darein consentirte	darein willigte 190, 12
402, 25; 648, 23 in Summa	kurtzab 217, 2; 360, 26
440, 22 in Summa	kurtz 238, 34
454, 3 in Summa	in Kürtze 244, 2
816, 16 ihr Vermaledeyte	ihr Verfluchten 462, 12
838, 8 pures Gold	klares Gold 477, 13

Noch intimer läßt sich die Tätigkeit des Korrektors mit Bezug auf diesen Punkt in der überarbeiteten *Courage*-Ausgabe beobachten. Er geht hier in gewissem Sinne weniger weit als im *üSS 1669*, indem er die beanstandeten Fremdwörter nicht ohne weiteres durch Verdeutschungen ersetzt, sondern sie meistens durch Einklammerungen erläutert. Ich gebe folgende Zusammenstellung, in der ich durch *CG* resp. *CM* die Ausgaben der *Courasche 1670* nach den Exemplaren der Universitätsbibliothek in Göttingen

und der Bibliothek in Meiningen andeute, während die Bezeichnung *CgB* für die überarbeitete *Courage* gilt, von der mir Exemplare in den Bibliotheken von Berlin und Breslau bekannt geworden sind.

CG. CM.		CgB.	
21	separirte	absonderte	16
43	Strategema	Stratagema (Kriegslist)	29
78	praesentirte	praesentirte (übergab)	50
120	aestimiren	aestimiren (halten)	74
121	difficulteten	Difficultäten (Schwürigkeiten)	74
124	revangiren	revangiren (rächen)	76
144	Servitut	Servitut (Dienstbarkeit)	89
144	Libertet	Libertet (Freyheit)	89
172	in Summa	kurtzab	108
175	Desperation	Desperation (Unmuth und Ver- zweiflung)	110
178	prave	wacker	112
182	zu veralieniren	zuveralieniren (umzusetzen)	114
184	in Summa	kurtz	116
244	in Summa	kurtzab	149
247	in Summa	kurtzab	151
263	Lupas	Lupas (geile und unkeusche Wölfinnen)	163

Der ungleiche Standpunkt, der aus dem Verfahren hinsichtlich der Fremdwortfrage bei der Überarbeitung des *Simplicissimus* und der *Courasche* ersichtlich ist, läßt für verschiedene Hypothesen mit Bezug auf diese Überarbeitung Raum, von denen ich zum Schluß eine anführen will.

Grimmelshausen selbst war mit Rücksicht auf den Gebrauch von Fremdwörtern, deren Zulässigkeit und ihre Gefahren, ein harmonisch empfindender Sprachkünstler, der sich sowohl vor dem übertriebenen Purismus gewisser sprachgesellschaftlichen Bestrebungen als dem unlimitierten Fremdwörtergebrauch nachlässiger oder gar prunkhafter Skribenten zu hüten wußte. "Ihr Herrn Landsleuthe," so richtet er sich gegen erstere Kategorie in seinem *Teutschen Michel* (Keller, Zweiter Halbband Seite 1077). "die ihr euch vor teutsche Sprachpolierer ausget und alles miteinander pur teutsch haben wollet, ich muß euch noch etwas verweisen. das beynahe einer unnützen Thorheit gleich sihet, und ist dieses. daß ihr alle Sachen, die von den Frembden zu uns gelangen, mit neuen teutschen zuvor unerhörten Namen nennen wollet. Wenn ihr ein Fenster darumb, daß es lateinisch klingt, nicht mehr Fenster,

sondern einen Tagleuchter benahmet, warumb nennet ihr dann nicht auch die Pforten und Thüren anders, deren Namen ebenmässig von den Lateinern und Griechen herkommen?" Diejenigen aber, die mit dem Fremdwort Mißbrauch treiben, kanzelt er noch schärfer ab und bezeichnet sie ironisch als *Sprachhelden*: "Diese nun seynds, die hieher gehören, welche, damit jeder Bänne wisse, was sie vor gelehrte, erfahrene und vieler Sprachen kündige Leuth seyen oder daß sie wenigst jedermann darvor halten, ehren und ansehen soll, beydes ihre Reden und Schrifften, wann es gleich gantz ohnnöthig; dermassen mit frembden Wörtern anfüllen, verbremen und ausstaffiren, daß Calepinus selbst nicht genungsamb wäre, denjenigen, die mit ihnen conversiren oder correspondiren müssen, vor einen Dolmetschen zu dienen." (Keller, Zweiter Halbband Seite 1084.)

Es läßt sich nicht mit Gewißheit sagen, gegen wen Grimmelshausen seine Hiebe führt. Für den nach der übertrieben puristischen Seite brachte ich neben Philipp von Zesen die Aufrichtige Tannengesellschaft in Straßburg, zu der Grimmelshausen nachweisbar gewisse Beziehungen hatte, in Vorschlag.⁵ Den Hieb nach entgegengesetzter Seite könnte man, wenn man nicht in tiefere literarische Regionen hinabtauchen will, auf Christian Weise beziehen, dessen *Ertznarren* Grimmelshausen eben in dem Zusammenhang der ersten Stellungnahme zitiert und für die Dr. Hechtenberg (o.c. Seite 37) einen sehr hohen Prozentsatz an Fremdwörtern nachweist.

Zwischen Grimmelshausens Ansicht in der Fremdwörterfrage und seinem praktischen Verhalten, wie es in den Simplicianischen Schriften hervortritt — die heroischen Romane stellt Fräulein Hechtenberg mit gutem Grund unter anderen Gesichtspunkt — herrscht also vollständige Übereinstimmung. Wie haben wir uns nun die Überarbeitung des *Simplicissimus* und der *Courasche* mit Rücksicht auf diese Frage zu denken? Der Antrieb, die Fremdwörter zu verdeutschen, kam jedenfalls von außen. Höchstens kann

⁵ Vgl. PBB 40, S. 292 ff. Über Zesens Beziehungen zu dieser Sprachgesellschaft, speziell zu ihrem anerkannten Oberhaupt Wahrmund von der Tannen, alias Jesaias Rompler von Löwenhalt berichtete ich in einem Aufsatz: *Philipp von Zesen* in dem *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum*, Amsterdam 1916, Seite 102 ff. Vgl. über Wahrmund von der Tannen auch Bechtolds Nachweis in der *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, N. F. VI, Seite 270 ff.

man annehmen, daß der Dichter seinem Verleger, resp. dem von diesem ausgewählten Korrektor, ziemlich freie Hand gelassen hat. So kam der *üßß 1669* zustande: Die meisten sprachlichen Aenderungen, soweit sie rein-grammatischer oder gar orthographischer Natur waren, werden Grimmelshausen nicht allzu stark erschüttert haben. Man darf wohl annehmen, daß der Eingriff mit Bezug auf das Fremdwort ihn etwas tiefer berührte. Das betraf eine Frage, die zu der Zeit wohl einen jeden interessierte. Außerdem hatte er darüber ganz klar-umrissene Anschauungen. Hier kam also der Künstler mit dem Korrektor in Konflikt. In den Halbverdeutlichungen der *Courage 1670* dürfen wir vielleicht das Kompromis zwischen beiden erblicken. So wäre denn dieser Druck ein eigentümliches Denkmal für die gemeinschaftliche Arbeit zweier entgegengesetzten Naturen, die beide in ihrer Art Vortreffliches leisteten und denen die Nachwelt zu besonderem Dank verpflichtet ist. Die Arbeit des Nürnberger Korrektors gewährt uns einen tiefen Einblick in die verfeinerten Sprachtendenzen eines geschulten Theoretikers; das Werk des badischen Schriftstellers schenkt uns den literarischen Genuß an einem künstlerisch-technisch wie naivsprachlich gleich vollendeten Meisterwerk.

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MME DE LAFAYETTE AND MÉNAGE

Victor Cousin relates a trick played by Ménage on Raincy and contributes to the story, as then known, the part played by Madame de Sévigné.¹ Unpublished letters of Madame de La Fayette, copies of which are in our possession, now permit us to add the part played by her, though, it must be admitted, it is not as much to her credit, as a literary critic, as is that of her friend the *Marquise*.

Raincy had written a madrigal that had been very favourably received by his friends. Ménage found a sonnet by Guarini on a similar subject. This naturally had the effect of diminishing a little the reputation of Raincy's poem and thereupon Ménage had an *idée de génie*. He boldly translated the madrigal into Italian

¹ *La Société française au XVII^e siècle*. Paris, Perrin, edition in 12°. II, 182.

and let it be understood that he had found it in the *Rimes diverses* of Tasso.²

Raincy, accused of plagiarism, swore by all the gods that he knew naught of Tasso save his *Jerusalem* and his *Aminta*. The poems by Raincy, Guarini, and Tasso were submitted to several friends for their judgment. Chapelain was cautious. He decided in favour of Raincy's work with a saving clause that Tasso's was also excellent.³ Mme de Rambouillet was in favour of Guarini's. Pellisson found the three equally good. The majority were, however, influenced by the glamour of the name and decided in favour of Tasso's. Not so Mlle de Scudéry, who not only rejected the translation, but even suspected the trick and forced Ménage to confess it. Madame de Sévigné, away in Brittany, was consulted by letter and decided in favour of the Guarini sonnet, at the same time declaring herself charmed by Raincy's madrigal.

Madame de La Fayette, absent in Auvergne, for this was the year after her marriage, was also consulted by letter and her replies, if read in conjunction with the letter of Madame de Sévigné on the same subject,⁴ are sufficiently explicit:—

despinasse⁵ ce 18me aoust. (1656)

he que vous estes un bon homme mon pauvre Monsieur de m'auoir escrit des la p^{re} fois que vous aues receu de mes lettres sans vous estre fait tirer loreille vous aures peu voir que ie ne me rabutois point et que ie nay pas laisse de vous escrire toutes les sepmaine vous pouues croire si ie discontinuray ie vous promets de mes lettres toutes les sepmaines sans faute et quelque fois deux fois la sepmaine la seconde sera de liberalité mais pour la p^{re} cest dobligation et ie my engage aussi bien qu'a ne point montrer vos lettres vous scaures mon sentiment sur les madrigaux au p^{er} ordinaire ie ne fais que de les receuoir et il faut que ma lettre parte adieu jusques a mardy.

² Tallemant, *Historiettes* (Chapelain), III, 279, 280 in the edition of Monmerqué, Paris, 1854, says that he did this as a joke. Cousin attributes it to jealousy. There is no authority for the latter suggestion. Tallemant also states that Ménage discovered Guarini's sonnet after he had translated Raincy's.

³ This statement of Tallemant becomes, in Victor Cousin's work: "Les plus déclarés pour le Tasse furent Chapelain, Costar, . . . etc.," and Mme de La Fayette states that Chapelain judged as she did.

⁴ 12 septembre 1656. *Lettres*, I, 416.

⁵ Espinasse, near Gannat, one of the family seats of the La Fayettes.

ce 22^{me} aoust. (1656)

Sans auoir l'honneur d'estre bel esprit et sans cognoistre les delicatesses de la langue italienne et de la nostre ie donne ma voix au Madrigal de petraque ⁶ ie mets celuy de M^r du Raincy apres et celuy du Guariny le d^{er} quoy que les quatres derniers vers de celuy du Guariny me paroissent admirables mais tout celuy du petraque a quelque chose de naturel et de passioné quy me plait plus que les autres ie ne scay si ie seray de la bonne opinion mais comme vous m'aués prie de vous dire sincerement mon advis ie le fais sans songer si ie fais bien ou mal puisque ie vous dis mon sentiment il est juste que vous me disies le vostre j'ay quelque presentiment qu'il ne sera pas éloigné du mien et que selon vostre ordinaire vous seres admirateur du Petraque ie vous prie mais ie vous en prie de tout mon coeur de faire mille compliments de ma part a M^{lle} de Scudéry et de lasseurer que jay pour elle toute lestime imaginable et beaucoup de dispoition a auoir bien de la tendresse moy quy n'en ay guere ordinairement vous luy respondrés de cela bien volontiers dans la pensee ou vous estes que ie ne suis pas tendre parceque ie ne saute pas au cou de tout le monde ie vous prie demandés a Sapho ⁷ quy se conoit si bien en tendresse si cest une marque de tendresse que de faire des caresses parce que lon en fait naturellement a tout le monde et si un mot de douceur dune *ritrosa bella* ne doit pas toucher davantage et persuader plus son amitie que mille discours obligants dune personne quy en fait a tout le monde ie vous maintiens que quand ie vous ay dit que jay bien de lamitie pour vous et que ie suis plus aise de vous auoir pour amy que quy que ce soit au monde vous deués estre satisfait de moy ie suis tres content du soing que vous me promettés d'auoir de mescrire ie fais responce a vostre lettre de lautre ordinaire ie nay pas encore celle d'aujourduy adieu.

ce 1^{er} septembre. (1656)

depuis que ie ne vous ay escrit jay toujours esté hors de chés moy a faire des vissites M^r de Bayard ⁸ en a esté une et quand ie vous dirois les autres vous nen series pas plus savant ce sont gens que vous aués le bonheur de ne pas cognoistre et que jay le malheur d'auoir pour voisins cependant ie dois auouer a la honte de ma delicatesse que ie ne menuye pas avec ces gens la quoy que ie ne my divertisse guere mais jay pris un certain chemin de leur parler des

⁶ This confusion of Petrarch and Tasso is admitted in a later letter.

⁷ Mlle de Scudéry.

⁸ L'abbé Bayard is frequently mentioned in conjunction with M. de La Fayette, as in the Sévigné letter, Vol. III, p. 209, Grands Ecrivains edition. Here M. de La Fayette is explained as the second son—it should be the husband—of Mme de La Fayette. Bayard did business for the family and he is mentioned about a score of times in the correspondence before us.

choses qu'ils scavent qui menpesche de menuyer il est vray aussi que nous auons des hommes icy du tour qui ont bien de lesprit pour des gens de province les femmes ny sont pas a beaucoup pres si raisonnables mais aussi elles ne font guere de vissites et ainsi lon n'en est pas incomodé pour moy jayme bien mieux ne voir gueres de gens que d'en voir de facheux et la solitude que ie trouve icy m'est plus tost agreable qu'enuyeuse le soing que ie prens de ma maison m'occupe et me diuertit fort et comme d'ailleurs ie nay point de chagrin que mon espoux m'adore que ie l'ayme fort que ie suis maitresse absolue ie vous assure que la vie que ie fais m'est fort heureuse et que ie ne demande a Dieu que la continuation quand on croit estre heureux vous scaues que cela suffit pour lestre et comme ie suis persuadee que ie le suis ie vis plus contente que ne font peut estre toutes les reines de leurope jay bien envie de scauoir comme vous aurés gouverné celle des Ghots⁹ ie ne doute point que vous layés veue et quelle ne vous aït fait mille civilités ie nay pas encore receu vos lettres de cet ordinaire mais ie men vais respondre a celle de lundy a laquelle ie nay pas respondu pour ce qui est de monstrier vos lettres ie vous ay donné seureté la dessus et ie vous la promets encore car ie suis bien aise que vous masseures de ne pas monstrier les miennes jay pris toute la part que ie deuois a la chanson italienne¹⁰ car ie lay prise pour moy et ie lay prise d'autant plus volontier que ie lay trouuée fort jolie et fort galante ie vous le dis tout comme si vous ny auies point d'intérêt le madrigal est aussy fort joly mais j'ayme mieux la chanson cela est admirable que vous fassies si bien des vers italiens ie vous louerois davantage si ie nauois point ma migraine adieu.

ce 5me septembre. (1656)

Si lon pouvoit tirer quelque vanité de mon choix ie vous assure que vous en pouries tirer de celuy que jay fait de vostre madrigal prefe-
rablement à celuy du Guarini et a celuy de M^r du Raincy ce n'a esté qu'après les auoir leus dix fois les uns et les autres que ie me suis declarée en vostre faueur et quoy que ie me sois lourdement trompée d'auoir creu (ce) que vous me mandies que le p^{er} madrigal estoit du Petrarque cela nempesche pas que ie ne layes leu avec une attention extrême et ie remarqué mesme en lisant que ce madrigal estoit pour Iole et cela membarassoit parce quil me souuint que Petrarque n'auoit jamais fait des vers que pour M^e Laure et ie fus preste de vous demander d'ou sortoit ce madrigal la sans neanmoins que cette reflexion la me fit apercevoir de mon erreur j'auois brouillé ces deux grands Poettes la dans ma teste et ie pris fort mal a propos lun pour

⁹ Christine de Suède who had invited Ménage to go to her court. She was in Paris in 1656 and it was Ménage who presented the literary celebrities to her.

¹⁰ Madame de Sévigné is also enthusiastic about the *canzonetta*.

l'autre cependant ie suis ravie que les Costars et les chapelins ne vous aye point recogneu sous les habits du tasse et que vous ayes si bien soutenu le nom de ce grand homme puisque des M^{tres} du métier ne se sont pas aperceus de vostre tromperie il mest glorieux dauoir esté trompee aussi bien queux mais jaurois une curiosité extremesme de scauoir ce quy vous a donné la pensee denrichir le tasse de vostre bien ie pense que jusques icy cette aventure ne luy estoit point arivee lon la derobé bien asseurement mais ie ne croy pas quon luy ait jamais rien donné en verité cela est surprenant que vous fassies des vers Italiens comme vous en faites souvenez vous sil vous plaît que c'est a moy a quy vous deues toute la gloire qui vous revient de cette Langue et que ce fust pour me plaire que vous vous mites a l'estudier du temps que vous m'aymies plus que vous ne faites a cette heure ie vous prie que cette obligation soit cause que vous ne me trompries plus autrement ie seray trompee toutes les fois quil vous plaira et ie recevray vos vers sous le nom de Petraque du tasse du Guariny du cavalier Marin enfin sous le nom de qui vous voudres ie ne doutois pas que M^{le} de Scudery n'eut plus desprit que qui que ce soit en france mais ien suis bien persuadee presentement puisquelle seule s'est doutee que le madrigal d'Iole estoit de vous assurees bien cette spirituelle personne de ladmiration que jay pour elle ie trouve le Madrigal pour la dame absente fort a mon gre et la pensee en est aussi galante et aussi bien exprimee quil se peut par la derniere lettre que jay receue de vous jay veu que la chanson Italienne est vostre ouvrage fauory et ie suis ravie de lavoit trouvee aussi jolie que iai fait puisque toutes les assurances que ie vous donne de mon amitie ne vous en persuade pas ie ne scay pas ce quil faut faire pour vous en persuader il me semble que quand ie dis que j'ayme quelqu'un il me faut croire car ie ne le dis pas si souvent adieu. Je suis infiniment obligee a M^r de La Roche foucault de son compliment cest en effet de la belle sympathie quy est entre nous ¹¹ mandes moy ce que cest que le mal de Girauld ¹² jen suis tres fachee.

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¹¹ Fayettists will note with some surprise that in 1656 Mme de La Fayette finds it necessary to mention the *belle sympathie* that exists between La Rochefoucault and her. M. d'Haussonville had seen this letter, quotes this sentence (*Mme de La Fayette, Hachette, 1896, pp. 66 and 67*), states categorically that the letter is "de 1663" and surmises that the "compliment" (read by him as "sentiment") concerns the *Princesse de Montpensier* that had just been published. The context proves conclusively that the letter is not of 1663.

¹² L'abbé Girault was Ménage's secretary and became later Canon of Le Mans.

THE PRIDE OF THE YAHOO

At the end of *Gulliver's Travels*, Swift's last words on the Yahoo kind, concern the vice of pride: "but when I behold a lump of deformity, and diseases both in body and mind, smitten with pride, it immediately breaks all the measures of my patience; neither shall I ever be able to comprehend how such an animal, and such a vice, could tally together." Having said many other things derogating from the dignity of man he brings forward at the last this gravest charge of all. If it were true that no other writer of the time had found the same fault, then Swift's words would stand as a curious bit of satire lacking virulence after so many other, apparently more serious, charges had been made. But Swift is undoubtedly expressing here an idea common enough with his contemporaries; one which has its basis and analogues in the speculative theory of the Enlightenment.¹

The problem is a larger one than that of a mere definition, for *pride*, like any other common concept, had a complex system of meaning. Swift's use of the term seems to carry the cumulative venom of diverse antipathies: just what he intends by it may be discovered, possibly, by presenting some of its uses in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. In general, pride is condemned because it is unsocial; and because it is based on ignorance and falsehood. In particular, first, pride was made to bear the odium and responsibility of giving rise to cruelty and madness, and other dependent moral evils; and, second, as a violent passion itself, it was regarded, at least potentially, as the negation of reason and virtue.

The unsocial nature of pride is commonly recognized. Hume does not sharply distinguish pride and vanity, except that pride is

¹ A large part of Bk. II of Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature* concerns pride and humility as the fundamental passions; and the part which they play in his thinking forms an interesting parallel to the ideas of servitude and freedom in Spinoza's *Ethics*, parts IV and V. It is also significant that Swift and *Gulliver* are very nearly contemporary with Hume and the *Treatise*. The one is out of conceit with reason as the guarantor of virtue and happiness; the other, as the basis of knowledge and reality.

a violent passion, and vanity is a calm one. Both are indirect, *i. e.*, they require the interposition of an idea (wit, good sense, learning, courage, justice, integrity) between the cause of the passion and the self as its object.² This self-regarding nature of pride is fundamental; and the term may be used in a good or in a bad sense according as the passion is caused by qualities of positive worth, or is ill-founded.³ When pride is ill-founded, then it is but a mere abstraction for positive worth: the passion stands in the place of true wisdom, of real indications of civilization,⁴ of solid worth where character is wanting.⁵ Technically, pride is the partiality engendered by self-love;⁶ and thinking too highly of self involves the social error of thinking too meanly of others, *i. e.*, disdain. On this point Hume remarks: "any expression of pride or haughtiness, [in others] is displeasing to us, merely because it shocks our own pride, and leads us by sympathy into a comparison, which causes the disagreeable passion of humility."⁷ This is true with the concession that "the world naturally esteems a well-regulated pride."⁸ It is by the false evaluation of others that pride makes itself especially odious as a social phenomenon.⁹ To regard others with disdain is a violation of the moral law of equality and of the natural right of the individual. Hobbes, for example, states as a law of nature "*that every man acknowledge another for his equal by nature.*"¹⁰

The odiousness of the vice of pride is referred to various other grounds. Because pride may serve as an abstraction for qualities we do not possess, it may be that ignorance of self is the ground,

² Pride is an indirect violent impression of reflection. Hume, *Treatise*, Bk. II, sec. ii (ed. Selby-Bigge, p. 276).

³ Hume, *Principles of Morals* (Open Court ed.), p. 159 n. For the use of vanity as equivalent to pride in the bad sense, *Ibid.*, 103, 158.

⁴ Defoe, *Robinson Crusoe*, Pt. II, 471 (Chandos ed.).

⁵ Pope, *Epistle to Arbuthnot*, lines 176 ff.; *Dunciad*, IV, lines 469 f.

⁶ Spinoza, *Ethics*, Bk. III, def. xxviii; Bk. IV, prop. xlix (Everyman's Lib. ed. referred to throughout).

⁷ Hume, *Treatise*, Bk. III, sec. ii, pp. 592, 596, 601; Spinoza, *o. c.*, Bk. IV, prop. lvii.

⁸ Hume, *Treatise*, 603.

⁹ Cf. Theophrastus, *Characters* (Of Pride; Earl. *Microcosmographie*, Temple ed., p. 144); Feltham, *Resolves*, 2 ser., xevii.

¹⁰ *Leviathan*, Bk. I, ch. 15; *Philosophical Rudiments Concerning Government*, Ch. III, sec. 13.

not only of our false self-evaluation, but also of our contempt of others. / It is so for Spinoza.¹¹ For one deficient in common sense (Reason), the haughty temper of the proud man is troublesome if ill managed.¹² Pride, that is to say, is the negation of the very principle on which the Enlightenment staked the possibility of virtue. Rightmindedness, greatness of mind, means the true estimation of the self and of our powers. One need not go far for illustration: an exile in Siberia, speaking to Crusoe in the exalted strain of an Eighteenth Century character, supplies the idea. As Crusoe relates: "the Prince . . . told me, with a sigh, that the true greatness of life was to be master of ourselves; . . . that the height of human wisdom was to bring our tempers down to our circumstances; and to make a calm within, under the weight of the greatest storms without."¹³ *The Tatler*, no. 186; similarly, with the motto "Virtue alone ennobles mankind," discusses the ruling passion, and pride, the chief vice of all men. Since approbation is inseparable from truth, and detestation from falsehood, pride must be odious because it is based on falsehood. Proud men are living lies.

There is, apparently, some hesitation in condemning pride absolutely. Virtue may sometimes excite pride, which is usually thought a vice; and vice may excite humility, which is usually thought a virtue. The judicious Hume is bound to allow this ambiguity.¹⁴ Goldsmith gives expression to a similar idea: "Pride seems the source not only of their [the English] national vices, but of their national virtues also."¹⁵ That pride may have a salutary operation in alleviating the consequences of human misery and infirmity is possibly Pope's meaning in "Pride bestowed on all, a common friend."¹⁶ It may thus become but a feeder to the individual's ruling passion.¹⁷ *The Spectator*, asserting that "pride in some particular disguise or other . . . is the most ordinary spring of action among men," is not quite sure

¹¹ *Ethics*, Bk. IV, prop. IV.

¹² *Robinson Crusoe*, Pt. II, 472 (Chandos ed.)

¹³ *Ibid.*, 503.

¹⁴ Hume, *Treatise*, Bk. II, sec. vii, 297; III, ii, 600.

¹⁵ *Citizen of the World*, Letter iv.

¹⁶ *Essay on Man*, II, lines 271 f. Pride, like nature, is used in several senses.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, lines 137 f.; 193 f.

whether pride is the most egregious fault, or whether it may not also be, at times, virtuous and laudable.¹⁸ Three years earlier, however, *The Tatler* had an entire paper on the subject. Here, this chief passion of man is altogether ridiculous and unreasonable, opposed to that solid wisdom whose chief office it would be to uncover the very imperfections which make us proud.¹⁹ There is no real ground for pride: "There is no temptation to it from the reflection upon our being in general, or upon any comparative perfection, whereby one man may excel another." Where pride exists, it is only an exaggeration either of defects or, of beauties out of all natural symmetry.²⁰

In spite of attempts to be fair, it is difficult for the Enlightenment to see in pride anything but the chief vice of man.²¹ It had long been regarded as a source of moral evil; ²² it may be the source of crime even, and altogether opposed to wisdom and Christian grace.²³ In the moral evil of which pride is the ground, lie the roots of human misery, simply because pride is opposed to rational, prudent life and conduct.²⁴ The consequences are carried a step farther by Spinoza. The proud man, in the beginning weak-minded and foolish, is an enemy to love and pity, and of those who possess real virtue. His life is a continual deception: "he delights only in the presence of those who deceive his weak mind and from being merely foolish make him mad."²⁵ Pope sees in pride a chief cause of erring judgment;²⁶ and the *Tatler* says: "as folly is the foundation of Pride, the natural superstructure of it is madness."²⁷ Hobbes likewise recognizes pride as the source of other

¹⁸ *Spectator*, nos. 394, 462 (both by Steele).

¹⁹ *Tatler*, no. 127.

²⁰ *Spectator*, no. 33 (by Steele).

²¹ Cf. Pope, *Epitaph on Mrs. Corbet*, *Epistle to James Craggs, Esq.*, *Epistle to Robert, Earl of Oxford*; Goldsmith, *The Bee*, no. 7 (Temple ed., p. 154).

²² Cf. Chaucer, *Persons Tale*, sec. 23.

²³ Defoe, *o. c.*, p. 503; Bernard de Mandeville, *The Grumbling Hive*, lines 171 ff.; Pope, *Essay on Man*, III, lines 148-151.

²⁴ Defoe, *o. c.*, p. 508.

²⁵ Spinoza, *Ethics*, IV, prop. lvii, note.

²⁶ Pope, *Essay on Criticism*, lines 201 ff.; and cf. Roscommon, *Essay on Translated Verse* (Spingarn, *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, II, 302), where pride "Proceeds from want of sense or want of thought."

²⁷ *Tatler*, no. 127.

passions which lead to madness, to giddiness, and to great 'dejection' of mind.²⁸

The age of Swift put emphasis on sanity, prudence, right-mindedness, in a word, on those qualities which indicate the possession of reason. Whatever there is in human nature to negate the rather extravagant claims of the age to reason will naturally be the object of criticism; and there are, indeed, sneers at reason, falsely claimed, itself. Too frequently it is found that, instead of possessing understanding or reason, there is only an irrational passion masquerading in the guise of one or the other, deceiving no one but the proud man himself. Swift despairs of the power of reason; as though the passions ("spleen, dulness, ignorance, caprice, sensuality, and pride"), were diseases of the mind, innate and incurable. It is implied that what modicum of reason had been granted to the Yahoo kind had been insufficient to prevent its use for the increase of the natural corruptions; and that, had reason (of the Yahoo kind) not been grossly defective, government and law would have been unnecessary, "because [true] reason alone is sufficient to govern a rational creature." The *houyhnhnm*, at any rate, thinks so.²⁹ The thinkers of the Enlightenment will, in general, admit no cavil against the supremacy of true Reason. The responsibility for the ills of life falls on the power of the passions to blind and mislead the understanding. Pride may do so; but if it be scrutinized in the dry light of reason, as Spinoza advises, so soon as a clear and distinct idea of it is obtained, it ceases to be a menace.³⁰ The escape from the bondage of the passions lies in the rational being himself; and therefore, one who is smitten with the madness of pride is a living slander on the dignity of human nature; and hence, also, a mortifying spectacle to a wise soul.³¹

The wise man, indeed, according to Hume, would avoid commending his own mental endowments: "because the latter virtues, being supposed more rare and extraordinary, are observed to be the more usual objects of pride and self-conceit; and when boasted of, beget strong suspicion of these sentiments."³² To the same effect

²⁸ Hobbes, *Leviathan*, Bk. I, ch. 8 *passim*; Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy*, Pt. I, sec. 2, mem. 3, subsec. 14 (London 1907, p. 193).

²⁹ *Gulliver*, Pt. IV, ch. vii, *passim*.

³⁰ Spinoza, *Ethics*, Pt. IV, prop. xxvii; Pt. V, prop. iii, and corollary.

³¹ Cf. *Spectator*, no. 201 (by Addison).

³² Hume, *Of Some Verbal Disputes* (in *Princ. of Morals*, Open Court ed., p. 158 f.).

is Spinoza's proposition: "The greatest pride or dejection indicates the greatest weakness of mind."³³ Pope implies, likewise, in his borrowed philosophy, that mental processes which depend on emotion are unsafe; to make them so depend, is pride in despite of reason and is simply due to the strength of the passions when in control of the understanding.³⁴ But if, as Spinoza says again, "the essence of reason is nothing else than the mind itself in so far as it understands clearly and distinctly," the enlightened mind will not "judge anything useful to itself save what is conducive to understanding."³⁵ Pride, therefore, cannot be a servant to reason, nor a laudable quality for the rational man. Thinking too highly of self, in view of the limitations of human nature, "is called pride (*superbia*), and is a kind of madness wherein a man dreams with his eyes open, thinking he can do all things which he follows with his imagination, and which therefore he regards as real, and exults in them as long as he cannot imagine those things which cut off their existence and determine his own power of action."³⁶

The most odious man in the world, therefore, will be he who is smitten with pride, from which arise other serious moral lapses: a disordered system of emotions, and a frailty of judgment. Of him it will be true that "all should despise him, because he contemneth all. . . . Never was proud person well beloved" . . . [and since] "Cruelty is a cur of the same litter . . . The proud man will have no friend; and the cruel man shall have none."³⁷ This might very well have been said of the Yahoo; and such, possibly, is the implication of Swift's remark.

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³³ *Ethics*, IV, prop. lvi especially the proof.

³⁴ *Essay on Man*, I, lines 161 ff.; II, 41 ff.

³⁵ *Ethics*, II, prop. xl, note 2; IV, prop. xxvi.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, III, prop. xxvi note.

³⁷ Feltham, I. c.

GREENE'S *FRIAR BACON AND FRIAR BUNGAY*

The "disputation" in the ninth scene of *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* seems at first glance to be merely a humorous piece of magic carrying on the tradition of the celebrated magician's power. There is evidence, however, which points to a satire on one of the most famous of the many foreign visitors to Oxford in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. I refer to Giordano Bruno.

In 1583 Bruno came to London, and during April, May, and June of that year was at Oxford. Without attempting to make sweeping condemnation of certain traits of this philosopher, we may notice that he was egotistical, very fond of public disputes, and very confident in regard to his own ability. His letter asking for permission to lecture at the University is typical of his self assurance: "To the most Excellent the Chancellor of the University of Oxford, its most famous Doctors and celebrated Masters—Salutation from Philotheus Jordanus Brunus of Nola, Doctor of a more scientific theology, professor of a purer and less harmful learning—known in the chief universities of Europe, a philosopher approved and honorably received, a stranger with none but the uncivilised and the ignoble, a waker of sleeping minds, tamer of presumptuous and obstinate ignorance, who in all respects professes a general love of man, and cares not for the Italian more than for the Briton, male more than female, the mitre more than the crown, the toga more than the coat of mail, the cowed more than the uncowed; but loves him who in intercourse is the more peaceable, polite, friendly, and useful—(Brunus) whom only propagators of folly and hypocrisy detest, whom the honorable and the studious love, whom noble minds applaud." Permission was granted him, and he began a course of lectures on the immortality of the soul and the "Five-Fold Sphere."

Another visitor at Oxford during the month of June, 1583, was the Polish prince, Alasco, in whose honor were given banquets and disputations. Bruno was among the disputants; according to his own account (*Cenà*, Fourth Dialogue) the opponent put forward by the University could not reply to even one of his arguments, and was left fifteen times by as many syllogisms floundering like a

"hen in the stubble," resorting finally to incivility and abuse. The foreigner's prowess, however, did not meet with the approval of the authorities, and he was forced to discontinue his lectures. For the next two years he was in London, and claimed to have been intimate with Greville, Sidney, Dyer, and Temple. With the first of these he ultimately severed friendship,—“the invidious Erinyes of vile, malignant, ignoble, interested persons had spread poison”—perhaps Bruno's abuse of the London learned was the real cause of the break.

One more point about Bruno is necessary. He was connected in some indefinite capacity with the French Embassy. Writing of his connection with the Ambassador, Bruno has this to say: “In his house I stayed as a gentleman, nothing more.” Whatever his duties were, he was on intimate terms with the Ambassador Mauvissière, and in his company went frequently to Court, was introduced to Queen Elizabeth, and formed the acquaintances mentioned above.

That Greene knew of Bruno is beyond question, since in 1583 the dramatist had taken his Master of Arts at Cambridge. The stir that such a character as Bruno made could not have escaped the notice of the alert Greene.

The scenes of *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* in which Vandermast, the magician, appears, will be recalled. In the seventh scene, Mason, Burden, and Clement tell of the preparations for the reception of the foreign dignitaries, and the necessity of suitable spectacles.

Clement. . . . the king by letters hath foretold
That Frederick, the Almain emperor,
Hath brought with him a German of esteem,
Whose surname is Don Jacques Vandermast,
Skillful in magic and those secret arts.

Mason. Then must we all make suit unto the friar,
To Friar Bacon that he vouchsafe this task,
And undertake to countervail in skill
The German; else there's none in Oxford can
Match and dispute with him.

And so the stage is set for the coming of the disputatious “German,” whose name, we notice, is a mixture of Spanish, French, and German (Dutch).

In scene nine the foreign kings enter in company with King Henry, Elinor, Vandermast, and Bungay. The Emperor praises

the site and learning of Oxford, and refers to Vandermast for his opinion.

Vandermast. That lordly are the buildings of the town,
Spacious the rooms and full of pleasant walks;
But for the doctors, how that they be learned,
It may be meanly for aught that I can hear.

Bungay champions the learning of the University, and the dispute is on.

Vandermast. Wherein dar'st thou dispute with me?

Bungay. In what a doctor and a friar can.

Vandermast. Before rich Europe's worthies put thou forth
The doubtful question unto Vandermast.

Bungay. Let it be this, Whether the spirits of pyromancy or geomancy be most predominant in magic.

Vandermast. I say of pyromancy.

Bungay. And I, of geomancy.

Vandermast maintains that, as the sun "in the compass of ascending elements" is above the other planets, the "daemones" dwelling in the highest orb must be superior to the rest. They debate at some length, but being unable to settle the dispute by words, they agree to conjure up the most amazing apparition they can and to decide the contest on the merits of the apparitions. Bungay causes to appear the golden tree of the Hesperides guarded by a dragon shooting fire. But Vandermast is not to be outdone. At his bidding, Hercules, in his lion's skin, enters and tears off the branches of the tree. Bacon, however, is yet to be reckoned with. At a sign from him, Hercules ceases his destruction and in spite of the commands of Vandermast refuses to act against the will of the master magician. The German is now the vanquished, and in disgrace is carried back to Hapsburg by the very giant he had ordered to appear.

The reader of the *Cena* will notice certain resemblances between Vandermast's depreciatory remarks about the Oxford doctors, the subjects discussed in the play, and Bruno's strictures of Oxford and the scientific disputes. I call attention to the opening conversation of the *Cena*, which is to be considered as following the dispute between Bruno and the English disputants.

Smith. Did they speak a good Latin?

Teofilo. Yes.

S. Were they gentlemen?

T. Yes.

S. In good standing?

T. Yes.

S. Learned?

T. So-so.

S. Well brought up, polite?

T. Just moderately.

S. Doctors?

T. Yes, sir! Yes, by Zeus, I verily believe of Oxford.

S. Were they imposing scholars?

T. Indeed! Gentlemen in splendid long robes, clothed in velvet; one of them with two gold chains about his neck, and another, with his expensive hand, showing on two fingers alone a dozen rings, seemed like a rich jeweler. He dazzled my eyes when he moved his hand.

S. Did they show any taste for Greek?

T. For Greek? Much more for Beer!

S. How else did they strike you?

T. One looked like a policeman of the giants, the other like a door-keeper of the Goddess of Respectability.

The dialogue is indicative of the general trend of Bruno's remarks against the English. Not only are the learned ridiculed, but the very bargemen for failing to live up to their bargaining, the people for their bad manners, and the city for its muddy streets are butts for the Italian's criticism. The very comprehensiveness of his rebukes, not to mention the humor and incisiveness, demanded an answer.

In the Fourth Dialogue Bruno explains the relative positions of the planets, and in the next dialogue continues the argument. His opinion, he states, was shared by Heraclitus, Democritus, Epicurus, Pythagoras, Parmenides, Melissos, all of whom, furthermore, conceived of an infinity in which the planets circulated; these they called "aethria," which Bruno explains as "runners," "couriers," "messengers of the kingdom of Nature"; each has its principle of motion, its soul and peculiar intelligence. Of the elements, fire, resident in the sun, is the greatest, since it can penetrate earth, air, and water. This discussion is continued at great length. Compare the following speech of Vandermast:

The cabalists that write of magic spells,
As Hermes, Melchie, and Pythagoras,
Affirm that, 'mongst the quadruplicity

Of elemental essence, terra is but thought
 To be a punctum squared to the rest;
 And that the compass of ascending elements
 Exceed in bigness as they do in height;
 Judging the concave circle of the sun
 To hold the rest in his circumference.
 If then, as Hermes says, the fire be greatest,
 Purest, and only giveth shape to spirits,
 Then must these daemones that haunt that place
 Be every way superior to the rest.

In the "*Famous Historie of Fryer Bacon*" there is an account of "How Fryer Bacon overcame the German conjurer, Vandermast, and made a spirit of his owne carry him into Germany." The chapter telling of this feat mentions that the "King of France sent an Ambassadour to the King of England for to entreat a peace between them. This Ambassadour being come to the King, he feasted him (as is the manner of prince's to do) and with the best of sports as he had then, welcomed him. The Ambassadour, seeing the King of England so free in his love, desired likewise to give some taste of his good liking, and to that intent sent for one of his fellowes (being a German, and named Vandermast) a famous conjurer, who being come, hee told the King, that since his Grace had been so bountiful in his love to him, he would shew him, by a servant of his,¹ such wonderful things that his Grace had never seene the like before." Vandermast raises Pompey, but Bacon opposes the figure of Julius Caesar to him, and defeats Pompey.

It will be noticed that the contending magicians in the folk-book do not engage in such a discussion as Greene has put into the mouths of Vandermast and Bungay.

We may infer this much. Greene, not wishing to retain the French Ambassador in the play, perhaps for fear of giving offence to a powerful nation, substituted the indefinite "Emperour" and the "King of Castile" who replace the French Ambassador and the Polish prince, Alasco. The opponent whom Bruno overcame (he mentions two in the *Cena*) was Bungay, but in order to express his own lack of sympathy, which was shared by the learned of London, Greene has Vandermast-Bruno ignominiously defeated by

¹ Bruno dedicated the *Cena* to Mauvissière. At the conclusion of the last dialogue he speaks of the ambassador "under whose auspices you have begun such an edifying philosophy."

Friar Bacon. Hence, the defeat is something more than a mere following of the folk-book.

Bruno left London in 1585. The play was written in 1588 or 1589, or even, as A. W. Ward in his preface to the play thinks likely, as early as 1587.

In view of the lack of references to Bruno in the contemporary English literature, the satire is not without its interest.

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THE "UNIFORMITY" OF THE BALLAD STYLE

"It is a significant fact," says a well-known writer on ballads,¹ "that wherever found, the ballad style and manner are essentially the same." Many make the same generalization. But this is true only in the most general sense. It presupposes too great fixity in the ballad style. The ballad is a lyric type exhibiting epic, dramatic, and choral elements; but within the type there is as great variation as within other lyric types. The ballad style is hardly more "essentially the same" than the song style in general, or the sonnet style, or the ode style. There is no single dependable stylistic test even for the English and Scottish traditional ballads; and there are wide differences between the ballads of divergent peoples, Scandinavian, German, Spanish, American. There are differences in the stanza form, in the presence and use of refrains, iteration, and choral repetition, in the preservation of archaic literary touches, in the method of narration, and the like. The similarity in style of the pieces he included was the chief guide of Professor F. J. Child in his selections for his collection of English and Scottish ballads; yet he encountered such variety instead of essential uniformity that he was often in doubt what to include and what to omit, and fluctuated in his decisions. He made many changes of entry between his *English and Scottish Ballads*, published in 1858-1859, and his final collection published in ten parts, from 1882-1898. He would not have altered his decision concerning so many pieces had the test of style been so dependable as is usually assumed.

¹ Walter Morris Hart, *English Popular Ballads* (1916), p. 46.

Even the stanzaic structure of ballads is not uniform. Some of the older ballad texts are in couplet lines, while the later are usually in quatrains, and there are many variants of both forms. The ballad stanza is hardly more stable than the hymn stanza. And it varies not only in form but in movement, in the character of the expression, and in the lyrical quality. Sometimes the story is told in the third person, sometimes, as in *Jamie Douglas*, in the first person, as is the case in so many Danish ballads. The ballads were obviously composed to be recited, or to be sung to or by popular audiences; and, like hymns, they show brevity and simplicity of form. Otherwise there is wide fluctuation. Were the style "essentially the same" the differences in the quality of ballads would lie only in their plots. Yet two texts of the same story often have a gulf between them. A staple example may be found in the narration of the same occurrence in the earlier and the later texts of *The Hunting of the Cheviot*. The earlier text contains the effective and often quoted stanza—

For Wetharryngton my harte was wo,
that euer he slayne shulde be;
For when both his leggis wear hewyne in to,
yet he knyld and fought on hys kny.

The corresponding stanza in *The Chevy Chase* sounds like a travesty—

For Witherington needs must I wayle
as one in dolefull dumpes.
For when his leggs were smitten of,
he fought vpon his stumpes.

The same discrepancy may be noted between Percy's and Motherwell's texts of *Edward*.

Many critics have commented upon the relative flatness of the style of the English traditional ballads compared to the Scottish. Professor Beers² thinks that the superiority of the Northern balladry may have been due to the heavy settlement of Northmen in the border region. Danish literature is especially rich in ballads. It is perhaps due in part to Danish settlement in the North and to the large admixture in Northern blood and dialect that the North

² *A History of English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 266, 267.

Countrie became *par excellence* the ballad land. English ballads, unlike the lowland Scotch, are often flat, garrulous, spiritless, didactic. Professor F. E. Bryant³ thought that the ballad of the Child type was not very current in Southern England, where the institution of the printed or stall ballad came to play so large a rôle and established a current type of another and less poetical pattern. The discrepancy in style between Northern and Southern ballads might then be ascribed to the dominance of stall balladry in London while it played no part in the North. Mr. T. F. Henderson⁴ places emphasis upon the superiority of Scotch lyric poetry in general in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Its "makers" and bards were artists of special training and descent. Their influence is dominant for generations and their legacy may be seen in Scottish song of the eighteenth century. Northern vernacular song, he points out, is more closely linked to the past than the popular minstrelsy of England. It represents more fully the national sentiments, associations, and memories. It includes many numbers that bear the hall-mark of an ancient and noble descent.

The relation is close of the Northern ballad style to that of fifteenth century Scottish poetry and to Scottish popular song as it emerges in the eighteenth century. To cite illustration, Henryson's *Robyne and Makyne* and *The Bludy Sark* are astonishingly ballad-like in stanzaic form and in expression, though they were not composed for oral currency and the themes are not heroic or border themes. *The Bludy Sark* opens as follows:—

This hundir yeir I hard be tald
Thair was a worthy king;
Dukes, erlis, and barounis bald
He had at his bidding.

This lord was anceanne and ald,
And sixty yearis couth ring;
He had a dochter fair to fald,
A lusty lady ying.

The ballad mannerism of forced accent is noticeable, and in *Robyne and Makyne* especially striking use is made of dialogue. If these pieces had been composed for recitation or singing, if they had had

³ *A History of English Balladry* (1913), p. 192.

⁴ *Scottish Vernacular Literature* (1898), p. 385.

oral currency for some generations with consequent transformations, assimilations, and re-creation, both might possibly seem the most orthodox of traditional ballads.

To return to the subject of variation of style within the Child ballads, the precariousness of style as a test of what is properly a ballad and what is not is shown by *The Nut Brown Maid*. It resembles some of the traditional ballads so closely in style as to win for itself for a long time treatment as one of the latter. It was included, for example, in the first ballad collection published by Professor Child. But it has now very properly lost such classification since it is really a debate piece, a bit of special pleading, not a lyric tale.

There are some who classify the American cowboy songs as "American ballads."⁵ It need hardly be said that their style is utterly different from that of the Child pieces. Conventional epithets, wrenched accent, structural repetition in narration, use of the "legacy" motive, etc., are all missing save where the songs are made over from Old World ballads. Most, however, are songs rather than ballads, and their chief collector has so termed them.⁶

If by the statement that ballads show uniformity of style is meant that all ballads are likely to show a certain structural mannerism, *i. e.*, structural or lyrical repetition, so-called "incremental repetition," it should be pointed out that this is not a *differentia* of the ballad style, or proof of some special mode of genesis for ballads, for it is a characteristic of popular song in general. Parallelism of line structure and incremental repetition are found in medieval songs, both religious and secular, and in folk-songs of many types: carols, student songs, nursery songs and lullabies, revival hymns, etc., as well as (in a distinctive way which is not the ballad way) in game and dance songs. Lyrical repetition in presenting *narrative* is found only in ballads, for the ballad is the only narrative type of folk-song; but ballads can be ballads which do not show it. Its frequent presence in English ballads is a characteristic which they share with other types of folk-song. It is not an essential characteristic of their structure, and it is more abundant in later than in earlier texts. There are many varieties of it; and primarily it is something to be associated not merely

⁵ G. H. Stempel, *A Book of Ballads* (1917), p. 145.

⁶ J. A. Lomax, *Cowboy Songs* (1910).

with the traditional ballad style but with the style of folk-song in general.

Comparison shows many points of difference as well as of resemblance in the styles of Danish, Russian, Spanish, Scandinavian, English and Scottish, and American ballads. What they have in common are the features on which we rest the definition of folk ballads as a lyric type. They are story pieces, they are singable or are easily recited, and their authors and origins have been lost to view. The real truth of the matter may be stated as follows. There is no universal ballad style essentially the "same" apart from locality or chronology, even when we limit our consideration to traditional folk-ballads. Within one community, however, through a certain duration, there is likely to be uniformity of style in the ballads preserved in folk-tradition. Popular preservation has a levelling effect on pieces which have commended themselves to the folk-consciousness and have been handed down in tradition. Pieces of all types and origins are made over to conform to the horizons of the singers. A negro song may even take on characteristics of the English and Scottish ballads when recovered from white singers in regions where Old World ballads play an important rôle in the folk repertory.⁷ Examination of a body of folk-songs may reveal wide divergence of provenance and, originally, of style. Yet, as in the cowboy pieces, the appearance of homogeneity may soon be assumed. They seem to be the product of, and to mirror the life of, those from whom they were recovered. Pieces of all types are assimilated in folk-song; in the course of time they come to borrow elements from one another; mannerisms which are easily caught spread; until similarity of style is approximated. The ballad stanza, like the hymn stanza, has certain limitations conditioned by the powers of the singers, or by the vocal and psychological limitations of popular song in general. Yet in the long run styles change for folk poetry as they do for book poetry. British popular song of the nineteenth century is not like that of the seventeenth, nor is that of the seventeenth like that of the fifteenth. American sentimental, comic, and patriotic popular songs of the twentieth

⁷ Compare *John Hardy* (Campbell and Sharp, *Folk-Song of the Southern Appalachians*, No. 87), in which, as in several other songs in the repertory of the singers contributing, a passage has been assimilated from the Old-World ballad, *The Lass of Roch Royal*.

century are of other patterns from those current in the nineteenth. The song modes of *John Brown, Marching through Georgia, Old Dan Tucker, Zip Coon, Lorena*, have given way to those of *Tipperary, Keep the Home Fires Burning, The Long Long Trail, Over There*. These are songs not ballads, and some of them are of British origin; but the same generalization is true for the style of our contemporary story-songs or ballads. The uniformity of the ballad style is a uniformity for one people, or one class of people, during one or more generations; otherwise there is only the uniformity of simplicity to be expected of popular song of all types.

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A CONJECTURE CONCERNING THE ORIGIN OF MODERN ENGLISH SHE

The origin of the feminine pronoun *she* is, as Mr. H. C. Wyld points out in his *Short History of English*, "a puzzle that has never been satisfactorily solved."¹ No one of the plausible theories advanced to explain it quite explains. In this state of things it may seem rash to offer still another attempt at explanation. But there is always the consideration that altho a new theory very probably contains error, it may possibly suggest the truth.

There are now in the field three important explanations. The first, and the most generally accepted, is that which regards *she* as the descendant of the O. E. demonstrative *sēo, sīe* in unstressed position.² The second explanation was advanced in 1885 by Würzner.³ He refers *she* to the O. N. demonstrative pronoun *sjá*. The argument is rather slight, however, and the theory has received little support from scholars. Kluge, in his *Geschichte der Englischen Sprache* gives it exceedingly cautious suffrage.⁴ Finally, in 1895,

¹ 1914, p. 169.

² Morsbach, *Ueber den Ursprung der neuenglischen Schriftsprache*, 1886, p. 121; Sweet, *New English Grammar*, 1900, II, 336, *New English Dictionary*, art. *she*.

³ *Anglia*, VIII (1885), *Anzeiger*, p. 20.

⁴ In Paul's *Grundriss*, 2nd Ed., I, p. 1066.

Sarrazin proposed a new explanation.⁵ He would derive M. E. *sche*, *scho* straight from O. E. *hēo*, *hīe* through the stages *heo* > *hjo* > (*ɣho*) > *scho*, and points to the two words in English which exhibit a parallel development, *Shetland* < O. N. *Hja(l)tland*, and *Shapinsha*, the name of one of the Orkneys, from O. N. *Hjalpandisey*.

To all these theories there are grave, not to say fatal, objections. In respect of the first two they have been well stated by Sarrazin in the article referred to. He has, however, failed to point out one essential weakness in the case of those who hold that *she* represents O. E. *sēo*, *sīe*. It is generally stated, as in the *N. E. D.*, that the substitution of the demonstrative for the original personal pronoun was due to the fact that "the phonetic development of the various dialects had in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries rendered the pronouns *hē* (masc.) and *hēo* (fem.) almost wholly indistinguishable in pronunciation." That is a remarkable explanation. Is not *ɣhe*, to say nothing of *ɣho*, both of which are admittedly from *hēo*, *hīe*, clearly distinct from *hē* both in the written and in the spoken language?

There remains, then, the conjecture that *sche*, *she*, *scho*, etc. are spontaneous developments of the O. E. personal pronoun. It has been accepted by Kaluza,⁶ and is cited, at least without adverse comment by Jespersen.⁷ But there are serious difficulties in the way. The spontaneous development of the blade spirant *ɕ* to the blade-point spirant *ʃ* is unknown elsewhere in English. It is true, of course, that in certain dialects south of the Thames there is an interchange of *ʃ* and *ɕ* in such words as *shepherd*, *should*, and even *she*.⁸ The case, however, is not strictly parallel with the one under discussion, and even if it were, it would tell us nothing of the phonology of the Midlands and the North in the twelfth century. *Shetland* < (*Hja(l)tland*) and *Shapinsha* (<*Hjalpandisey*) cannot be cited in evidence, for these are developments in a Scandinavian, not in an English dialect.⁹

⁵ *Englische Studien*, xxii, 1896, pp. 330-331.

⁶ *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, 1901, II, 145.

⁷ *A Modern English Grammar*, 1909, I, p. 53, § 2. 272.

⁸ Wright, *The English Dialect Dictionary*, 1905. Grammatical Supplement, pp. 160-161.

⁹ *N. E. D.*, art. *she*.

And yet I am disposed to think that Sarrazin was on the right track in regarding *she* as the lineal descendant of the O. E. pers. pro. But if the development cannot have taken place spontaneously, it must have taken place under the influence of surrounding sounds. I venture, therefore, to suggest that \int arose from \mathfrak{z} , \mathfrak{zh} in a breath group in which it was preceded by a dental or alveolar, generally t or s ; that the sound so developed was then generalized, and used in other positions in which it could not phonetically develop. Physiologically the phenomenon is not only simple and natural, it is almost inevitable. What happens is that in unstressed or relatively unstressed position in rapid speech a palatal is assimilated to a preceding dental or alveolar.

Personal pronouns, since they easily become enclitic, are peculiarly subject to changes. Thus in O. N. the original forms of the 2 pers. pro. dual and plural were *it* and *ér* respectively. But from such combinations as *kalleþ it* and *kalleþ ér* emerged new forms *þit* and *þér*, and these were then used everywhere, even when they did not immediately follow the verb. These changes are not essentially different from those in which a sound in anlaut is assimilated to a sound in auslaut, which are often found in speech, and occasionally show forth in spelling. O. N. *megin*, *megum*, an adverb found in certain adverbial phrases, *kvenna megin*, "on the women's side (of a church)," developed from *vegim* in groups like *ollom vegim*, "on all sides." The initial *v* has been assimilated to the preceding *m*, and the new form arising in this position has been generalized. Precisely similar is the development of the Mod. Norwegian 1 pers. pronoun *me* from the original form *vér* (or probably from the dual *vit*) in breath groups like *kallum vér* (or *vit*), "we call." In English, *riding*, one of the divisions of Yorkshire, is a case in point. Here, in current expressions like *east *þriding*, *norþ *þriding*, the \mathfrak{p} was assimilated by a t or \mathfrak{p} , the resulting *tt* was simplified, and a new form, *riding* emerged as a result of a false division of a single phonetic group.

The same sort of thing has happened, I believe, in the history of the mod. Eng. *she*. The assimilation of a palatal spirant to a preceding dental or alveolar means simply a slight moving forward of the tongue. The product, of course, is a blade-point spirant.

Indeed, we hear the change daily in unconstrained speech when *this year* becomes *thiʃ year*, and *dontjuw* becomes *dontʃu*. Only a

rigid orthographic convention keeps such pronunciations out of the written language.

That a sound developed in these circumstances might become generalized is, in view of the examples I have cited, extremely probable. Indeed, there is one word in English dialects which shows the complete process. That is the Scotch and North English word *shoggle*, *shockle*, "icicle." It is undoubtedly from late O. E. **is-yokel*, "s-y becoming *sh*—just as in the pronunciation of *issue*" etc. Then in certain Northern dialects the second element, *schockle*, *shoggle*, become detached, and passed into use as an independent word.¹⁰

My conjecture is that *she* arose in the same way. M. E. *ʒhe*, *ʒho* (< O. E. *hīe*, *hēo*) in such phonetic groups as *sīþpens ʒhe*, *was ʒhe*, *þat ʒhe*, gave by assimilation of the blade spirant to the preceding dental or alveolar in rapid speech the blade-point spirant. The resulting forms, M. E. *sche*, *scho* etc. were then generalized, and in Late M. E. *she* became the regular form in the new literary dialect.

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A NOTE ON THE STAGE-MUTINEERS

Students of Fielding should be interested in *The Stage-Mutineers: Or, A Play-House to be Lett* (1733),¹ a play which burlesqued the revolt of the players from Drury Lane in 1733, for it seems probable that two scenes in Fielding's *The Historical Register for the Year 1736*—the scene burlesquing Theophilus Cibber and the scene of the auction—may have been suggested by it. It was published as written "By a Gentleman late of Trinity-College, Cambridge," and is always referred to as an anonymous play, but if the words of the anonymous author of *A Serio-Comic Apology for Part of the Life of Mr. Theophilus Cibber*² may be

¹⁰ For the history of this word see Charles P. G. Scott, "English Words which have Gained or Lost an Initial Consonant by Attraction." *Transactions of the American Philological Association*, xxiv, 1893, 147.

¹ It was first acted, according to Genest (III, 424-5), October 31, 1733.

² This book has been ascribed, without justification, to Fielding. Theo-

believed, the authorship of the play may be ascertained. Theophilus Cibber, who led the revolt of the players, was burlesqued under the name of Pistol, and in the *Serio-Comic Apology* there is a description of the play, and an account of how Cibber looked on from a box, with the following hint as to authorship: "A young Spark, who was just come from *Trinity College at Cambridge*, to set up for an Author in Town, and who had just before wrote a Farce, call'd the Mock-Lawyer, thought this a Proper Time to exercise his Genius. To Work he went, and Pistol was to be his Heroe." The author thus referred to was Edward Phillips, of whom the *Biographia Dramatica*³ says: "Of this young gentleman we can trace nothing further than his name; that he was of Cambridge; that he was a writer of the last reign, and produced five little dramatic pieces." *The Stage-Mutineers* is not listed among them, but the second is *The Mock Lawyer* (1733). *The Stage-Mutineers* is nowhere ascribed to Phillips, but the reference to him in the anonymous *Apology* seems plain enough.

The extravagant acting of Theophilus Cibber was a fair target for the shaft of the satirist. "Though Theophilus Cibber had some degree of merit in a variety of characters," says Davies,⁴ his contemporary, "and especially in brisk coxcombs; and more particularly in parts of extravagant humour, such as Pistol in Shakespeare's Henry the Fourth; yet he generally mixed so much of false spirit and grimace in his acting, that . . . he often disgusted the judicious spectator." Fielding, in the bombastic Pistol scene at the end of the second act of *The Historical Register*, has the Muse "rise in her Stile," as Mr. Medley, the author of the play which is being rehearsed, phrases it, and give the audience a "Taste of the Sublime." "I warrant we don't over-act him," said Mr. Medley, "half so much as he does his Parts." That this little scene through which Pistol struts may have been suggested by the burlesque of Cibber in *The Stage-Mutineers* is, in my opinion, highly probable. It is a natural assumption that Fielding, who

philus Cibber himself, in the introduction to his *Life of Barton Booth (Lives and Characters of the most Eminent Actors)* says: "Who the low rogue of an author was I could never learn."

³ I, Part 2, 571.

⁴ *Life of Garrick*, I, 35.

was on the side of Highmore in the revolt of the players,⁵ must have taken some interest in this burlesque of the revolt, and he may have noted with interest the way the public, according to the author of the *Apology*, received the burlesque of Pistol. Theophilus watched the play from a box in full view of the house, and he is made to describe the ridicule of his "Tone of Elocution" and "expressive Rotation of Eyeballs" in the following words:

"The Scene open'd, and on *Pistol's* appearing there was a thundering Clap, and all the Eyes in the House converted on *me*; every Sentence that hit at *me*, the Joke was heighten'd, by looking at *me*, who laugh'd as much at them, and the *Poverty* of the Author's Wit, as the Author, or the Audience, could possibly do at *me*. . . . Towards the last Scene, the Author has introduc'd a Sale of theatric Goods; and one of the Properties put up to be dispos'd of, was *Apollo's crack'd Harp*, and wither'd *Crown of Bayes*.—Upon which a character on the Stage reply'd,—*Oh! Pray lay that aside for Mr. Pistol, he will claim that by hereditary Right*.—This immediately put the whole House in a *Roar*, and *Encore, Encore*, was all the Cry.—Here the whole Pit stood up, and look'd at *me*. I join'd the laughing *Encore*, and in the Repetition of the low Witticism, clap'd heartily."

Whether or not Fielding was actually influenced by *The Stage-Mutineers* to write the Pistol scene in his *The Historical Register*, and whether or not his famous auction scene, where various articles are wittily commented on by Auctioneer Hen as he holds them up for sale, actually was suggested by the reading of the catalogue of theatrical stock by the wardrobe keeper, whose annotations were as apt as the remark of the spectator noted in the foregoing description, can, of course, never be proved. The foregoing description, however, proves one point very definitely, it seems to me, and that is that jokes on Pistol were popular, so popular that Fielding was likely to be sure of an instant response from his audience when his own Pistol strutted upon the stage.

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⁵ See his epistle to Mrs. Clive, which precedes *The Intriguing Chambermaid*.

REVIEWS

George Sand et l'amour, par L. Vincent, Paris, Champion, 1917, 270 pp.

George Sand et le Berry, par L. Vincent, Paris, Champion, 1919. xiv + 672 pp.

Le Berry dans l'œuvre de George Sand, par L. Vincent, Paris, Champion, 1919. 368 pp.

La langue et le style rustiques de George Sand dans les romans champêtres, par L. Vincent, Paris, Champion, 1916. 400 pp.

Dans la préface de son étude sur *George Sand et l'amour*, Mlle Vincent déclare que ne pouvant faire entrer ce travail dans son ouvrage principal sur *George Sand et le Berry*, à cause de son développement, elle a pris le parti de le faire tirer à part. "Tel qu'il est, dit-elle, je le considère comme une introduction au travail plus important qui étudie George Sand dans ses rapports avec sa chère province." En fait, le lecteur éprouve quelque difficulté à saisir le rapport entre les deux sujets. Comment "se faire une idée assez exacte du tempérament de l'auteur de *Lélia* et de l'influence que ce tempérament a pu exercer sur la conduite de sa vie," peut-il nous aider à comprendre ce que George Sand doit à sa province natale, c'est ce que l'on ne voit pas tout d'abord. L'utilité de ce travail séparé apparaît d'autant moins que dans *George Sand et le Berry* Mlle Vincent a repris la même question avec des développements plus que suffisants. La thèse tient tout entière en une phrase dite un jour par Mme Clésinger, la fille de George Sand, à M. Adolphe Brisson : "George Sand était d'imagination brûlante et de tempérament froid." Pour qui sait lire, il n'est pas besoin d'insister davantage. Nous nous refuserons à admettre, en tout cas, qu'il était nécessaire de discuter si longuement un sujet pour le moins scabreux et de le faire sans modération et sans indulgence. La discussion détaillée d'un cas qui relève plus de la médecine que de l'histoire littéraire ne saurait nous retenir ici. Nous accepterons même que *Lélia* soit, jusqu'à un certain point, un roman autobiographique ; mais de là à conclure, comme l'a fait l'auteur de *George Sand et l'amour*, qu'il s'agisse là d'un cas de neurasthénie

permanente et nettement caractérisée, il y a une distance considérable. Mlle Vincent s'est fort habilement servie, pour prouver sa thèse, de la correspondance de George Sand avec Sainte Beuve. Avec une imagination vive qui parfois égare son sens critique, elle a relevé les moindres allusions qui lui semblaient pouvoir confirmer son idée préconçue, alors qu'en réalité, il serait possible en se servant des mêmes documents d'arriver à une conclusion fort différente. Ce qui ressort au contraire de l'étude de Mlle Vincent c'est que George Sand a été victime de la théorie romantique de l'amour et Mlle Vincent a indiqué elle-même que George Sand "s'est assimilé toutes les manières de penser et de sentir propres à l'école romantique, et les a rendues siennes; elle s'est faite l'écho de cette doctrine comme elle l'a été du Saint-Simonisme, du socialisme et de toutes les idées de son temps" (p. 116). A ce propos, on peut s'étonner que l'auteur n'ait pas tiré meilleur parti de l'ouvrage de M. Maigron sur le *Romantisme et les mœurs*. Elle aurait trouvé là plus d'un exemple du "cas" George Sand. On peut également s'étonner qu'elle n'ait point indiqué un rapprochement qui s'impose entre *Lélia* et *Madame Bovary*. Si M. Jules de Gaultier, que Mlle Vincent semble ignorer, a justement défini le "bovarysme" comme "le pouvoir départi à l'homme de se concevoir autre qu'il n'est," n'est-ce pas justement ce qui est arrivé à l'auteur de *Lélia*? Même en admettant que l'explication donnée par Mlle Vincent du tempérament de son auteur renferme une part de vérité, elle ne convaincra que médiocrement ceux qui hésiteront toujours à voir en George Sand simplement "la victime d'une affection physiologique grave et incurable" (p. 99), un "cas pathologique" (p. 101), ou une "monomane" (p. 103). Tout porte à croire, au contraire, que George Sand, malgré des écarts de conduite qui sont connus de tous, recouvra son équilibre et sa santé morale, et l'on pourra ainsi comprendre sans rien y voir d'"étrange" qu'elle ait donné d'excellents conseils à sa fille et, dans sa vieillesse, veillé avec sévérité aux bonnes mœurs de ses servantes.

Mlle Vincent regrette de n'avoir pu consulter tous les papiers de Chantilly et certaines lettres de George Sand conservées dans des collections particulières, elle a fait cependant une assez jolie moisson pour reprendre et développer la même thèse dans *George Sand et le Berry*. Sans aucun doute, nous y trouvons, comme l'annonce l'auteur, une étude "sur l'influence que le Berry a exercée sur l'auteur de *Lélia*" (p. vi); mais on y trouve d'abord et surtout un

essai de justification de M. Dudevant. Avec infiniment de patience, Mlle Vincent a fouillé les archives du greffe de la Châtre, elle a examiné les dépositions des témoins dans le procès de divorce, soumis à une critique impitoyable les déclarations de George Sand dans l'*Histoire de ma vie*, et elle est arrivée à cette conclusion que la seule cause du malentendu entre les deux époux "ne résidait pas en la complète médiocrité, la pauvreté morale, le manque d'esprit et le peu d'élévation d'âme de Dudevant, comme le veut W. Karénine. Un motif d'ordre physique les séparait. . . Le tempérament frigide d'Aurore, telle est la vraie cause de sa rupture avec Dudevant et cette rupture était moralement consommée en 1825" (p. 83).

Les arguments employés par Mlle Vincent dans son essai de réhabilitation de M. Dudevant sont d'ailleurs assez singuliers. On sait que dans le procès de séparation Mme Dudevant fit valoir comme grief que son mari l'avait un jour frappée devant témoins. "Que M. Dudevant, fatigué de l'impatience, l'impolitesse d'Aurore à l'égard de M. Duplessis, dit Mlle Vincent en rappelant la scène, ou fatigué de ces agaceries qui ne finissaient pas, ait donné une tape à Aurore comme à un enfant terrible, le geste n'est pas galant assurément, mais il ne constitue pas une brutalité" (p. 213). Il est vraiment regrettable que l'auteur n'ait pas indiqué exactement ce qui, à son sens, constitue une brutalité. Le même parti pris à l'égard de M. Dudevant se retrouve dans l'étude que Mlle Vincent consacre à la vie de cet assez médiocre personnage dans son château de Guillery. "M. Dudevant avait le sentiment des convenances et de la dignité," affirme son apologiste, qui cite comme confirmation le fait qu'il ne laissait pas paraître au salon sa servante maîtresse Jeanny (p. 619). C'est là un point d'étiquette sur lequel nous nous en rapportons absolument au jugement de Mlle Vincent.

Par contre, pour Mlle Vincent, Jules Sandeau n'aurait pas été dans la vie de George Sand "le premier anneau de toute une chaîne de liaisons plus ou moins malheureuses" (p. 126). "C'est là, insiste-t-elle, le point important." A l'en croire, en effet, dès l'âge de seize ans, Aurore aurait ébauché un roman d'amour avec un voisin de campagne, Ajasson de Grandsagne; et c'est d'Ajasson de Grandsagne, retrouvé en 1826, qu'elle aurait eu sa fille Solange. Les preuves décisives ne pourraient être fournies que par la correspondance échangée entre George Sand et son ami de jeunesse et cette correspondance n'a pu être retrouvée. Mlle Vincent le re-

grette fort; j'avoue ne pas entièrement partager ses regrets. Il est difficile d'oublier que George Sand a, à maintes reprises, de son vivant, témoigné le désir que ces lettres ne fussent pas publiées. Rien de ce qui intéresse la vie des grands écrivains et de ce qui peut servir à expliquer leur œuvre ne saurait nous laisser indifférents; mais quand on se souvient que moins d'un demi siècle s'est écoulé depuis la mort de George Sand et que ses descendants sont encore vivants, on éprouve quelque gêne devant le zèle impitoyable de juge d'instruction dont a fait preuve l'auteur de *George Sand et le Berry*. C'est heureusement sans aucune restriction de ce genre que l'on peut analyser le reste du travail de Mlle Vincent.

Sur les débuts politiques de George Sand, sur son activité dans le département de l'Indre, sur ses rapports avec ses amis berrichons et les efforts qu'elle fit pour les tirer des griffes de la police impériale, on trouvera d'excellents chapitres qui fourmillent de détails inédits et curieux. Les rares qualités de chercheur qu'a déployées Mlle Vincent dans ses fouilles dans les archives départementales et dans les journaux locaux, lui ont permis de reconstituer avec exactitude la vie de George Sand sous la deuxième République et pendant les premières années de l'Empire. Nous en dirons de même des chapitres consacrés aux dernières années de l'auteur de *la Petite Fadette*. Sans du reste rien enlever d'essentiel à la figure de George Sand, Mlle Vincent a fait revivre une dame de Nohant qui n'est pas tout à fait la Bonne dame de Nohant de la légende, mais qui est infiniment plus vraie. C'est une maîtresse femme qu'elle nous montre, réglant sa maison avec économie, menant ses domestiques avec une bonté souvent brusque, charitable sans fausse sensibilité, éprise d'histoire naturelle, très grande dame par certains côtés et tout près de la terre qu'elle a chantée dans toute son œuvre.

Mlle Vincent a apporté la même exactitude louable et le même soin scrupuleux du détail dans l'ouvrage qu'elle consacre au *Berry dans l'œuvre de George Sand*. Les rapprochements si curieux qu'elle indique avec Jean Jacques Rousseau auraient pu être suivis plus loin. Il en est de même du chapitre sur les prédécesseurs berrichons de George Sand, qui appellerait, ce me semble, un chapitre complémentaire sur les successeurs de George Sand. L'auteur aurait pu au moins indiquer brièvement l'histoire du roman champêtre après George Sand et mentionner son influence sur la floraison récente de la littérature de la terre. On aurait aimé que les cartes très précises données dans l'ouvrage fussent accom-

pagnées d'une échelle, et quelques erreurs d'ailleurs légères étonnent dans un travail aussi consciencieux. George Sand était trop bonne paysanne pour parler comme Lamartine l'avait fait dans *Jocelyn* de bœufs de labour qui deviennent subitement des taureaux (p. 162). L'erreur est due ici non à l'auteur mais au commentateur. J'hésite à croire, comme le dit Mlle Vincent, que dans le Berry "les jeunes filles ont de beaux yeux noirs" et sont accompagnées par "de beaux garçons bien pris, aux cheveux blonds et aux yeux bleus" (p. 179). Ce changement dans la couleur de l'iris suivant les sexes est un phénomène nouveau, si je ne me trompe. Après George Sand, cette fois, Mlle Vincent répète que les paysans viennent aux assemblées en sabots de bois de peuplier (p. 162), alors que le noyer et le châtaignier sont d'ordinaire réservés à la confection des sabots. Mais ces détails relevés, il ne reste qu'à louer. Mlle Vincent a étudié les paysans du Berry et plus particulièrement des environs de Nohant avec le soin scrupuleux d'un explorateur chargé d'une mission ethnographique au centre d'un continent nouveau. Elle s'est faite géologue, géographe, naturaliste et ethnographe; elle a recueilli les vieux mythes, les superstitions, les traditions et les chants populaires; elle a suivi "les indigènes" dans leurs maisons pour étudier comment ils se nourrissaient, aux champs pour les voir labourer et moissonner, aux assemblées pour décrire leurs divertissements, et ses successeurs ne trouveront que bien peu à glaner derrière elle. On pourrait cependant lui reprocher d'avoir trop considéré le pays de George Sand comme une région isolée et sans liaison avec les pays avoisinants. De là, l'attribution aux Berrichons d'usages qui ne sont pas exclusivement locaux; de là aussi l'erreur où elle est tombée en prenant pour des chansons berrichonnes des romances populaires comme *Chante rossignol, chante* (p. 278), *En revenant de Nantes, ou la Chanson des trois capitaines* (p. 337), qui se retrouvent en beaucoup d'autres endroits.

Appuyée sur cette forte documentation, soigneusement vérifiée, Mlle Vincent avait toute autorité pour étudier dans le détail le caractère et les mœurs des Berrichons tels qu'ils sont peints par George Sand. C'est bien rarement qu'elle a pu prendre son auteur en défaut et relever une inexactitude. Avec beaucoup de justesse elle note que si George Sand a mis trop de poésie dans les sentiments des paysans et dans leur bouche des raisonnements trop subtils (p. 307), le portrait dans son ensemble reste vrai et complet. Les paysans de George Sand ne sont point "floriantesques," leurs

mauvais côtés ont été vus et indiqués par l'auteur de *François le Champi* tout autant que leurs qualités, leur vocabulaire a été adouci, mais non point leur caractère. Pour qui connaît à la fois les paysans du Berry et l'œuvre de George Sand c'est la vérité même et l'on ne saurait trop louer Mlle Vincent de l'avoir montré de façon définitive et avec autant d'autorité.

Egalement plein de renseignements de premier ordre est le dernier volume sur "*La langue et le style rustiques de George Sand dans les romans champêtres.*" Il convient cependant d'indiquer dès l'abord de très fortes réserves. Un travail de ce genre n'a d'utilité que s'il est accompagné d'un index complet. De plus, Mlle Vincent a été desservie par le fait que n'étant pas du pays elle a parfois éprouvé une certaine difficulté "à se faire entendre des vieux paysans et à les entendre" (p. 27). Les divisions qu'elle indique et la classification qu'elle emploie sont fort discutables. Sans entrer dans le détail, on est un peu déconcerté de trouver parmi les "mots qui appartiennent au patois du centre et à l'ancien français" des mots comme *ablette* (p. 136), *accordailles* (p. 137), *accroire* (p. 137), *asséché* (p. 141), *assemblée* (p. 141), *besace* (p. 143), *galerie* (p. 137), *landiers* etc., qui se trouvent non seulement chez Littré mais dans le *Dictionnaire général* d'Hatzfeld, Darmesteter et Thomas. Il en est de même de *musette* (p. 165), *patache* (p. 168), *pistole* (p. 170), *pertuis* (p. 170), *se pourlécher* (p. 172), *souvenance* (p. 177), *tancer* (p. 179), et *vielle* (p. 170). La forme *cocodrille* pour *crocodile* que Mlle Vincent affirme n'avoir trouvé "dans aucun dictionnaire du vieux français" (p. 122), est indiquée par le *Dictionnaire général* comme ayant été employée jusqu'au commencement du dix-septième siècle. Je me refuse à croire que des mots comme *cape* (p. 181), *filandière* (p. 185), *vaguer* (p. 189), *vairon*, *des yeux vairons* (p. 189), "ne se trouvent que dans les dictionnaires d'ancien français." Parmi les "mots qui n'ont pas le même sens qu'en français moderne," j'hésiterais à classer *achalandé* (p. 191), *les autres*, désignant ceux qu'on ne veut pas nommer, *creux* dans le sens de profond. Dire que "George Sand défigure des locutions courantes et les rend gauches pour leur donner l'air paysan" et citer comme exemple l'expression *croix ou pile* est ignorer que Pascal, que l'on ne peut accuser de la même intention, ne s'exprime pas autrement. Croire que *ne buvant goutte* est formé d'après *ne voir goutte* me semble bien mettre la charrue devant les bœufs pour employer un proverbe qui n'est pas seulement berrichon.

Zieuter dans le sens de "regarder" appartient plus à l'argot parisien qu'au patois du Berry. Il en est de même du "chemin de monte-à-regret" pour désigner le lieu où se faisaient les exécutions. Il me paraît difficile d'admettre que *chicon* voulant dire "laitue romaine" soit un mot inédit, quand le *Dictionnaire général* le donne précisément dans le même sens, et s'il ne se trouve pas chez Jaubert, c'est simplement qu'il est français. Quant à la voie lactée, elle s'est appelée le chemin de Saint Jacques ailleurs que dans le Berry et avant George Sand.

Mlle Vincent a eu au contraire la main plus heureuse dans l'analyse très fine qu'elle a faite des procédés de style de George Sand. Avec beaucoup de justesse, elle a parlé de sa faculté de créer des expressions nouvelles et parfois des mots nouveaux à l'exemple des paysans du Berry. Elle est loin d'avoir résolu tous les problèmes linguistiques que soulève le vocabulaire des romans champêtres; mais, et ce n'est pas là un résultat négligeable, elle a montré combien la langue de George Sand différait de la langue littéraire de ses contemporains.

Au total, ces quatre volumes, ou plutôt ces trois volumes, car on me permettra d'exclure le premier qui n'a que faire ici, constituent une mine des plus riches, mais d'exploitation encore trop difficile, pour qui voudra étudier la vie et les œuvres de George Sand et faire une édition critique des romans champêtres. La contribution à la science qu'apporte Mlle Vincent n'est pas à dédaigner malgré les réserves que nous avons faites. Son travail est un complément précieux à l'ouvrage de Wladimir Karénine et l'on doit souhaiter qu'une seconde édition permette à l'auteur de remanier son œuvre et de faire disparaître les trop nombreuses fautes matérielles qu'elle a elle-même signalées.

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Anatole France. By LEWIS PIAGET SHANKS. Chicago and London: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1919. xi + 241 pp.

Books about Anatole France are as varied in point of view as the different works of the master himself. They range from the decided hostility of reactionaries like Michaut and Giraud to the warm admiration of liberals like George Brandes and the untempered panegyric of radicals like W. L. George.¹

¹ Cf. *Modern Philology*, xiv (1916), 173-88.

The work before us, the first American book on the subject, occupies a position of its own. Written from the standpoint of a "humanistic aestheticism" not unlike that of Sylvestre Bonnard himself, it represents the first attempt to interpret objectively and evaluate for the general reader the writings of Anatole France. In this aim it achieves a creditable measure of success.

Readable analyses of the principal works are interspersed with well-translated excerpts. Biographical material is given in so far as it is available. In connection with the analyses Professor Shanks frequently makes interesting literary comparisons which give proof of a wide range of reading. These comparisons often take the form of suggestions as to sources, which are in a number of instances earlier works of France himself. Some of these indications of sources are derived from existing studies. Others are new. Thus it is curious to note that the *Vie de Schnoudi* in Amélineau's *Les Moines égyptiens*² furnished hints for *Thaïs*, and to find that (p. 74) three of the stories in the *Etui de nacre* are based on tales in the *Livre de mon ami*. The story of Gallio in *Sur la pierre blanche* (p. 171), it appears, is an echo of the *Procurateur de Judée*.³

Suggestions of this sort are introduced with an absence of pedantry by which, as well as by numerous quotations, Professor Shanks makes it clear that he has read the *Vie littéraire* with especial attention. Not only has he caught from the bantering Benedictine the art of marshaling recalcitrant material, but he has learned from him much of literary technique in general. His careful style has at times something of Anatole France's own cadences.

In the chapter entitled "Postscript and Conclusion" we have an attempt to characterize the permanent traits of the author. In this design Professor Shanks is less successful than in the body of his book. His portrait of France is foredoomed to failure, because his open-mindedness forces him to include elements so disparate that they do not readily blend. In such an effort to give the reader a definite impression hostile critics like Michaut and Giraud, who reduce Anatole France to a manifestation of some single one of the deadly sins, have the advantage over fair-minded students who reproduce the endless complexity of the facts. Not until time has

² P. 69, n. 1 Professor Shanks writes, inaccurately, "Amélinot, *La Thébaïde*." Cf. *Vie litt.*, III, 15.

³ Cf. Giraud, *Les Maîtres de l'heure*, II (Paris, 1914), 280.

given us perspective and revealed all the influences, personal and other, which have molded that infinitely malleable personality will it be possible to paint a satisfactory portrait.

It is difficult, then, to formulate Anatole France's essential characteristics as a man; it is equally difficult to determine his permanent rank as a writer. Nevertheless Professor Shanks tries to divine what his future position in French letters will be. For him the author of the *Lys rouge* is the only contemporary writer whose works will survive.⁴ This depreciation of other living authors in favor of Anatole France is evidence of an inclination to exaggerate France's merits and especially to extenuate his defects. Such a tendency appears in the book not infrequently, and constitutes its most serious deficiency.

In the chapter under discussion Professor Shanks sets forth the idea that "posterity will regret that Anatole France did not stay in his library" rather than come out to play his part in the political and social struggles of our day. Evident as it is that those parts of the *Histoire contemporaine* and the *Ile des pingouins* which are taken up with passing issues will die with them, one who remembers Voltaire cannot but feel that the figure of Anatole France gains in dignity through his courageous efforts in the cause of the ideal. From a purely literary point of view, moreover, there are in these writings of circumstance passages so notable that they are not likely to be forgotten.

To pass to questions of detail, Professor Shanks' statement (p. 18) that Anatole France's "favorite poets are still the poets of the pagan world," is not borne out by his eloquent apostrophe in *Le Petit Pierre*⁵ to Racine "le meilleur, le plus cher des poètes!" The idea that he lost faith in natural science between 1881, the date of *Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard*, and 1885, the date of *Le Livre de mon ami*,⁶ fails to explain such passages as those cited (p. 56) from the *Crime*,⁷ and (p. 61) from *Abeille* (1883).⁸

There will not be many readers of *Le Jardin d'Epicure* who see

⁴ P. 229.

⁵ Pp. 330-1. Cf. *Le Génie latin*, p. II.

⁶ P. 52.

⁷ "To know is nothing, to imagine is everything."

⁸ "It is not science, it is poetry which charms and which consoles. That is why poetry is more necessary than science."

in it "the masterpiece of Anatole France" (p. 125); the view that his best work is *Le Crime de Sylvestre Bonnard* is more widely held. The convenient "Chronology of the Principal Works of Anatole France" (p. 233-4) needs some modification. *Balthazar* dates from 1889, not 1890; *L'Eglise et la république* from 1904, not 1905; *La Vie de Jeanne d'Arc* and *Les Contes de Jacques Tournebroke* from 1908, not 1909. It should be noted that *Filles et garçons* (1900) is an abridged edition of *Nos Enfants* (1886).

These reservations in no wise impugn the value and usefulness of Professor Shanks' book. It is a good illustration of the advantages which the American student of French literature may derive from the detached position of his country. It is possible for us to look upon French letters *sine ira et studio*. Professor Shanks has made a sincere effort to do so in the case of Anatole France. Consequently the general reader will find in his book an agreeable and helpful introduction to the works of the great stylist. The specialist will discover in it a modest but real contribution to the literature of the subject.

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La Jeunesse de Charles Nodier — Les Philadelphes, par Léonce Pingaud. Paris, Champion, 1919. 279 pp.

La Jeunesse de Charles Nodier by M. Léonce Pingaud, Professor Emeritus of the University of Besançon, presents a detailed survey of the boyhood and youth of Nodier, supported at every step by documentary evidence, much of it hitherto unpublished. The study is an objective one, concerned chiefly with the external aspects of Nodier's life, the establishment of facts and the destruction of legends, and will be of inestimable value to the critic who eventually undertakes a definitive "Life" of Nodier.

That "Life," given Nodier's activities, must necessarily be both historical and literary in its interests. As was to be expected of Professor Pingaud, this book is focussed on the historical. Its vivid narrative and admirable method give an extremely interesting and authoritative picture of political life in the Franche-Comté under the Terror, the *Directoire*, the *Consulat* and the Empire. Its special study is the adjustment of Nodier, who as a boy was

affiliated with the Jacobin group of Besançon, to the subsequent changing political conditions. In this connection, Professor Pingaud elucidates the history of the secret society of the *Philadelphes*.

The chief literary interest of the book lies in the discrepancies established by the author between the facts concerning Nodier's participation in various revolutionary plots and movements, as revealed by letters and records, and the rôle he has assigned himself in his *Histoire des Sociétés secrètes de l'armée* (1815), and his *Souvenirs de jeunesse, Souvenirs de la Révolution* (1832-1841).

Nodier was known by friends and enemies alike for a marvellous embroiderer of the truth, and the unreliability of these accounts of his had never been questioned. Just what were the facts that Nodier so delightfully embellished had, however, been unknown until Professor Pingaud brought them to light. He admits that his researches are far from exhaustive, but he does not believe that further effort would be justified by the results to be reached. Nodier's books belong to literature rather than to history. He has enveloped "l'épopée impériale dans une page de roman. . . . Ce que Nodier a déployé d'esprit, pour adapter quelques textes authentiques à une affabulation fantastique et pour suppléer aux faits par des hypothèses, le montre avantageusement comme romancier et journaliste, deux professions qui n'impliquent guère le souci de la vérité (p. 179).

Of the *Souvenirs*, Professor Pingaud writes:

"Voilà certes un casier judiciaire bien fourni, mais dont il faut raturer ou annuler presque toutes les pages. Nodier a été souvent signalé ou recherché pour des manifestations politiques sans gravité et d'ordinaire insignifiantes. . . . Jamais il n'y a eu contre lui de condamnation judiciaire, à plus forte raison de sentence capitale. Pour avoir voulu, dès l'âge de douze ans, jouer à l'homme fait, il a été traité en enfant jusqu'à trente. En somme il a servi publiquement tous les régimes dont il a dit avoir à se plaindre, au club sous la Terreur, à la bibliothèque de l'Ecole centrale sous le Directoire, dans les bureaux d'un journal officieux sous le Consulat et sous l'Empire. Ne fût-ce que sur le terrain politique, il a été ce que Sainte Beuve, un peu plus tard, confessait être lui-même, l'homme le plus rompu et le plus brisé aux métamorphoses" p. 201).

Mention should also be made of the fifty pages of hitherto unpublished material at the end of the book. They include By-laws of the *Société des Philadelphes*, two youthful speeches of Nodier, thirteen letters of Nodier, between 1801 and 1819(?), a corre-

spondence between Weiss and Pertuisier in which there is much mention of Nodier, and various letters from Weiss and other friends to Nodier. The Nodier-Weiss and the Weiss-Pertuisier letters alone offer a literary interest. Weiss and Pertuisier exchange opinions on Nodier's first books. The letters of Nodier reinforce the testimony already in existence regarding his early and eager preoccupation with literature in general and romantic literature in particular.

And finally no student of the literary history of France can fail to realize, after reading Professor Pingaud's book, that the collections of provincial libraries and provincial archives present a most fertile field for research, and that provincial newspapers and the records and publications of provincial societies often contain biographical material of the highest importance.

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Rasmus Rask. I Hundreåret efter hans Hovedværk. Skildret av Otto Jespersen. [Folkets Fører]. Copenhagen and Christiania, 1918. Pp. 80.

In 1812 the Danish Scientific Society offered a prize the conditions of which were:

"With historical criticism to investigate and with suitable examples to show from what source the Old Scandinavian language may, with the greatest degree of certainty, be derived, to indicate the character of the language and the relation which it has occupied from earlier times and through the Middle Ages partly to the Northern partly to Germanic dialects, and also to determine exactly the principles, upon which derivation and comparison in these languages should be founded."

The recipient of the prize was Rasmus Rask, whose great "Pris-skrift" lay ready in 1818. On the centennial of its completion Professor Jespersen offers us a new study of Rask's life work. From childhood through youth we go with him upon his Asiatic journey, his return home, and his closing years. The final chapter is an appraisal of the scientific accomplishments of Rask. It is an exceedingly interesting story, well-told and impartial in its judgments, which it is a pleasure to me to call to the attention of the readers of this journal.

Rasmus Rask was born in 1787 in a peasant's home at Brændekilde, a Danish mile out from Odense in the Island of Fyen. His father was an unusually intelligent man, and better read than most in his station. Rask showed a burning thirst for knowledge as a child, which was combined with a burning need to impart his knowledge to others. Among his earliest friends was N. M. Petersen, literary historian and O.N. student, to whom we owe much of the information we possess of Rask's earlier years. Rask's unusual aptness as a pupil, his quickness of comprehension and his acumen in dealing with linguistic facts was something which everywhere attracted the attention of his teachers. As a prize in the Odense Cathedral School he once received from the "Rektor" a copy of Snorre's *Heimskringla*. This became for a time his inseparable companion; without a grammar he entered upon the translation of it and he prepared from it an Icelandic accidence, which later became the basis for his *Veiledning til det islandske eller gamle nordiske sprog* (1811), a truly wonderful achievement for the time. He further took a Danish dictionary, attached to it alternating blank sheets, and on these supplied, as he gained mastery of the forms, the corresponding Icelandic words, which grew in the course of his reading into two ample octavo volumes. The articles under many of the words took the shape of veritable etymological discussions with comparisons from Swedish, Dutch, English, German, and Anglo-Saxon (Jespersen, pp. 6-7). Rask was at this time about 14-17 years old. He often studied till 1 or 2 o'clock at night, and was up to resume again at 5 or 6 in the morning. He grew intensely fond of Icelandic, which he for a time regarded as the parent of the other Scandinavian languages. Once he, with some other companions at school, formed a plan to emigrate to New Zealand to found there an ideal republic something like that of the poets Southey and Coleridge in England (p. 8); but for Rask, there was this difference in the plan that the language of the new ideal state was to be Icelandic. He had already begun the study of modern English and Old English (see above), which studies led in 1816 to his Anglo-Saxon grammar, a foundation work for later study of Old English. Jespersen notes the fact that he now also began busying himself with the languages of the Malay-Polynesian group.

At the age of twenty Rask matriculated at Copenhagen Uni-

versity. Here he lived in great poverty, having at no time but the very scantiest means; for days at a time, it seems, he had nothing to eat. Thus his health was seriously impaired and he never regained the strength he once had enjoyed. Through all the years of his great labors for science, in which he showed a capacity for work that was nothing less than marvellous, he was never strong and much of the time was sickly, though he for a long time seemed loth to admit it or pay any heed to it. The author points out how many of the grammars that he later published were prepared at this time in outline: Lappic, Portuguese, "Moeso-Gothic," Greek, Latin, Italian, French, German, Dutch, besides English, Anglo-Saxon, and Swedish. Of his interest in reforming the orthography of Danish, and of his continued chief interest in Icelandic, Jespersen speaks with considerable fulness pp. 11-16, and 50-54. Rask was struck by the richness and flexibility of Icelandic, "its purity and originality"; he calls attention to its prose literature, and its "glorious poetry," with its "splendid materials," and its "marvellous and noble style"; and he knows the old provincial laws, the runic monuments, and the heroic ballads. He was now extending his studies to include modern Icelandic, Feroese, Frisian and Spanish. He gives a somewhat full account of Feroese forms, the first of its kind, based on Svabo's ballad collection in manuscript. With regard to his Icelandic grammar it may be noted that he discovered and correctly explained *u*-umlaut (J. Grimm discussed Rask's theory and rejected it, but later accepted it [p. 14.]). His *Ret-skrivningslære* (1826, 16 + 339 pages) represents a broader and more thoroughgoing examination of the orthography of Danish than any published before or since (p. 52); Jespersen deals somewhat at length with its critical method and the wealth of ideas it contains, as, *e. g.*, on the relation between sounds and writing in general.

From all these studies there arose in his mind a clearer and clearer picture of a group of related languages and of the nature of that relationship at a time when no one else anywhere had understood it.¹ Already in the outline (1811) of the investigations which he submitted for the prize of the Scientific Society there are startling comparisons between Greek and Old Norse, the kinship of which languages he had seen as early as 1809. Although the

¹ Only Johan Ihre in Sweden is, in a measure, an exception to this.

prize was set for 1811, Rask was given more time for the completion of his studies; then in 1813 he entered upon his Icelandic journey; he remained in Iceland till 1815. His great work was sent down to Copenhagen in 1814. It is a regrettable fact that this work could not be printed at once; perhaps, if it had, Rask's name might have passed down in history as the founder of the science of comparative philology, even though it was published in a language that was not very widely known; but it could not be published until 1818, two years after Bopp's *Conjugationssystem* (p. 21).

Of Rask's great *Prissskrift* (dealt with pp. 21-25), I can only take the space to speak of a few points. Under principles of the study of comparative linguistics he points out the futility of the mere study of words, for words do not make a language except as they are combined with one another; it is form-changes, inflexions, structure, that must be studied. This is Rask's guiding principle, which he practices everywhere in his work.² He shows how certain groups of words within a language are of relatively less importance in determining relationship (words connected with art, public intercourse, commerce, etc.); most significant of all, however, are the pronouns and the numerals of a language. In connection with these and other things the author points out that Rask's methodology for comparative philology is not only without a parallel before his day but even for a long time after his day. The second part of Rask's work applies his principles to Icelandic and the languages that are most nearly related, the other Scandinavian languages, furthermore the "Saxon" languages (Frisian, Dutch, Low-German, Anglo-Saxon) and German; the whole family he calls "Gothic." In Part III he then seeks the source of the "Gothic" language. He first examines geographically contiguous languages; he quickly eliminates Basque, after a full examination also Finnish, correctly, but erroneously also Celtic (corrected 1818 in letter from St. Petersburg).³ In the same way, with correct conclusions, the Slavic, "Lettish-Lithuanian," Hindu and Iranian languages are examined (an important error in his system was corrected by himself not many years later).

² As Franz Bopp simultaneously (Jespersen, p. 22).

³ Definite proof of the position of Celtic in the family was first furnished by Pritchard, 1831 (p. 26, in Jespersen).

Rask's journey to Asia covered the years 1816-1823. In St. Petersburg he had the opportunity of studying the speech of two natives of the Aleutian Islands; his observations about it have recently been printed (1916) as a valuable contribution to the Esquimo languages; he begins now the intensive study of Sanskrit, and Old and New Persian; he purchases a mass of Old Persian and Indian manuscripts (now in the Royal Library, Copenhagen); visits Bombay, crosses all northern India to Calcutta, experiences numerous trials and discomforts, speaks often in letters of how helpful to him the English officials were, even to supplying him with needed funds; he is taken ill, goes through a terrible period of mental depression, suspicion that he is being pursued by enemies everywhere; regains his health somewhat, but is from now on a marked man; is all the time engaged with his researches in the languages modern and old, of India and Persia (Hindustani, Zend, Pehlevi, etc.). In December 1822 he embarked for home; on the journey he had his first and last love-affair says N. M. Petersen (the lady was, it seems, a fellow passenger from Altona, Germany); reads Madame de Staël's *Corinne* on the voyage and works on his theory of the French Verbs (a combination of activity for which Petersen is unable to excuse Rask); and in the summer of 1823 he disembarks again in his native Denmark.

Of his activity and his publications in subsequent years the author speaks pp. 45-80 (see also above on pp. 50-54); of his friendship with J. Grimm and the break with him, of his unhappiness and failing health. And to the last he worked with the same devotion to his investigations, where every new discovery made, every new fact learned, seemed to give him the deepest joy and the happiness which life itself did not vouchsafe him. Rask died Nov. 14, 1832.

Rask was the founder of the scientific study of Old Norse, of Danish, of Old English, and of Frisian (p. 62); in the field of the Baltic languages and in Zend Avestan his contributions are fundamental; and he did important work in the Romance languages, though not epochal in the same way here; and in several languages outside the Indo-European family his work was either fundamental (Finnish, Lappish) or of great importance (Esquimo, the Dravidian languages in Southern India, etc.). Jespersen speaks of Rask's influence on J. Grimm; and of Grimm's complete revision of the first volume of his *Deutsche Grammatik* (1822, 1st ed. 1819) after

he had read Rask's *Prisskrift* (ed. of 1819 has nothing about the sound-shift,—*Lautverschiebung*; in 1822 it is formulated in detail). He points out how the law had been discovered and clearly explained by Rask, and that it is not "Grimm's Law" but "Rask's Law"; in many other matters Rask was the teacher, but often the pupil carried farther the ideas of the teacher. The relation between Rask and Bopp is quite a different one; Rask's great work was finished in 1814, published in 1818. When Bopp's *Conjugations-system* was published, 1816, Rask had entered upon his Asiatic journey. Bopp's chief work *Vergleichende Grammatik* appeared in 1833 a year after Rask's death; in 1857 the second edition of the latter came out, wherein he accredits to Rask priority for the doctrine regarding the *Lautverschiebung* (which he before had attributed to Grimm), calling attention to the fact that it had been presented "kurz und bündig" by Rask before Grimm's *Grammatik*. The characterization and equipment of the three men and the real contributions of each are, it seems to me, correctly appraised by Jespersen (and Holger Pedersen) pages 64-77.

It was characteristic for Rask that he gave great emphasis to the modern languages and the periods immediately anterior to their modern phase. But in Germany linguistic and comparative research took a different direction. Today again Rask's "realistic" practice (equal attention to the living speech) has come to the fore (the Scandinavian countries, England, America). "No one believes now any longer that one necessarily imbibes comparative linguistic science by drinking deep drafts of Sanskrit." Jespersen sees in this modern tendency in our science, the passing of the dominance of the German school from Grimm and Bopp down, and the entrance upon a realistic era in the comparative study of languages. And of this it was Rasmus Rask who laid the foundations by the work for which he was awarded the prize of the Danish Scientific Society in 1818.

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SOME UNNOTED LATINISMS IN TENNYSON

The analysis of Tennyson's vocabulary and syntax by numerous editors has been so thorough that very few Latinisms have passed unnoticed. The short list which follows contains words and constructions which, so far as I know, have not been noted elsewhere or at least have not received the attention they merit. The paging is that of the Macmillan edition of 1892.

The Two Voices, p. 32,

Thou hadst not between death and birth
Dissolved the riddle of the earth.

The passage is quoted by Webster, who gives the meaning of *solved* to "dissolved." The general meaning of the verb in Latin is to *unloose, untie*, e. g., Lucretius vi, 356, *dissolvunt nodos omnes*. But Tennyson sometimes gives the best explanation of his own words by using in close proximity to the Latin word an Anglo-Saxon equivalent. So in this poem we find, p. 53, "In seeking to undo one riddle," where *undo* is a rather close translation of *dissolvere*. Evidently he was fond of using synonyms in which the etymological similarity is obvious. Another example of such a practice is found in the use of *accomplish* and *fulfil*. In *The Princess*, p. 210, occurs the line "accomplish thou my manhood and thyself." The word *accomplish* comes from the Lat. through the French and can be literally translated by the English *fulfil*. But in *Mem.* cxiii, p. 274, "to strive, to fashion, to fulfil," the Anglo-Saxon word is put for the more usual *accomplish*. There is a quite different force to *fulfil* in *The Last Tournament*, p. 446, "The king was all fulfilled with thankfulness," where evidently a most literal meaning is to be given—*filled full*. A third instance of this practice is to be seen in the use of *virtue* and *manhood*. In *Gareth and Lynette*, p. 532, "yet not less I felt thy manhood thro' that wearied lance of thine," the English word is a direct translation of the Lat. *virtus*—one however, seldom used in classroom renderings. The poet sometimes uses the word *virtue*, though neither that word nor *manhood* correctly interprets the Latin. We find *virtue* again on p. 333 and *manhood* in *Balin and Balan*, p. 363. In *Teiresias*, p. 528, *virtue* occurs twice in its original force.

The Princess, p. 178, "wink at our *advent*." This word is used again on p. 186 and in *In Mem.*, p. 243. It has been classed among the Latinisms but is incorrectly quoted by the *NED.* under the meaning *any important, epoch-making event*. In none of these cases has it that meaning but simply the Lat. force of *arrival*.

In Mem., xxxvii, p. 252, "I am not worthy even to speak of thy

prevailing mysteries." There seems to be no reason why Urania's mysteries should prevail over those of Melpomene and so the word should be considered as a translation of the Lat. *praevalens*, 'very strong, powerful.' Cp. Livy's *praevalentis populi vires*.

In Mem., Epilogue, p. 279,

And thou art worthy; full of power;
As gentle, liberal-minded, great,
Consistent, wearing all that weight
Of learning lightly like a flower.

No meaning that is assigned to *consistent* in the dictionaries quite suits the word here. The poet evidently wishes to describe his brother-in-law as a well-balanced man, one whose qualities 'stood together' well. One is reminded of Matthew Arnold's description of Sophocles "whose even-balanced soul, business could not make dull, nor passion wild, who saw life steadily and saw it whole."

To Virgil, p. 558, "Every purple Caesar's dome." Lat. *domus*. "a house," and hence meaning here a great house, not a dome in the usual English sense.

In the matter of syntax two rather un-English constructions may be noted, which are due to Latin influence.

Lancelot and Elaine, p. 393,

However mild he seems at home, nor cares
For triumph in our mimic wars.

This is due no doubt to the two uses of *quamvis*, that of an adverb with an adjective and that of an adversative conjunction with a clause. So here "however" represents the first use while the meaning of "although" is to be supplied with the second clause making it equivalent to *although he cares not*.

In Mem., cix, p. 273, "My shame is greater who remain." The only antecedent of "who" is the adjective "my," but a similar Lat. construction is not unusual; e. g., Caes., B. G., vii, 50, *Meae vitae subvenire conamini, quem iam sanguis viresque deficiunt*.

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A COMPANION OF CHAUCER

Among the companions of Geoffrey Chaucer on his mission to France in 1377 was Sir Robert de Assheton, who was holder of offices of importance under Edward III and Richard II. The account of him by W. E. A. Axon in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, as well as every other account, is inaccurate in several important details.

In the first place, he was not, as Mr. Axon believes, a Lancashire man, the son of Sir John Ashton, and the father of Thomas de Assheton. He was a southerner, from Somerset, the son of Robert

de Assheton and Elizabeth, daughter of Ralph de Gorges and Alianora his wife (*Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries*, vol. VIII, p. 335, and vol. XIII, pp. 56 and 97). He did not leave any direct descendants (*ibid.*). His only daughter, Alianora, married before March 16, 1367, John, son of Thomas de Berkeley (*ibid.*, vol. VIII, p. 333). She died before February 13, 1384 (*ibid.*, p. 336).

Mr. Axon says that the name of Assheton's first wife is unknown. She was Elizabeth de L'Orti, who had married as her first husband Sir Ralph de Middeney (Collinson, John: *The History and Antiquities of the County of Somerset*. In three volumes, Bath, 1791, vol. III, p. 130).

It is highly improbable that the Robert de Assheton whom Mr. Axon mentions as a member of the parliament of Westminster in 1324 could be identified with a Robert de Assheton or Aston who appears in history for the first time, as far as I can discover, in 1363, when the king appointed him with John de Sancto Laudo "to select and array in the counties of Somerset, Dorset, Gloucester and Wilts forty archers and bring them to Ireland to stay in the company of the king's son Lionel, duke of Clarence, guardian of that land, at the king's wages, and to arrest all whom they find contrariant or rebellious herein and imprison them until further order" (*Patent Rolls*, 1361-4, p. 309).

The first document that I have discovered which calls Assheton "Captain of Guynes Castle" is dated 24 January, 1367, in which he is called "late captain of Guynes Castle" (*Close Rolls*, 1364-8, p. 363). Mr. Axon makes him hold this office in 1359. Furthermore, Mr. Axon states that Assheton was Lord Treasurer of England, 1362 and 1373: he was first appointed to this position on 26 September, 1375 (*Letter Book H*. Edited by Reginald R. Sharpe, pp. 32-3, and *Close Rolls*, 1374-7. See also *Patent Rolls* 1374-7, p. 169).

He was not only in 1369 as Mr. Axon says, Admiral of the Fleet to the West or Narrow Seas, but he was re-appointed on 6 October, 1371 (Rymer, *Foedera*, ed. 1816-69, vol. III, part 2, p. 924). Mr. Axon calls him the King's Chamberlain in 1373: the earliest date at which I find him holding that title is 26 April, 1377 (Rymer, *op. cit.*, III, part 2, p. 1076). His appointment as Constable of Dover Castle and Warden of the Cinque Ports was not in 1380, but on 1 February, 1381 (*Patent Rolls*, 1377-81, pp. 589-590). Finally, he did not die on 9 January 1384-5, but 9 January 1383-4 (for his second wife Phillippa, was a widow on 24 November 1384 (*Patent Rolls*, 1381-5, pp. 518-9) and in an inquisition made 24 April 1384, I find that he died 9 January "last," which, of course, was 9 January 1383-4 (*Inquisitions Post Mortem for Gloucestershire*, vol. VI, London, 1914, p. 131).

In addition to the offices mentioned by Mr. Axon, Sir Robert de Assheton held those of Chancellor of Ireland, 24 October, 1364.

(*Patent Rolls*, 1364-7, p. 25), Commissioner of the Peace in the Isle of Wight and Captain and Keeper of Southampton, 1371 (*Patent Rolls*, 1370-4, pp. 106 and 102), King's Butler, 1376, (*Close Rolls*, 1374-7, pp. 292-3), Keeper of the Castle and town of Porcestre and the forest there, 1376-81 (*Patent Rolls*, 1374-7, p. 250), Ambassador to treat with France, 1377, 1379, and 1380 (*The Life Records of Chaucer*, A, p. 204, note 3; Rymer, *Foedera*, iv, part 1, pp. 70-1; *ibid.*, p. 83). For a complete biography see my article, "Sir Robert de Assheton, Treasurer of England" in *The Genealogist*, October, 1919.

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THE ELIZABETHAN TRAINED APE

A few references to the Elizabethan showman's ape are worth adding to those recently cited by Professor Strunk in his interesting article (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxii, 215-221). That the "carrier about" of apes did not confine himself to London is shown by such passages as that in the Norwich records for the year 1605-1606, where John Watson, ironmonger, and Roger Laurence are referred to as presenting the King's licence to show "two beasts called Babonnes" (Murray, *Eng. Dramatic Cos.*, II, 338). More explicit is the entry at the same town under October 9, 1617, in which John de Rue and Jeronimo Galt, Frenchmen, are referred to as presenting a licence dated February 23, thirteenth Elizabeth, and also 1616, authorizing them to set forth "rare feats of Activity wth dancinge on the Ropes pformed by a woman & also a Baboone that can doe strange feats" (*ibid.*, 342). An interesting, though of course exaggerated, picture of a "Jack-an-Apes" performing at "Looe, in Cornwall," is found in No. 100 of *Taylors Wit and Mirth*. A pamphlet of 1572 (Murray, *Eng. Dram. Cos.*, II, 402) protests against the practice of clergymen rushing through the Sunday service in order that the congregation may attend games or witness "a beare or bull to be bated, or else Jack-an-Apes to ryde on horseback, or an interlude." This may refer to the practice of baiting apes, but it should be noted in this connection that the "Queens Ape" described by Taylor "did always ride vpon a mastiffe dog, and a man with a drum to attend him."

To the instances cited by Professor Strunk of characters on the stage impersonating the professional ape-trainer may be added the following: During the buffoonery before the King at Salisbury, on August 5, 1620, Sir Edward Zouch acted the rôle of a "bearwood," Sir John Millecent "a carrier about of baboons" (Letter of Carlton, *Cal. State Papers, Venice*, 1619-21, p. 390n); in III, 3 of Massinger's *The Bondman* Gracullo enters "leading Asotus in an

ape's habit, with a chain about his neck," and proceeds to give him his "morning lesson" as follows:

What for the Carthaginians? [Asotus makes moppes].
What for ourself, your lord? [Dances].

There were apparently several highly trained apes of the period who could "come over" for the King of England and insult the King of Spain. "Blind Gue," discussed at some length by Professor Strunk, was apparently in John Taylor's mind when, in his *Cast over the Water*, he threatens to exhibit Fennor as "an old blind brave Baboone." Perhaps earlier than Gue is the ape referred to in Donne's first satire (ca. 1593-95):

But to a brave man, he doth move no more
Than the wise politique horse would heretofore,
Or thou O Elephant or Ape wilt doe,
When any names the King of Spaine to you.

Much later is the reference in v, 2 of Killigrew's *The Parson's Wedding* (acted 1640), where the Widow, describing the behavior of her "subject-lover" as if it were a pet, says: "He would come over for all my friends; but was the dogged'st thing to my enemies; he would sit upon's tail before them, and frown like John-a-Napes when the Pope is named." Another name of a trainer of the period, together with a further step in the education of the ape, is given in George Richardson's *The Irish Footman's Poetry* (1641), an attack on Henry Walker, ironmonger, by a friend of Taylor the Water Poet:

To render thy dull wits half so refin'd,
As the well-tuter'd Ape, that's Pupill to
Thy name-sake Walker
But by his manners hee should rather bee
Of that Ape Carriers Affinity
Hight Richard Walker, but call'd Cherry-lickam,
Whom with his well taught beast I saw at Wickam
Doing rare trickes, with many a lofty straine
For England's King, but clapt his —— at Spaine.
Told money, which his Master can not doe;
Yet hee a Walker is, and Wanderer too.
(Huth's *Fugitive Poetical Tracts*, Vol. II.)

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A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL

In his List of the Writings of James Russell Lowell (Appendix C to his *James Russell Lowell: A Biography*), Scudder enumerates six poems as having been contributed to *The Pioneer*, that brilliant but unsuccessful periodical of which Lowell and Robert Carter were the editors. Of these poems four were deemed worthy of

preservation, for Lowell included them in the 1844 edition of his poems and eventually in the definitive Riverside edition. Two poems, *Voltaire* and *The Follower*, which appeared unsigned in the January number, the first of the three issues of *The Pioneer*, Scudder attributes conjecturally to Lowell.

George Willis Cooke in *A Bibliography of James Russell Lowell* (page 78) gives a list of contributions to *The Pioneer* identical with that of Scudder, with the addition of an unsigned poem, *A Love Thought*, which appeared in the March number. For some reason, however, this poem is not included in his Alphabetical List of Single Titles.

There were two poems by Lowell in *The Pioneer* which seem to have been overlooked both by his biographer and by his bibliographer. The first of these, a lyric entitled *The Poet and Apollo*, which appeared in the January *Pioneer*, may be attributed to Lowell with a considerable degree of certainty, simply by reason of its signature "H. P." These initials he had habitually used to sign his frequent contributions to the *Southern Literary Messenger*. The other poem, the *Song* beginning "O Moonlight deep and tender," which Lowell included in the various editions of his poems, appeared in the February number and was signed "Henry Peters," a commonplace name obviously fitted to the initials "H. P." mentioned above.

Therefore, if poems conjecturally his are included, nine poems in all were contributed to *The Pioneer*.

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BRIEF MENTION

The Old English Elene, Phoenix, and Physiologus. Edited by Albert Stanburrough Cook (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1919). A volume of Anglo-Saxon poetry edited by Professor Cook requires no introduction to scholars. It will be at once accepted as an addition to the best means provided for the study of the first period of English literature. American publishers cannot be said to be eagerly competing with each other in promoting this study. Unless his text can be shown to be in demand for use in the crowded class-room, an Anglo-Saxon scholar finds publishers easily persuading themselves to defer indulgence in the less business-like gratification of responding to the demands of what in their judgment is mere scholarship. However, it would be unfair to withhold thankful recognition of what American publishers have done and are still doing in supplying books that are adapted not only to the initial steps in the historical study of our language and literature, but also to the widening and deepening of that study. Among American scholars that have been unwilling to abate their demands

for the publication of what is essential to the promotion of thoro scholarship in Earliest English, and have thus been laboring to put English on its true basis as one comprehensive, closely knit, organic subject, Professor Cook has deservedly won special recognition.

The texts selected for this volume represent two extensive subjects in literary history. The *Elene* introduces the far-reaching and once persistently cherished legends of the Cross; the *Phanix* and the fragmentary *Physiologus* belong together under the rubric of the allegorical use of 'natural history,' a department of popular instruction in medieval times and a source of the illustrative figure in later literature which culminates in one of the principal features of euphuism. In plan and execution the volume supplies a scholarly basis for the study of these two important subjects. The texts are critically edited, with the details to be considered in text-construction brought together in foot-notes. Other pertinent matter and comments are added in Notes, which are followed by bibliographies and a complete Glossary. Preceding all this (which occupies 239 pages) is an Introduction of above eighty pages. One misses a Preface, and is therefore left to conjecture what class of students Professor Cook has more particularly had in mind in the preparation of the book. Of course, the book itself gives the answer, but not unequivocally; and that is, after all, satisfactory enough. It will be at once seen that the book is available for different grades of instruction; that the beginner can use it, and that the mature scholar will value it. Nor is the general reader to be excluded, for from the most casual reader, with a desire to increase his 'general acquaintance' with great subjects, to every class of students reaching to and including the serious and exact scholar, everyone, in his degree of appreciation of Professor Cook's industry and insight, will be especially thankful for what is here brought together in introductory chapters.

The limits to be observed in this notice exclude a detailed consideration of the chapters of the Introduction, which are, however, too important to be dismissed by a mere enumeration of the titles. That Cardinal Guala brought the Vercelli ms. to Italy, is still, in the judgment of Professor Cook, the most plausible conjecture. This judgment will be generally supported. Coming to the question of the "Author and Date" of the *Elene*, nothing has been discovered to unsettle "the prevailing view among scholars," according to which "Cynewulf was a Northumbrian, or at least an Anglian, ecclesiastic." That Bishop Cynewulf of Lindisfarne (740-780) was the poet is the conjecture that best satisfies all the conditions of the problem. A minor detail of suggested evidence that the poet used Bede can hardly be said to be convincing. Under the heading "Sources of the Legend" one would have expected a summarizing of the problem, as it now stands after the contributions of especially Glöde, Holthausen, and Brown, relating to the determination of the Latin original of the *Elene*. Here the practice

sets in of referring to Holthausen's second edition, which makes a demand on the less advanced student that should have been obviated. This could have been done at the cost of a limited number of additional pages, well repaid in an increased adequacy of the book for use in the class-room. Now that the student is asked to turn to Holthausen's edition he will require a reason for Professor Cook's exclusion of a Latin text. The other division of 'sources' is exhibited by citations from the authorities so as to show the steps in the growth of the legend. Professor Cook has resisted the temptation to sketch that part of the legend of the Cross which precedes the 'Finding.'

In his discussion of the authorship of the *Phænix*, Professor Cook avails himself of an unpublished investigation by Dr. Arthur W. Colton ("about 1892"), which resulted in finding "that the verbal and phrasal correspondence between the *Christ* and the *Phænix* was even greater than between the *Christ* and either the *Elene* or the *Juliana*, undoubted poems of Cynewulf." Citing his previously published argument, Professor Cook repeats his conclusion that "It cannot be said that the question is decided; but I believe that scholars will end by assigning the *Phænix*, like the *Andreas*, to Cynewulf." This is qualified by adding that the author, if not Cynewulf, must have been an ecclesiastic of Cynewulf's time and under the influence of his poetry.

The life, character, and literary art of Lactantius are sketched with a glow of fresh interest in a chapter that is followed by another on the question of the authorship of the Latin *Phænix*. Professor Cook is "inclined to think" that Lactantius published the poem "after his conversion to Christianity, after he arrived in Nicomedia, and perhaps during the Diocletian persecution, or at least before Constantine had manifested his intention of favoring the Christians." The perplexing syncretism of the poem "at precisely this time was so much in vogue."

An extensive view is given of "The *Phænix* as a Symbol"; and the history of the 'city of the sun,' Heliopolis, is traced thru all the records and traditions. Then follows an historic and analytic survey of "the central tradition concerning the Earthly Paradise," which "is Oriental and very ancient." A well-rewarding estimate will be placed on this study of the back-ground of the *Phænix*, so extensive in history and complex in tradition. The symbolism of the bird, the Phoenix, has by special treatment become in a measure dissociated from the cycle of the *Physiologus*, which is here represented in a partial way by only three topics in six pages of text. But the comprehensive subject, with of course special reference to the topics of the text, is treated with appropriate breadth and fullness in thirty-three pages of the Introduction. Whether the three chapters are the surviving parts of a complete Anglo-Saxon version of the *Physiologus* cannot be determined; but Professor Cook argues well in favor of the unity, the inherent sequence, of the

transmitted texts. He is also favorable to the view that they represent Cynewulfian authorship: "If the *Physiologus* is not by Cynewulf, it must be by some disciple or close imitator."

Now that the *Elene*, *Phænix*, and *Physiologus* are re-edited there will be renewed scrutiny of many a textual detail. Professor Cook's critical sifting of all previously suggested emendations brings into clear light the readings that may still be disputed; and his own contributions to the corrected texts will also be closely examined, prominent among which is the ingenious change introduced at *Elene* 610, by assuming *nex* for *rex*, and, in agreement with Sievers' recognition of the scribe's substitution of a Latin word for an obvious native one, interpreting *nex* by *cwealm*. The resultant *cwealm-geniðlan* disposes of Sievers' dissatisfaction with his suggested *cyninges*, and may, with considerable confidence, be admitted to a place in the poetic vocabulary. Then there are several of the more amplified notes that will attract attention by their high degree of improbability. Altogether unconvincing is the result of an excursion, in itself interesting enough, after the possible meaning of *æpplede gold*; and the same judgment must be pronounced on the interpretation of *wopes hring*, for which the reader is directed to Professor Cook's edition of the *Christ*. Highly improbable is also *gehyðian*, conjectured for *Whale* 13. The many points at which Professor Cook's selected or suggested reading will be accepted as final cannot appropriately be listed in this connection. It must serve the purpose of this notice to assure the scholarly reader that no detail in text-construction has here been passed by lightly, without sufficiently thoro and pains-taking endeavor to arrive at a trustworthy result. Among the results that will probably hold permanently is *sælap* at *Whale* 15; but in the same poem, l. 40, Cosijn's *hricge* may be expected to be taken ultimately into the text. Minor matters may be illustrated further by noticing that the meter of *Phænix* 296 requires *blacum* (not *blācum*), and that the reasoning on the metrical weight of *efne* (*Panther* 53) is not conclusive.

Turning to another aspect of one's marginalia, there are found to be some disagreements between the grammatical construction of the text and the report in the Glossary. Details of this sort, tho regretted by the editor and somewhat disturbing to the untrained reader, can, however, usually be as easily corrected as the obvious misprint of *gerested* for *geresteð* (*Elene* 1083). These lapses are not numerous, but may be illustrated, by the following corrections: *veras* (*El.* 314), acc. pl.; *fruman* (*El.* 839), gen. sing.; *Willgifan* (*El.* 1112), acc. sing.; *dægweorðunga* (*El.* 1234), acc. sing. or pl.; *grymetende* (*Whale* 7), nom. sing. To another class of details belongs *God-hergend*, which must not be deprived of the hyphen.

The notes and Glossary taken together beget reflection on the question of how an editor of Anglo-Saxon texts may best attract, stimulate, and guide more of those earnest students who are wont

to show misdirected resourcefulness in arguing themselves free from the responsibility of giving attention to the early forms of English. Incompleteness of view and a feeble grasp of governing principles are the inevitable consequence—too often the deliberately preferred consequence—of refusing to garner the rewards of a sound and sympathetic study, in its completeness, of a long, national history in grammatical forms, in conventions of expression, and in canons of literary art. This is not the place to labor the large subject that must more and more affect the methods of academic instruction and the practice of literary criticism; but this reference to the subject has been occasioned by reflecting on what more Professor Cook might have done thru the medium of his Notes and Glossary in the way of exhibiting the characteristics of the Anglo-Saxon poet's highly conventionalized art and vocabulary.

J. W. B.

"The Modern Student's Library" (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons), issued under the general editorial direction of Professor W. D. Howe, is a new series of inexpensive reprints that promises to rival "Everyman's Library" in excellence. The format is convenient, the printing clear though small, the paper good considering the price at which the volumes are published, and the editing, in which task various scholars of note have been employed, in the main satisfactory, though varying in the editor's conception of his duties from the brief, popularly appreciative introduction that Mr. S. McC. Crothers has supplied to *The Pilgrim's Progress* to such detailed and scholarly discussion and annotation as that which accompanies Meredith's *Essay on Comedy*. Professor Lane Cooper is responsible for this wholly delightful bit of work which will be welcome in the many colleges in which Meredith's essay is now on the lists of required reading. The sketch of Meredith's life is not very necessary and now requires some revision, in so far as it relates to Meredith's temperament, on the basis of S. M. Ellis's new biography. It was a happy thought to include the London *Times'* report of the original lecture which shows that the Essay underwent considerable revision before it appeared in print. The list of variant readings is a further indication of Meredith's expenditure of care upon this manifesto. The notes, which occupy nearly half the volume, include, along with much of extreme value, a considerable amount of information that must be quite obvious to almost anyone who is likely to read the Essay at all. Professor Cooper admits that his analysis of the Essay, "a formal scheme by parts and subdivisions," has been extracted by force from the Essay, and contrasts Meredith's method of composition with the carefully divided and articulated work of Matthew Arnold. Another tastefully accomplished piece of work in the same series is Professor B. J. Rees's selection of *Nineteenth Century Letters* in which,

though, as in every anthology, one misses some old favorites, the letters included are generally representative of their writers and of interest in themselves. A brief introduction employs happily the scheme of interpreting the art of letter-writing by the quotation of passages on that art by writers who are themselves masters of it. Professor Padelford, in his edition of *The Ring and the Book* struggles manfully with a masterpiece which, if it is to be edited at all, must be introduced and annotated in detail. The brief introduction and the meagre notes do scarcely more than skim the surface of a great subject. A number of important novels are already included in the series and we trust that more will follow. Especially noteworthy are Professor Cunliffe's introduction to *The Return of the Native* and Professor Chandler's to *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel*. The publishers invite suggestions with regard to the addition of books not yet in the list of the series. Many such will occur to everyone. How about Ainsworth's *Tower of London* (possibly in a somewhat abridged form) and Shorthouse's *John Inglesant*?

S. C. C.

Mr. Louis Untermeyer's *New Era in American Poetry* (New York: H. Holt & Co.) at once suggests comparison with Miss Lowell's *Tendencies in Modern American Poetry*, since both are poets and both are critics. The comparison is as favorable to Mr. Untermeyer as it would be to Miss Lowell if their poetry were the subject of comparison; Miss Lowell is the better poet, Mr. Untermeyer the better critic. Mr. Untermeyer, moreover, deals with all the leading poets in America today, whereas Miss Lowell limits herself to half a dozen. The former is more discriminating in his apportionment of praise and blame, and is therefore a safer and a more comprehensive guide to what is being done today in the field of poetry. Sixteen poets are given a place in the chapter headings, and a goodly number more are sunk in the obscurity of the index and in paragraphs where they are the subject of passing mention or the object of invidious comparison. The work of each poet is briefly discussed and wisely illustrated with special regard to his development and his place in the new era. Mr. Untermeyer keeps a judicious balance between excessive admiration and shocked condemnation of the *vers libristes* and their kin, distinguishing sanely between their art and their artifice. He knows that a poet must appeal to us "less as a lover of art than as a lover of life." And this note is sustained throughout the volume in his estimate of these poets. The separate treatments of the individual poets are well bound together by the Introduction and the Conclusion, which he calls "The Melting Pot." On the whole the new era has already accomplished much and promises more of real poetry.

J. W. T.

Hugh Walpole: An Appreciation, by Joseph Hergesheimer (New York, George H. Doran Company, 1919, 65 pp.). The subject of this brochure is worthy of a more discriminating study than this appreciation couched in vulnerable heroics of newspaper-criticisms presents, fortified though these are by a very sympathetic essay making less than one-half of this little book. Of the newspaper-critics, the less said the better. As for Mr. Hergesheimer's essay, the best part of it is that which quotes with fine appreciation from Mr. Walpole's works. For the rest it is too often imbedded in a magniloquence of rhetoric which leaves the reader breathless at the linguistic gyrations, so that he scarcely knows whether the critic or the creator is the better man. If one must write these epitomized and uncritical accounts of dignified artists, let him remember that clearness is the main essential. For the modern writer of such things there is no better model to follow than Barrie's exquisite tribute to George Meredith.

Mr. Walpole is an enchanting story-teller, equally capable of finding material for enchanting romance in the circumscribed life of the London slums, the conventional English family, or the seething Petrograd of the Russian Revolution. His stories are for the most part born out of the crises of feeling: his people find themselves at some time or other suddenly limited, bricked-up so to speak. And to each of them there comes a supreme chance to break away, away from the rut of physical prosperity and animal comfort, from the routine of petty tasks, from the hide-bound insularity, or from the forces of heredity and circumstance. The strength or the new power which is the *deus ex machina* in each instance to bring a fortunate consummation to the plot is, usually, the influence of the perennial and the stirring spirit of Youth. Henry James, to whom Mr. Walpole owes much, once described him as the writer saturated with that spirit. And, indeed, in Mr. Walpole's rendering of the capacity of youth for its complete absorption in experience, and in its keenness and wholeness of primitive delight, lies his greatest charm and his supreme dignity as a writer. Add to this a skill in the use of dramatic contrast, a mastery of imagery in painting with no less power the mysticism, the magic, and the noble grimness of the Russian character, than in drawing the poetry out of Cornwall cliffs and the English sea and the English sky; a grasp over character portrayal ranging from complete records of varied childhood in his own London to the black-bearded Russian peasant, grave, controlled, thoughtful, watching for the coming of the city of his dreams—add these together and you have the elements of a capable novelist, who merits the dignity of a complete and careful study, rather than a sporadic analysis, or a rhapsodic flash of appreciation.

M. E. S.

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VERNACULAR SOURCES AND AN OLD FRENCH PASSION PLAY

At various times attention has been directed to the fact that here and there in the mediæval religious plays of France and England there are to be found distinct traces of non-dramatic works written in the vernacular. As long ago as 1885, Chabaneau pointed out that the so-called *Passion Didot* incorporates an older vernacular *Planctus*.¹ Lucy Toulmin Smith in the same year indicated the *Cursor Mundi* as one of the sources of the York plays.² Since then, to mention only those who have suggested the more noteworthy points of contact, W. A. Craigie,³ Emile Roy,⁴ G. E. Taylor,⁵ Frances A. Foster,⁶ and Marie C. Lyle⁷ have all

¹ *Revue des langues romanes*, xxviii, 58. The *Planctus* is reprinted in Appel, *Provenzalische Chrestomathie*, 103. See also *Revue des langues romanes*, xxxii, 362-3, where Chabaneau suggests the influence of *Le Romanz de Saint Fanuel* upon two *mystères*, a Provençal *Marriage of the Virgin* and the French *Nativity* printed by Jubinal, with which cf. *Romania*, xvi, 71. On the vernacular sources of the *Miracles de Notre Dame* see Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères*, i, 125.

² *York Plays*, xlv, ff.

³ "The Gospel of Nicodemus and the York Plays" in *An English Miscellany presented to Dr. Furnivall*, pp. 52 ff.

⁴ *Le Mystère de la Passion en France*, passim. Note especially that Roy finds the Passion plays of southern France based upon the French prose *Passion selon Gamaliel* (pp. 329 ff.).

⁵ "The Relations of the English Corpus Christi Play to the Middle English Lyric," *Modern Philology* v, 1. Taylor, p. 1, gives a convenient list of the discussions preceding his which have revealed minor similarities between the English plays and lyrics.

⁶ *The Northern Passion*, EETS 147, pp. 81 ff.

⁷ *The Original Identity of the York and Towneley Cycles*, Research Publications of the University of Minnesota, viii, 3, pp. 4 ff.

added to our knowledge of the relations existing between the mediæval plays and their vernacular sources, both lyric and narrative.

Striking as are the parallels detected by these scholars, their full significance in many instances is obscured by the fact that our dramatic texts are for the most part late and do not reveal the plays in their earliest stages. Amplifications and embellishments of various sorts—rewritings for more sophisticated tastes, reshaping in more complicated meters, adaptations for a new style of performance or a changed type of performer—have all but obliterated such verbal similarities as might have furnished, despite the limited number of texts available for comparison, more convincing proof of the vernacular origin of certain plays or parts of plays.

Precisely such proof, however, is afforded by the discovery⁸ of the earliest complete version of a French Passion play that has as yet come to light, for this play, the ms. of which is dated upon paleographical and linguistic grounds from the first half of the fourteenth century, contains large portions of a narrative poem on the subject variously named by those who have considered it *La Passion des Jongleurs*,⁹ *Die altfranzösische Achtsilbnerredaction der Passion*,¹⁰ and *The Old French Passion*.¹¹

⁸ By Karl Christ. The ms. in the Vatican library, Pal. lat. 1969, is fully described and its contents carefully analyzed by Christ in *Beihefte zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, XLVI. It is now being edited.

⁹ See E. Roy, *op. cit.*, pp. 27* ff., who prints excerpts from the Ms. called V by Theben (E by Miss Foster).

¹⁰ See Hermann Theben, *Die altfranzösische Achtsilbnerredaction der Passion*, Greifswald, 1909, who prints 1554 lines of it, and Erich Pfuhl, *Die weitere Fassung der altfranzösischen*, etc., who prints from *Consummation Est* to the end. Theben's dissertation, though inadequate—he discusses none of the literary problems connected with the poem, fails to establish a classification of the mss., and distorts the text by hypothetical emendations—is useful in giving variants from some seventeen mss.—not, however, from the ms. used by Foster (see next note). He takes as a basis the ms. in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, which he calls F. (Miss Foster cites it as B and says it is dated 1323.)

¹¹ Miss Foster, *op. cit.* pp. 102 ff. She prints the Trinity College, Cambridge, Ms. (O. 2. 14) which she calls O and dates from the thirteenth century, first half. This manuscript was known to Theben but not used by him. In order not to confuse it with Theben's O (Arsenal 5201) and because the numbering in Miss Foster's edition differs from that in

The popularity of this poem, written at the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century, is attested not only by the number of manuscripts of it that have survived—at least twenty-four have been signalled by Theben and Foster—but by its translation into English and the numerous copies of the English version still in existence.¹² Since a considerable portion of the poem is in direct discourse, its adaptability for dramatic purposes must have been obvious in a day when literary standards favoured conservation of energy rather than originality. Miss Foster and Miss Lyle have shown how the English version of the poem, known as the *Northern Passion*, influenced the English gild plays, and M. Roy has suggested that the French original is related in certain details of theme and structure to the later French drama, notably to the *Passion d'Autun* and the *Passion de Semur*.¹³

That the poem was used directly and extensively in the early French Passion play conserved in the Palatine Ms. will be apparent from the excerpts printed below. It must be remembered, however, that this list is not complete. The scenes from which the excerpts have been taken, as well as other parts of the play (notably Mary Magdalen's complaint, the scene in the courtyard and Peter's denial,¹⁴ and the famous scene of the forging of the nails) all contain scattered through them single lines, couplets, and sometimes more extended fragments of the narrative poem. Even in the speeches of the torturers and executioners, which are among

Theben's, I shall in citing variants from it designate the MS. as O' and place the number of the line in Foster's edition immediately following.

¹² Miss Foster describes fourteen MSS.

¹³ Cf. Jeanroy, *Romania*, xxxv, 369, however, who rightly considers M. Roy too vague regarding the relation of the poem to the so-called *Passion d'Autun* and *trop affirmatif* in discussing its relation to the *Passion de Semur*. M. Roy might indeed have fortified his suggestions by a more detailed treatment of the former problem. This is not the place to indicate the relations existing between the Palatine text, the *Passion d'Autun* and the *Passion de Semur*, but it is significant for the present discussion that the *Palatine Passion* follows the narrative poem far more often and far more closely than do any of the later texts. Jeanroy's assumption that the narrative passages of the *Autun Passion* (Ms. n. a. fr. 4085) would have resembled the narrative portions of the poem, if any of that text had been borrowed from it, is answered by M. Fr. Schumacher's plausible hypothesis regarding these passages in *Romania*, xxxvii, 570.

¹⁴ Both poem and play identify the "unus ex servis pontificis, cognatus ejus, cujus abscidit Petrus auriculam" (*John*, xviii, 26) with Malchus himself.

the author's most original contributions to the work,¹⁵ occasional lines taken from the *Old French Passion* are imbedded. Thus [Cayn] (663): Je n'oi qu'il ne brait ne ne crie (*OFP* 1120); [Un Juif] (779): Ne nous chaut de bele crois faire (*OFP* 1227, *DSX*), etc. But to have included all these reminiscences as well as to have stressed the structural similarities between the poem and the play would have burdened rather than weighted the argument. The intention has been merely to cite a sufficient number of parallel passages to establish the dependence of the French Passion play upon the narrative poem.¹⁶

Palatine Passion

° [Jhesu]

Pierre et Jehan, sa venez.
En la cité leanz irez,
.I. home si encontrerez,
De moie part vous li direz
Que veil aler en sa maison,
Et je et tuit mi compaignon.
Mengier i veil priveement;
Il le voudra mout bonement.

5

Old French Passion

Perron, Jehan a apelés: 147
"En ceste chité m'en entrés!
Un homme si enconterrés
Aive portant, si li dirés:
Ma paske voeil en sa maison,
Et jou et tuit mi compaignon, 152
Mangier trestout priveement.
Il le vodra moult boinement. . ."

147. Pierre et Johan, NSVO' (147).

148. En la cité leens, SDO' (148).
irés, Y.

¹⁵ They include the casting of the lots, the *diablerie*, the *fanfaronnade* of the guards, etc. It is these livelier scenes of the play—which unfortunately do not concern us here—that constitute one of its chief merits. The fact that reminiscences of the *Old French Passion* are much fewer in the second than in the first half of the play is probably due on the one hand to the large space occupied by these original scenes and on the other to the character of the end of the poem, the versions of which, as Miss Foster says, are almost as numerous as the mss. in which they occur. Moreover, the variants from only a few of these mss. are accessible. Cf. however *Palatine* 1627-31 with *OFP* (Pfuhl's edition) 2149 and (Foster's edition) 1580-2, and *Pal.* 1946-52 with "Le Romanz de S. Fanel," 3445-51 (*Rev. des l. r.*, xxviii, 244-5).

¹⁶ I print from Theben's edition (though without following his punctuation at all times), and indicate in the footnotes variants from the other mss. cited by him and from Miss Foster's edition (O') which are nearer the *Palatine Passion* than Theben's text. The latter is a *pis aller* at best, suffering especially from over-restoration. A careful comparison of the *Palatine Ms.* with all the variants of the *OFP* available makes it evident that the exact version of the *OFP* used by the author of the play is not at hand.

*Palatine Passion**Old French Passion*

[Jhesu]

Mout ai eüe en grant desier 75
 De ceste cene que mengiez.
 Jamais o vous ne mengerai
 Devant que de mort resusciterai.
 Pour vous sofferrai passion
 Que n'alez a perdition.

[Judas]

Pour quoi de si chier oignement 100
 Avez souffert tel gastement?
 S'est honte et vilainement.
 Bien valoit .iiij. .c. deniers
 Et plus encor que mout est chiers.

[Jhesu]

Judas, laissez ester Marie; 111
 Ele a tant fait qu'ele est ma mie.
 Povres troverez vous assez,
 Bien leur ferez se vous volez.
 Loignement ne m'arez vous mie.
 Mout m'a a gre servi Marie. 116
 Je li pardon touz ses pechiez,
 Touz les noviax et touz les viez.
 En mon regne touz jourz sera
 Pour l'amour de ce que fait a. 120

[Jhesu]

Tenez, seigneurs, mengiez, buvez, 133
 C'est li miens cors que ci veez.
 Si le recevez dignement,
 Se sera vostre sauvement. 136
 C'est li mien cors que ci veez.
 Sus l'autel est representez.

102. Ms: vilainent.

111. Ms: 1. ester ma mie Marie.

115. Ms: rarez.

116. Ms: agre.

"Moult ai eü grant desirier 185
 De ceste pasque o vous mangier;
 Je ne mangerai mès o vous
 Tant que soie de mort resours.
 Pour vous soufferrai passion,
 Que n'ailliés a perdicion." 190

"Pour coi soufrés tel gastement 91
 De ce presieus oignement?

Il valoit bien .iiij. .c. deniers 92a
 Et plus assez car moult ert
 chiers. . . ." 92b

"Di, va, laissiés ester Marie; 101
 Ele a tant fait, qu'ele est m'amie.
 Des povres avrés vous assés,
 Bien lor ferés se vous volés,
 Mais longuement ne m'avrés mie.
 105

Je li pardoins tous ses pechiés 111
 Et les nouviaux et tous les viés.
 En memore tenu sera 115
 A tous jors mais chou que fait
 a. . . ."

"Tenés," fait il, "et si usés; 195
 Chou est mes cors que chi veés;
 Que par ichou serés sauvés. 198
 Se le recevés dignement, 199
 Ce est mes cors que chi veés, 207
 Sour l'autel ert représentés.

92a and b. In GOPQVO' (91-2).

91-2. N has the same order as Pal.

186. Ciene, F.

187-8. Jamais ou vos ne mangera[i]
 Jusque de m. resors sera[i],
 HP.

195. si maingiez, H.

198-9. Par cestui avront sauvemant
 Qui lou recevront bonemant.
 H.

Palatine Passion

Ce iert de la nouvele loy,
Si veil que vous tenez de moy. 140
O moi menjue et o moy boit
Qui le mien cors voir traïr doit.

[Saint Pierre]

Sui je ce, sire, dites moy,
Que le vostre cors traïr doy?

[Jhesu]

Li uns de vous me traïra 145
Et as Juïs me liverra.
Tout est escrit en l'escripture
Du fil Marie l'aventure;
Et tout convenrra raemplir
Ce que de lui est a avenir. 150

[Judas]

Sui je ce dont, maitres Jhesu?
L'avez vous pour moi ramenteu?

[Jhesu]

Judas, tu le dis voirement.

[Jhesu]

Seigneurs, veez ci le prophetie. 158
Ci ne ving pas pour presentie,
Mais de mon pere qui est laissus.
Il m'envoia a vous ça sus,
Et je i sui volentiers venuz;
Et sai bien qu'en croiz seré penduz.

Vous estes tuit li mien ami,
Et grant paine avez pour mi. 165
Je vous en rendrai guerredon
En paradis en ma maison.

Sus les .xij. sieges serez

Old French Passion

Ce sera la nouvele loy
Que vuel que vous tenés de
moi. . . ."
"O moi manjue et o moi boit 231
Cil qui le mien cors traïr doit."

"Sire," dist li chascuns par soi, 227
"Sui ge dont chou? Dirés le moi!"

"Li uns de vous me traïra 213
Et as Juïs me liverra.
Tout est escrit en escriture
Dou fis Marie l'aventure.
Ensi convint a consentir
Quanqu'iert de lui a avenir. . . ."
Et Judas li a respondu, 233

"Sui ge dont chou mestre Jesu?"

"Oil; chou es tu voirement. . . ."

Je ne ving pas pour signorer 253
Ne pour mestrie demener,
Mes dous peres qui est lasus.
Si m'envoia pour vous chajus,
Et g'i sui volentiers venus,
Bien sai qu'en croiz serai pendus.

258
Vous estes ja li mien ami, 263
Grans maus avés soufert por mi.
Mais jel vos guerredonnerai
Et mon chier pere em prieraï
Qu'il vos en rende guerredon
Si fera il sans mesprison.
Sor les .XII. trones serés,

148. Ms: la venture.

150. Ms: est aavenir.

159. Ms: vint.

217. aemplir, CTUY,

256. ll, UO' (254). a vous, CS.

263. tuit, FU.

268. en sa meson, GPSO' (264).

269. sieges, SO' (265).

Palatine Passion

Au Jugement, et je i serai
 Qui desus touz les jugerai. 170
 Perron, tu es mout mes amis,
 Tu demourras ci avec mi.
 Soies sages, courtois et prouz,
 Et confortes tes amis touz.

[Judas]

Celui que baisier me verrez, 229
 C'est mes mestres, celui prenez,

[Jhesu]

Seigneurs, amis, pour quoi dormez?

Une eure veillier ne poez?
 Judas ne dort ore noient,
 Et vous dormez si sierement.
 Esveilliez vous, levez de ci. 235
 Judas est près qui m'a traï.
 Or ça, Juïs, moi querez vous?

[Jhesu]

Que querez vous, dites le moi. 241

[Un Juif]

Jhesu quérons qui ce fait roy.

JUDAS PARLE

Biaus maitres Jhesu, diex [te] gart!
 Baisier te veil de ceste part.

[Jhesu]

Tu me baises, tu m'as traï. 245

[Jhesu]

Petron, biaux douz amis, ne faire!
 259

Old French Passion

La gent Israel jugerés 270
 Au Jugement ou je serai. . . .
 Pieres, tu ies li miens amis 273
 Et tu soies sages et prous, 279
 Si confortes tes freres tous."

"Celui que baissier me verrés, 469
 C'est mes mestres, celi prenés. . . .

"Di, va," fait il, "pourcoi dormés?
 449

Une heure veillier ne poés?
 Judas ne dort ore noient 450a
 Et vous dormez seürement. 450b
 Esveilliés vous, levés de chi. 451
 Judas est près, nostre anemi.
 "Seignours," fait il, "que querés
 vous?" 476

"Que querés vous? dites le moi." 487

"Jesu queron qui se fait roi."

Lors vint Judas, sel salua 491
 Et en la fache le baissa.

"Tu me baisses, si me traïs." 494

"Avoi," dist Diex, "Pierre, ne
 faire! 501

173. Ms: preuz.

243. Ms: diex gart.

280. tes amis, SY.

450a and b. In Mss. GNPQSUYO'
(439-40).

494. m'as traï, FGOPV.

Palatine Passion

Veus tu a ton seigneur desplaire?
 Qui de glaive ferra autrui,
 A glaive ira le cors de lui.
 Je n'ai cure de moi deffendre,
 De mon gré veil en la croiz pendre.

J'auroie assés deffendement, 265
 Anges a miliers et a .c.,
 Se je voloie, mais ne veil.
 La mort sofferrai sans orgueil.

[Un Juif]

Et est cil, sire, que dit a 300
 Que nostre temple il abatra
 Et en .iij. jourz le refera.
 De male eure soit si poissans!
 Salemons i mit .xl. ans.

[Pilates]

Vien ça a moi, amis Jhesu, 334
 Et me di, frere, qui es tu.
 Ne me celer pas pour mourir!

[Jhesu]

Je sui cil. Ne crerais pour rien,
 Et se je le disoie bien.
 Pour ce ne lairiez vous mie
 Que ne me feissiez vilenie. 340
 Des or en avant avenrra
 Que li fuiz Marie sera
 En la destre son pere hautisme
 Qui va du ciel jusqu'en l'abisme.

Old French Passion

Veus tu a ton seignor desplaire?
 Qui de glaive ferra autrui, 505
 A glaive ira li cors de li.
 Je n'ai cure de moi deffendre,
 De mon grei voeil en la croiz
 pendre.

J'avroie assés deffendement, 511
 Anges a milliers et a cenx,
 Se voloie; mès je ne voeil.
 La mort soufferrè sans orgueil."

"
 Que il nostre temple abatroit, 593
 Et en .III. jours refait l'avroit.
 Est il donques issi puissans?
 Salemons i mist .XL. ans. . . ."

Devant eus font venir Jesu, 763
 Si li demandent: "Qui es tu?
 Ne te choile pas pour morir!" 766

"Se je vos ai demandé bien, 769
 Vous ne me respondrés de rien;
 Ne pour chou ne lairîs mie,
 Ne me feïssiés vilonnie.
 Desor en avant avendra
 Que li fieus Marie sera
 A la destre son pere hautisme, 775
 Qui dou chiel voit jusqu'en
 abisme."

303. Ms: poissant.

336. The line is rhymeless.

339. Ms: Pource.

343. Ms: destre son fil.

344. Ms: la bisme.

502. The following two lines (503-4) are omitted by Q which is, however, not otherwise related to Pal.

766. Ne lou (nos) celer p.,
 DONPQVYO' (736).

769. Se je le vous disoie bien,
 NDSY.

770. Vous ne me croiriez de rien,
 HNLV.
 Ne m'an croiriez vos de rien,
 DS.

*Palatine Passion**Old French Passion*

[Li Juifs]

Il meïsmes e'est bien jugiez, 345
Sire prevoz, et emperiez.

Il meïsmes s'est bien jugiés, 785
Or s'est il dou tout empiriés.

[Herode]

Or ça, a moy, amis Jhesu! 363
Que par .e. fois bien viegues tu,
Et eil ait bien qui ça t'envoie!
C'est Pilates que tant heoie.
Je ne le hé mais de noient;
Je li pardoing mon mal talent.
Mout a lonc tens que je voloie 369
Parle[r] a toy mais ne pooie.
Ne sai pour paour ou pour quoi
N'osoies venir devant moy.
J'ai oi dire par ton seignaele
A on veü maint biau miraele: 374
Li mort en sont resuseité,
Et li avugle ralumé,
Et maint autre que fait avez,
Je en ai oi souvent parler.
Or m'en fai .i. apertement 379
Si que voient toute la gent,
Et je tel plait après ferai
Que tout delivre te rendrai.
Enseigne nous ou bien ou mal.— 383

Bien voi que tu n'en feras al.

Herode voit venir Jesu, 889
Il li a dit: "Bien viegues tu,
Et chil ait bien qui cha t'envoie!
C'est Pilate que je haoie.
Or li pardoins mon maltalent,
Or nel harai ge mais noient.
Moult a grant tans que je voloie
Parler a toi, mès ne pooie;
Car ne venoies devant moi,
Ne sai pour paour ou pourquoi.
Et je sai bien par ton seignacle
A l'en veü mainte miracle: 900
Li mort en sont resuscité
Li avule renluminé,
Et maint autre que fait avés
Dont j'ai oï parler assés.
Mès or m'en fai .i. em present, 905
Si que le voient toute la gent.
Et je ferai tel plait après,
Que tu remaindras tout em pais."
"Enseigne nous ou mal ou bien!" 923

Jesus ne repont nulle rien.

[Judas]

Siegneurs Juifs, pour Dieu tenez 460
Touz vos deniers que ci veez!
Trop ai pechié a desmesure,
Jamais Diex n'av[r]a de moy eure.

"Seignors," fait il, "pour Dieu
tenés 811
Tous vos deniers que chi veés!
Moult par ai pechié sans mesure
Jamais n'avra Diex de moi eure."

[Marques]

Quar tu me feris de t'espee. 528
La destre oreille j'oi coupee,

"Et me feris tu de t'espee, 689
Si que l'oreille en oi copee.

370. Ms: parle.

894. Je ne le he, NCLOU.

895. lonc t., FLNQV.

900. maint biau n., ULSO' (864).

905. Or en fai un apertement, GPV.

923-4. E. n. ou bien ou mal

Dieu ne r. ne .i. ne al, C.

Palatine Passion

Mais ton maitre la me sena
Pource que eschaper cuida.

[Pilates]

Seigneurs Juïs, dites, qu'ies max 674
Vous fait cest hom pour qu'est si
fax?

[Li Juifs]

S'il ne feut de mauvese vie 676
Nous ne le t'amenissions mie.
Nous avons droit et il a tort,
Par quoy il a deservi mort.

[Pilates]

Vous meïsmes, prenez Jhesu. 681
Selonc vostre loy le jugiez.
Je vous en doing a touz congié.

[Jhesu]

Je ving u monde, pour ce sui nez. 700

Tuit cil qui sont par verité
Ameront ma propriété.
Se seans li miens regne feut,

Li miens peuples, cil qui peut,
Me delivrat, je ne dout mie,
De tes mains et de ta ballie. 706

Sus moy n'as nule poësté, 707
Se d'autre ne te fust donee.
Mais cil qui a toy me livra
Melleur pooté de toy n'a pas.

Old French Passion

Et ton mestre la me sana,
Que par ichou garir quida."

"Signour," fait il, "dites, quels
maus 1034
A fait chis hons que nous ten-
ons? . . ."

"Se il ne fust de male vie 1038
Nous ne le te livrissiens mie." 1040
"Nous avons droit, et il a tort 684
Qu'il est coupables de la mort." 667

"Vous meïsmes prenez Jesu, 1042
Selonc vostre loy le jugiés.
Je vos en doins a tous congiés."

Je ving au mont en ces regnés . . .
1066
Tuit cil qui sont de verité 1068a
Oient ma vois de volonté." 1068b
"Se de cest mont mes regnes fust,
1059

Li miens peules, canqu'il peüst,
Me deffendist; ne fusse mie
A ches Juïs en lor baillie. . . ."
"Di, va, en moi n'as tu nient, 1190
Ce saches tu, de poësté
Se d'autrui ne te fust donné.
Mais chil qui a toi me livra
Plus grant pechié de toi i a."

679. Ms: il la
700. Ms: pource.

667-8. O has the same order as Pal.
692. eschaper, OSV.
813. a desmesure, LSU.
1040. t'amenissons, CHQV.
1066. por ce fuz nez, DSO' (1022).
1068a and b. These lines are in all
Mss. except CFH; in O'
(1025-6).

*Palatine Passion**Old French Passion*

[Li Juifs]

Vous volez nous touz afoler! 719

Barraban faites delivrer.

Tant a meffait que plus ne puet. 723

La venjence penrrre en estuet!

Nous n'avons, sire, nul roy non 735

Se Sezaire de Romme non.

[Caifas]

C'est cil qui le temple abatra 946

Et en .iij. jours le refera.

Se tu es fuiz a Dieu le pere,

Ne te laissier en tel maniere,

Mais de cele croys descent jus.

De nous croira en toy li plus. 951

Nostre Dame

Lasse dolente! baix très doulz fiex,
969

En cele croys pour quoi pens tu,
Diex?

Lasse! parle a moy, mon très douz
fiex,

Qui ciel et terre et la mer feïs.

Conseille moy que je feray, 973

Et comment je me maintenrray.

Qui me gardera enprès toy?

Chier fuiz, aies merci de moy. 976

[Jhesu]

Douce fame, pour ce pent ci, 989

Car esgarde la voie ainssi.

Pour ce ne te lairai je pas. 993

"Nous voulez vous tous afoler?

1077b

Barrabas faites delivrer . . ." 1078

"Tant a fait mal, que plus ne puet.

1083

Grant justice faire en estuet."

"Par foi," font il, "nul roi n'avon

1215

Se Cesaire de Romme non. . . "

;

"C'est chil qui le temple abatra

1459

Et en .III. jours refait l'avra.

Se tu es fils al roi del mont,

Et se tu dois sauver le mont,

De cele crois car descen^t jus!

De nous crera en toi li plus. 1464

"Biaus fils," dist ele, "amis Jesu,

1431

En cele crois pourcoi pens tu?

Parole a moi, fils, dous amis, 1435

Qui chiel et terre et mer fesis.

Conseille moi que je ferai 1436a

Comment remanrai après toi?

Merchi aies, biaus fils, de moi."

1438

"Mere," fait il, "pour ce pent chi,

1439

Que esgarder le voeil issi.

Pour chou ne te lairai jou pas.

1444

969-973. Nine-syllabled lines.

971. Read *amis*?

975. Ms: en pres.

989. Ms: pourcee.

993. Ms: Pourcee.

1077b. In all Mss. except CF; in
O' (1036).

1436a. In Mss. GP only.

1439. Femme, F.

1440. la voie ein^si, GPV.

Palatine Passion

.I. autre fil mout bon avras:
 Veez ci Jehan en lieu de moy,
 Sera ton fil quar je le veil.
 Jehan, biaux amis et biaux frere, 997
 Garde la bien, veez ci ta mere.
 Tu soies de ci en avant
 Avec lui, je te commant.

[Jehan]

Douz pere, je ferai ton plesir. 1001
 Grant duel ai quant te voi morir.

Old French Passion

Femme, .I. autre fil averas. 1443
 Vez ci Jehan ensemble o toi, 1445
 Tes fils sera en lieu de moi."
 "Jehan," dist a lui nostre pere 1449
 "Garde la bien, vois chi ta mere.
 Desore soies enavant
 Ensemble o lui. Jel te commant."

1445. Vois ci J. en leu de moi,
 GPXO' (1381).

Whatever the ultimate sources of the mediæval drama may have been—and the influence of the Liturgy, the Vulgate, the Apocrypha, the Latin Gospel Harmonies and various theological works including sermons, treatises, commentaries, etc. cannot be denied—it is evident that the immediate sources often lay near at hand, perhaps nearer than has been generally assumed. It is certain that the authors of the later French Passion plays plundered their predecessors unsparingly,—the Valenciennes *Passions*, for example, are little more than compilations.¹⁷ That their predecessors had similarly availed themselves of still earlier works is almost equally certain,—in the French Passion plays, at least, the trail has been fairly well traced.¹⁸ Where does it end? In the present instance, one branch leads directly to the narrative *Passion*. This poem, frequently recited by the jongleurs, simple in form and easily remembered, contained the Biblical and a little of the more popular non-Biblical material in convenient compass. It was a simple task to adapt it to dialogue, omit or dramatize descriptive and homiletic passages, combine or rearrange speeches separated by such passages, expand here and there, include a few conventional

¹⁷ Cf. *Die beiden Valencienner Passionen in ihrem Verhältnis zu den Quellen*, by Bernhard Koeppen, Greifswald, 1911, and the earlier Greifswald dissertations on the subject by A. Kneisel, H. Schreiner, and K. Mokross.

¹⁸ Roy, *op. cit. passim* and Jeanroy, *Romania*, xxxv, 365 ff.

Planctus, and add a number of humorous incidents for the sake of him who

Plus volentiers orroit conter
Coment Rolant ala joster
A Olivier son compaignon
K'il ne feroit la Passion. . . .

The process can be readily followed in the case of the *Palatine Passion*. In the English gild plays, so much more developed in type and often so extensively revised, vernacular sources are less easily discovered. The proof in the one case, however, tends to lend plausibility to the hypothesis in the other. Nor is it unlikely that certain similarities in the English cycles and between the English cycles and the continental plays are to be attributed to their contact with such vernacular sources. Anyone who will place side by side the passages in the French plays derived from the narrative *Old French Passion* and the passages in the English plays derived from the English version of this same poem¹⁹ can hardly fail to recognize the importance of their common vernacular source in accounting for the resemblances between them.

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THE EPIC-DRAMA CONCEPTION OF THE NOVEL

I

It has long been a commonplace for the histories of French literature to cite the *Astrée* (1610, though more exactly 1607¹) as the first French novel. The more remote sources of the genre have been looked for in various foreign fields, among them, the Arabic, the Ionian, the Persian, the Spanish. Professor Warren elects *Amadís de Gaula* as "the first epic romance which contains a plot" and, "therefore our first modern novel."² Between 1540

¹⁹ Cf. Foster, *op. cit.* pp. 81 ff., and Lyle, *op. cit.* pp. 5 ff.

¹ Cf. Gustave Reynier, *Le Roman Sentimental avant l'Astrée*, 1908, pp. 195, 196.

² F. M. Warren, *History of the French Novel Previous to the Seventeenth Century*, 1908, p. 9.

and 1548, Herberay des Essarts translated eight books of the *Amadis* series into French and might, consequently, be thought to have initiated the career of the novel in France. But M. Gustave Reynier finds a claimant to the honor of primogeniture in *Les Angoysses douloureuses qui procedent d'amours* (1538) by Héliëenne de Crenne, "notre premier roman sentimental."³ Why *Pantagruel* (1533) and *Gargantua* (books I and II, 1535) should have been disregarded, it is hard to see. In the treatment of the English novel, however, a similar fixity of tradition is noticeable. Historians start the English novel in 1740 with Richardson's *Pamela*, passing by the *Morte d'Arthur* (circa 1470) and *Jack Wilton* (1594) as well as Congreve's *Incognita* (1692) and *Robinson Crusoe* (1719).

In reality, the European novel, including the French, is much older than these selections make it appear, and its sources are genuinely French. That it goes back, both in matter and manner, to the medieval French stories of Charlemagne, Roland, King Arthur, Troy, and the prolific *romans d'aventures*, students are now finding it necessary to acknowledge. Scholarly opinion will doubtless finally accept M. Reynier's suggestion: "Je ne pouvais pas ne pas rappeler qu'il faut chercher dans notre Moyen Age les premières origines du roman de sentiment comme celles du roman d'aventures."⁴ Judicious and erudite French critics had already independently arrived at a like conclusion by the middle of the seventeenth century and their conception of the novel was strongly colored by it.

"J'ai lû ce livre" (*Lancelot*), observes Sarrazin, "& ne l'ai point trouvé trop désagréable. Entre les choses qui m'y ont plû, j'y ai vû la source de tous les Romans, qui depuis quatre ou cinq siècles ont fait le plus noble divertissement des Cours de l'Europe, & empêché que la barbarie n'occupât le monde entièrement."⁵ Charles Sorel is at one with him in this respect and has preceded Voelker⁶ and others in the correct interpretation of the word "roman,"⁷ about which the most fanciful ideas were rife. The

³ Reynier, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Avertissement, p. v.

⁵ Chapelain, *Sur la Lecture des vieux romans*, pub. by Feillet, 1870, pp. 285-286.

⁶ In the *Z. R. Ph.*, 1886, x, 485-525.

⁷ Sorel, *Bibliothèque française*, 1664, p. 156.

learned Huet, after a pleasant and profitable excursion among the older literatures of the world, stands forth boldly for the native origin of the novel and for the proper derivation of the name assigned to the type.⁸

The manifest connection between the novel and the indigenous epic struck these men, who were conversant with the almost forgotten literature of the Middle Ages; and the dependence of the novel on the epic in general impressed those among their contemporaries who were unfamiliar with the French epic, but knew the Greek and the Roman. The even pace maintained by novel and epic in the second half of the seventeenth century made constant comparison inevitable, for it must be borne in mind that, if the period was rich in novels, scarcely a year passed without the publication of one or more epics.⁹ As M. Roy indicates, "Tous les auteurs s'accordent à le (i. e., "roman") définir 'un poème en prose' et font des romans comme ils feraient des poèmes épiques,"¹⁰ and La Calprenède, Mlle de Scudéry, and the rest consciously imitate Homer and Virgil. *Ménage* is just as explicit: "Il faut avoir bien peu de connaissance pour ne pas voir que le *Cyrus* & la *Clélie* sont dans le genre de Poème Epique."¹¹ Perrault, in the *Parallèles*, mentions the *Iliad*, the *Cléopâtre*, the *Cyrus*, and the *Clélie* in the same breath and commends the modern stories for excellences not found in the classical works. To Huet, it appears that the *romans réguliers* "sont dans les règles du poème héroïque."¹² Furetière insists that the novel "n'est rien qu'une poésie en prose"¹³ and humorously defends himself for following the example of his masters, the classical writers of epics. Chapelain regrets that Aristotle did not have the opportunity of

⁸ Cf. Huet, *De l'Origine des Romans*, pp. 65-66 and pp. 51 ff. (pub. in the *Œuvres Complètes de Mesdames de La Fayette*, etc., chez P.-A. Moutardier, 1825, 1).

⁹ Cf. 1653, *Moïse sauvé*; 1654, *Clovis*, *Alaric*, *Saint Paul*; 1656, *La Pucelle*; 1658, *Saint Louis*; 1660, *David*, *Judith*; 1661, *Hélie*; etc.

¹⁰ Emile Roy, *La Vie et les Œuvres de Charles Sorel*, 1891, p. 227. Cf. also, note 2 on the same page citing Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin to the effect that "Le roman et le poème ne diffèrent que d'une chose, savoir, que l'un est en prose et que l'autre est en vers."

¹¹ Cf. *Ménagiana*, II, Amsterdam, 1713, pp. 8 ff.

¹² Huet, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

¹³ Furetière, *Roman Bourgeois*, 1854, p. 27.

including the *Lancelot* in his *Poetics* and affirms that he could have found as much substance for an "Art Poétique" in the Arthurian romance as in the *Iliad* or in the *Odyssey*.¹⁴

More significant, perhaps, than the persuasions of critics is the fact that La Calprenède, Mlle de Scudéry, Gomberville, and their voluminous colleagues prided themselves on their adaptation of the methods of Homer, Virgil, and Tasso, and that Charles Sorel, Furetière, Scarron burlesqued their manner as Fielding did in *Tom Jones* and *Joseph Andrews*.¹⁵ In France, as in England, the novel first assimilated the conventionalities of the epic before developing in other directions, and this process was perfectly logical in view of the provenience of the French novel from the medieval epic romances and in view, likewise, of the rediscovery of the classical epic during the Renaissance. D'Aubignac's dictum, then, that the rules given by Aristotle for the epic should obtain in the novel,¹⁶ is thoroughly intelligible.

II

However, as will be indicated later on, d'Aubignac, not content with invoking the epic authority of Aristotle in behalf of the novel, adduces other principles of the revered Stagyrte as an effective means for improving the structure of the novel: and in this he has been supported by influential critics and novelists.

The recurrence of the name of Aristotle, the unexcelled analyst and systematizer, in the literary discussions of the seventeenth century is, of course, of great moment. His method and his attitude were peculiarly palatable to French investigators, for the "raisonnable" was, in the seventeenth century, as much a system, an ingrained characteristic of good usage, as was the distaste for it among the Romanticists all over Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Due partly to the temper of the times and

¹⁴ Chapelain, *op. cit.*, p. 297. Cf. also, pp. 284, 285 and 295, 296.

¹⁵ Walter Raleigh, *The English Novel*, 1906, p. 165.

¹⁶ Charles Arnaud, *La Vie et les Œuvres de l'Abbé d'Aubignac*, 1887, pp. 327, 328. Cf. also, d'Aubignac, *Pratique du Théâtre*, Amsterdam, Bernard, 1715, Tome I, pp. 107, 108; "Les Romains (sic) qui doivent être formez sur l'exemple des Poèmes Epiques, & qu'aucuns nomment des *Epopées en prose*, quand ils sont faits par un homme intelligent & bien réglé, ne souffrent point un plus grand espace de temps" (than a year).

partly to this Aristotelian influence, readers, writers, and critics of the novel vied with one another in trying to induct the novel into the ways of the "raisonnable." Mme de Sévigné demonstrates perfectly, in a well-known passage on La Calprenède's "maudit" style and the "beauté des sentiments, la violence des passions, la grandeur des événements" in his novels, that while she enjoys him sentimentally she detests him intellectually. Sorel lauds the English *Arcadie de la Comtesse de Pembroke* because it is marked by "des choses plus raisonnables"¹⁷ than Lope de Vega's *Arcadia*: Chapelain ventures to compare the *Lancelot* with the works of Livy in "vérité des mœurs et des coutumes" of the era in which it was written¹⁸ and brings forward Olaus Magnus, Saxo Grammaticus, Bertrand du Guesclin, and the Chevalier Bayard¹⁹ as witnesses of its essential historical truth and reasonableness. In spite of the predilection which Sorel and Chapelain confess to having had for the medieval romances in their schoolboy days,²⁰ both, in their maturer years, deplore their unreality, and Sorel states that "On ne s'arreste plus gueres à cette sorte de lecture, parce qu'on y trouue des choses hors de raison."²¹ They, along with the general run of their fellow-countrymen of that day and age, must have subscribed cordially to d'Aubignac's definition: "L'Epopée accroît tous les événemens par de grandes fictions, où la vérité est comme abîmée; & le Theatre doit tout restituer en état de vraisemblance & d'agrément."²² Those especially interested in the novel would most certainly have substituted "le roman" for "le Theatre" in this declaration.

In spite of his platitudes, d'Aubignac often exhibits, as here, an altogether praiseworthy faculty for hitting the nail on the head. In the epic, romance, or novel, probability for a long time played a secondary rôle: in the drama, it was paramount. Dramatic criticism revolved largely about the topic of "vraisemblance," which is but another way of saying "le raisonnable": and it was the desire for "vraisemblance" which inspired the universal authority of the Three Unities. Theatre-folk were not, indeed,

¹⁷ Cf. Sorel, *Bib. fr.*, pp. 157, 158.

¹⁸ Chapelain, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 305, 306.

²⁰ Sorel, *Francion*, 1858, pp. 118, 119; Chapelain, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

²¹ Sorel, *Bib. fr.*, p. 156.

²² D'Aubignac, *Prat. du Théâtre*, p. 59. Cf. also, p. 322.

quite as prosy as those of the fifteenth century, when "plus d'une fois on arriva juste à temps pour dépendre Judas ou déclouer Jésus qui avaient joué leur rôle trop au naturel";²³ but the latitude allowed playwrights in departing from the common realities or probabilities was extremely narrow. Transferred to the novel, the notion of the Three Unities, whether observed with some strictness or only vaguely retained, served as an indispensable check or restraint in confining action within the limits of reasonableness and verisimilitude.

The quick disappearance of the long, involved, extravagant, romantic novel after the 1660's is not, to be sure, attributable solely to the urge of the "raisonnable," or of "vraisemblance," or to any other one cause. The spirit of the age was strongly tending toward realism and matter of fact: the running skirmish against the high-flown novel, kept up from the early part of the century by d'Aubigné in the *Baron de Fæneste* (1617-1630) and by Charles Sorel in *Francion* (1622) and *Le Berger Extravagant* (1627), was re-enforced by Scarron with his *Roman Comique* (1651), by Furetière with his *Roman Bourgeois* (1666), and by the sledge-hammer attacks of Boileau and Molière: and, most of all, the steady comparison of the novel with the drama completed the transition from *Le Grand Cyrus* to the *Princesse de Clèves*.

Outside of France, the epic-drama conception of the novel had already been stated by Giraldis Cintio a century before Frenchmen set out to discover the formula. His theory, presented in his treatise on the *Romanzi* (1554),—which he declares to be the first attempt to write an Art of the Novel,²⁴—considers the novel as epic in outward form and dramatic in internal structure. It is the logical expression of a man who was himself a fertile dramatist, a dramatic critic, and a disciple of Aristotle. His constant juxtaposition of drama and novel²⁵ must have exerted a telling influence on his French readers, immersed, as they were, in the novel and moving in an atmosphere highly charged with drama. That many of them agreed with him is evident on all hands: and their view of the novel as both epic and dramatic was of extreme importance in the rise of a more artistic and cogent form as illustrated in the *Princesse de Clèves*.

²³ Doumic, *Hist. de la Litt. fr.*, 1916, p. 67.

²⁴ Giraldis Cintio, *De' Romanzi*, etc., Milano, 1864, p. 3.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

Since no Art of the Novel had been formulated in France, those who were ambitious of endowing the novel with a technique had recourse to the theories and the practices of dramatists. If Segrais believes that the novel can be written according to fixed rules and considers that he has seen to the application of those rules in Mme de La Fayette's *Zaïde*,²⁶ we may be quite sure that he has reference to the rules of the drama. When Huet refuses the praise "de la régularité, de l'ordonnance, ni de la justesse de dessein"²⁷ to the Italian novels, in spite of the "très-belles choses" by which they are characterized, and when Chapelain admits of the author of the *Lancelot* that "Il ne s'est jamais douté de ce que c'étoit qu'un plan d'ouvrage, qu'une disposition légitime, qu'un juste rapport de parties, qu'un nœud subtil, ni qu'un dénouement naturel,"²⁸ they are palpably stressing dramatic qualities by contrast with the less restrained epic qualities. Similarly, when Sorel longs for comedy, its affiliations with the *roman comique* instantly occur to him.²⁹ D'Aubignac is moved by identical associations. The drama and the novel are, in his mind, indissolubly bound together. His feeling of repugnance for the idealism of the heroic novel as well as for the crudeness of the realistic novel, his condemnation of verbose description and lengthy moralizing in terms as cutting as those of Boileau, his scorn, in *Macarise*, for recent novels because they have "point d'art, point de grâce, point de doctrine," are inspired by his dramatic preconceptions. His "Pratique du Roman," which apparently just missed being published, might have been wordy and tiresome, but it would at least have been as helpful as the *Pratique du Théâtre*, a treatise which nobody interested in the dramatic criticism of the seventeenth century can afford wholly to neglect. That it would have hindered³⁰ the production of the *Princesse de Clèves* is an unwarranted assumption. On the contrary, Mme de La Fayette's personal theory of the novel, if committed to paper, would have been found to agree remarkably with d'Aubignac's: and that theory was based on the drama of the day. It was not for nothing that she had been enchanted by Corneille's plays in her younger days.³¹ The exactness with which her *Princesse de*

²⁶ Segrais, *Œuvres diverses*, Amsterdam, 1723, I, 8.

²⁷ Huet, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

²⁸ Chapelain, *op. cit.*, pp. 308, 309.

²⁹ Roy, *op. cit.*, p. 371.

³⁰ Cf. Arnaud, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

³¹ Cf. Léo Claretie, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

Clèves corresponds to the dramatic principles of the seventeenth century, and especially to the dramaturgy of Corneille, will become patent to anybody who takes the trouble to cast it into dramatic form and to analyze the human problem presented in that touching story.

The *Princesse de Clèves* is, in fact, the culmination of a growing rapprochement between the novel and the drama, evidenced by the statements of critics, who specifically recommend for the novel the technical principles underlying the drama, by the previous dramatic study and training of the most noteworthy novelists, and by the spontaneous testimony of the latter concerning their dramatic intent in the composition of their novels. The sum total is substantial proof that the concentrated features of the novel with a plot looked for by every novel-reader until the recent rise of the novel as a "segment of life" took shape in France in the seventeenth century and were more definitely moulded by the drama than by any other force.

It is clear to those who examine the entire dramatic literature of France that the revolution in the writing of French plays came about through the application and the discussion of the Three Unities. It is not quite so generally understood that these dramatic rules had a vital effect on the novel. Boileau's insistence upon their observation was founded on a minute knowledge of the dramatic needs of that predominantly rationalistic and unimaginative epoch, and its aim was to enforce probability and reasonableness, to prevent digressions, and to minimize unnecessary complications. D'Aubignac, as fixed in his views as Boileau, and the instigator of Corneille's *Examens*, claimed that the novel might well profit by some of the dramatic conventions. Though he refrained from demanding a slavish adherence to all the unities in the novel, an attitude due, no doubt, to the liberalizing precepts of Trissino and Castelvetro, he nevertheless set a positive limit of one year, in point of time, beyond which no novels could go "quand ils sont faits par un homme intelligent & bien réglé."³² The *Princesse de Clèves*, through its fidelity to the unities as interpreted by him for the novel, would unquestionably have merited his hearty approval. To the requirement of the unity of place in the novel by the more enthusiastic partizans of the Three Unities,³³ Charles

³² D'Aubignac, *op. cit.*, pp. 107, 108.

³³ Roy, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

Sorel is a contemporary witness, and his story, *Le Parasite Mormon*, is a jocose attempt to satisfy them on all scores.

Professional critics, then, were struck by the advantages which might accrue to the novel through the drama. No less so were the novelists themselves. Most of them had been trained in the school of play-writing. In the Paris of Louis XIV with its 400,000 inhabitants³⁴ the writing, discussion,³⁵ and witnessing of plays formed the chief intellectual exercise. For almost forty years, according to Segrals, subjects for the stage were drawn from the *Astrée*.³⁶ Among them may be mentioned pastorals by Baro, who completed the *Astrée*, and by Maréchal, and tragi-comedies by Du Ryer,³⁷ Auvray, Mairet, and Rayssiguier.³⁸ Dramatists wrote novels, novelists wrote dramas; and critics wrote both. Segrals composed a tragedy on Hyppolitus and a novel on Bérénice;³⁹ d'Aubignac wrote a novel and several prose plays; Gombauld, the novel, *Endymion*, and the dramas, *L'Amarante* and *Les Danaïdes*; Desmarets,⁴⁰ the novels *Ariane* and *Rosane*, and the dramas *Les Visionnaires*, *Mirame*, *Aspasie*, *Scipion*, *Europe*, *Erigone*; Boissier, the novel, *Histoire indienne d'Anaxandre et d'Orazie*, and half a dozen plays. Mlle de Scudéry had tried to enrich the repertory of the theatre before entering on her career as a novelist. Her brother Georges turned her *Ibrahim* into a drama in 1645.⁴¹ Sorel's novel, *Les Amours de Cléagénor et de Doristée*, was dramatized by Rotrou, and his *Berger Extravagant* was similarly handled by Thomas Corneille.⁴² La Calprenède wrote nine plays before publishing his first novel, and it was from his *Cléopâtre* that Thomas Corneille secured the subject for his highly popular *Timocrate*. Scarron was equally at home in the novel and on the

³⁴ James B. Perkins, *France under Mazarin*, II, 1887, p. 384.

³⁵ Chapelain's library contained about a score of treatises on the drama in the classical and modern languages. Cf. *Catalogue de tous les livres de feu M. Chapelain*, ed. by Professor Colbert Searles, Leland Stanford Junior University Publications, 1912, pp. 80, 81.

³⁶ Segrals, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

³⁷ Cf. H. Carrington Lancaster, *Pierre Du Ryer, Dramatist*, 1912, pp. 72, 148. (I am indebted to Professor Lancaster personally for several valuable suggestions.)

³⁸ Cf. J. Marsan, *La Pastorale dramatique en France*, 1905, pp. 436, 439.

³⁹ Segrals, *op. cit.*, p. XII.

⁴⁰ Cf. catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale.

⁴¹ Cf. Boileau, *Héros de Roman*, ed. Crane, 1902, p. 108.

⁴² Roy, *op. cit.*, pp. 35 and 174.

boards. The list might be increased to such an extent as to demand an article in itself.

That novelists adopted many methods of the drama is evident from Sorel's practice in the *Parasite Mormon*, from d'Aubignac's dramatic theory and his exercise in novel-writing, from the structure of the *Princesse de Clèves*, and from the outright statements of such novelists as d'Urfé and La Calprenède. "Comme nos François ont accoustumé," observes Baro, in relating that d'Urfé had planned the *Astrée* on the lines of a pastoral tragi-comedy, "de les disposer en cinq Actes, & chaque Acte composé de diuerses scenes, il vouloit de mesme faire cinq Volumes composez de douze Livres, afin que chaque Volume fust pris pour un Acte, & chaque Livre pour une Scene."⁴³ La Calprenède, for his part, had voluntarily set himself the task of preserving the unity of place and informs us that "le dessein auquel je me suis assez régulièrement attaché de n'éloigner point les bords de l'Euphrate et les murailles de Babilone, m'empêche de suivre mes princes dans leurs voyages."⁴⁴ In England, under similar conditions, Congreve had consciously and avowedly constructed his novel *Incognita* according to dramatic laws.⁴⁵

The four dramatic concepts which profoundly altered the epic character of the novel in the seventeenth century were: (1) the application of one or more of the Three Unities, in so far as they could be applied; (2) the compression and strengthening of plot; (3) the elimination of the *deus ex machina* or the *merveilleux*; (4) the emphasis on probability, realism, verisimilitude, simplicity. The first two were purely dramatic derivatives. The other two were the outgrowth of the rationalistic spirit of the age, the attacks on the extravagances of the heroic, *précieux* novels, the incessant interpretation of dramatic principles, and the regulation of dramatic practice.

Had somebody in the seventeenth century taken the pains to formulate a "Pratique du Roman," he would have stabilized novel-writing much as Aristotle stabilized the writing of plays. With

⁴³ Cf. Koerting, *Geschichte des Franz. Romans*, 1885, I, 84. (Mr. Martin K. Brooks, of the Harvard Graduate School, has called my attention to some slight inaccuracies in this quotation as compared with the 1638 ed. of the *Astrée*. The inaccuracies do not, however, affect the sense of the passage.)

⁴⁴ Cf. Boileau, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

⁴⁵ Cf. Raleigh, *op. cit.*, pp. 102 and 177, 178.

the current epic-dramatic conception of the novel in front of him, he could have prophesied Mérimée's novels, Richardson's "pocket-drama" novels, Fielding's dramatic epics, and the common run of modern novels. He could have stated with firm conviction that the days of the episodic wander-type or pilgrimage-type were numbered, and that dramatic centralization would supplant it. That nobody took advantage of the opportunity was a purely fortuitous circumstance. Huet, Chapelain, Sorel, Mme de La Fayette could have treated the theme with success. It is even doubtful whether "le roman l'a échappé belle," after all, by d'Aubignac's failure to put forth his theory in book-form.

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LA PRINCESSE DE CLEVES

Admirers of *La Princesse de Clèves* will be grateful to Mr. Ashton for his contribution to the *Notes* (xxxiv, 134 ff.). For the first time, I believe, he has quoted a scene from a rare book which may well have given to Mme de la Fayette the idea of the most famous incident in her novel. Others have repeated Valincour's remark; Faguet¹ regretted that he was unable to find *Les Désordres de l'Amour*; judging the work by Valincour's brief indication, he finds the "rapprochement . . . assez méchant." Critics of the seventeenth century were not interested in source-hunting, except when they wished to accuse an author of plagiarism. And whether the idea of the confession came from *Les Désordres de l'Amour* or not, a glance at a résumé of that story will lay any doubts about possible plagiarism. Such a résumé may be found in a recent essay of Chatenet.² He makes no doubt that it is the work of Mme de Villedieu, and gives the date, without discussion, as 1670, chez Barbin.³ Curiously enough, he discusses at some length the date of publication of *La Princesse de Clèves*. A well-known letter of Mme de Sévigné to Bussy⁴ would seem to fix this date

¹ *Un critique homme du monde au XVIIe siècle*, R. des D. M., 15 mai 1909.

² *Le Roman et les romans d'une femme de lettres au XVIIe siècle*, Paris, 1911.

³ The earliest edition he has seen seems to be that of Toulouse, 1702.

⁴ Letter of March 19, 1678.

beyond a reasonable doubt to be March, 1678. Chatenet concludes: "Il est possible que l'auteur de la *Princesse de Clèves* ait considéré les *Désordres de l'amour* comme une œuvre imparfaite, mais comme une œuvre dont il y avait lieu de tirer parti. On le répète, Mme de Villedieu a sans doute fourni le canevas d'un ouvrage et Mme de la Fayette, s'inspirant du canevas, a écrit le chef-d'œuvre."

I am not prepared to discuss or dispute the probable date (1670) assigned to the publication of *Les Désordres de l'amour*. In any case we are justified in believing that it saw the light before *La Princesse de Clèves*. For Valincour's critique appeared only a few weeks after the publication of its subject (see Bussy's *Correspondance*), and the answer to the critique, published the following year, simply states that the *Princesse de Clèves* was written (*faite*) before the *Désordres de l'amour* went to press. This brings up an interesting question. We know that Mme de la Fayette composed very slowly, and there is a tantalizing letter of Mme de Sévigné to her daughter under date of March 16, 1672. "C'est ce chien de Barbin qui me hait, parce que je ne fais pas des *Princesses de Clèves et de Montpensier*." Monmerqué believes that the original text reads *Zaïdes* instead of *Princesse de Clèves*, and that Perrin substituted the name of the more famous novel. The next allusion I have seen to *La Princesse de Clèves*, is the letter of Mme de Scudéry to Bussy, under date of December 8, 1677. "M. de la Rochefoucault et Madame de la Fayette ont fait un roman des galanteries de la cour de Henri second, qu'on dit admirablement bien écrit." Bussy immediately asked to have the novel sent to him as soon as it appeared. If we take the letter of Mme de Sévigné as it stands, and place the *Désordres de l'amour* in 1670, the remark of the counter-critic gains no little weight.

I shall not quarrel with the imputation of the *Désordres de l'amour* to Mme de Villedieu, even though she does not mention it in a supposedly complete list of her works up to April, 1671. Tallemant, who knew her, observes: "Il n'y a pas une plus grande menteuse au monde ni une plus grande étourdie." Neither shall I venture any suggestion regarding the source of the avowal in this novel.⁵ The varied amatory experience of Hortense des Jardins,

⁵ Perhaps this kind of avowal is commoner than is generally supposed. Faguet remarks (*op. cit.*): "A Versailles, un gentilhomme raconte que Mme de Vouneuil a avoué à son mari qu'elle aimait M. de Béruges et l'a

aided by her luxuriant imagination, enabled her to invent a number of curious situations in which to place her heroines, if one may trust the résumés given by Chatenet.

While fully realizing the interest of this parallel, I wish to call attention to another possible literary influence. Faguet cites, in the article mentioned above, the *Conversations sur la critique de la "Princesse de Clèves,"* attributed to the Abbé de Charnes. We learn that it is "Paveu de Plautine (sic) dans le *Polyeucte* de M. Corneille qui a donné lieu à celui de *la Princesse de Clèves*; car du moins les caractères sont bien plus semblables." Faguet does not discuss this point and, as far as I know, it has never been seriously considered, although there is agreement among critics that Mme de la Fayette's work is full of the Cornelian spirit. Thus M. d'Haussonville remarks: "On dirait la Pauline de Corneille, mais la Pauline d'avant le cinquième acte, la femme d'honneur qui n'est pas chrétienne."⁶ I suppose no one would suggest *Polyeucte* as a direct source for the *aveu*, but the second part of the counter-critic's observation will be accepted after a glance at Chatenet's résumé of *Les Désordres de l'amour*. The only point of comparison between the two stories is the *aveu*.

It will be remembered that readers of the seventeenth century did not admire *Polyeucte* for the same reasons as critics of our day. It was the "roman" of Pauline and Sévère which particularly pleased them. The religious element in the play was considered a fault. Possibly the aesthetic reason for deprecating the treatment of religious themes in works of profane art was that its use places them beyond the pale of *véraisemblance*. Miracles are by definition *invraisemblables*. Mme de la Fayette has carefully suppressed all religious elements in her story. It is the sense of human dignity which animates her princess, as also Pauline before the last act.

One more point. The dénouement of Mme de la Fayette's novel was a matter of much hostile criticism. Valincour finds Mme de Clèves incomprehensible at the end, and Bussy is of the same opinion. But this at least finds a parallel in Pauline. There are

supplé, comme son meilleur ami, de la protéger contre l'ennemi et contre elle-même. 'Je le tiens du mari,' ajoute le gentilhomme.'—Faguet does not indicate the source of this incident, and I have not found it. I referred in my first article to the *fait divers* in the *Mercure Galant* for January 1678.

⁶ *Mme de la Fayette*, p. 208.

no torments which she would not endure rather than marry a man, who, even innocently, has been in any way the cause of her husband's death (ll. 1336 ff.).

Remembering the attitude of the seventeenth century toward the play, let us suppose for an instant that Mme de la Fayette had wished, in her turn, to write the history of "la plus honnête femme du monde qui n'aime point du tout son mari." Is it not probable that the *Princesse de Clèves* as we have it might have been the result? In the play Pauline relates to her confidant her former love for Sévère, but Polyeucte is fully aware of the situation, and, given Pauline's character, it is inconceivable that he had not learned of it from her before their marriage. Valincour may have indicated the literary source of the avowal; surely the author of the *Conversations* has indicated a truer source of inspiration for the whole book.

For reasons stated in my previous article, I still believe it not unlikely that the incident related by Saint-Simon is the real source of the *aveu* in the *Princesse de Clèves*. I attach no little weight to Mme de la Fayette's letter to Lescheraine: "C'est une parfaite imitation du monde de la cour et de la manière dont on y vit: . . . aussi n'est-ce pas un roman, c'est proprement des Mémoires, et c'était, à ce qu'on m'a dit, le titre du livre, mais on l'a changé."

In conclusion I would add that I believe my withers unwrung by the adverse criticism of Mr. Ashton's last two paragraphs. He seems to have misread me. After quoting in part (not quite accurately), he objects that Bussy's criticism was aimed at the *invraisemblance* of the incident. I had endeavored to say as much. "The criticism was on grounds of probability rather than of ethics, etc." It will be noted that I expressly rejected that "common place of literary history" which would make the *Comtesse de Tende* an answer to critics of *La Princesse de Clèves*.

Finally Mr. Ashton refers with apparent approval to Bussy's remark that he had not read a novel since his school days. May I call attention to the fact that he had at least read *Zaïde*, which he attributed to Segrais, and that his criticism of it follows the same general lines as his restrictions on *La Princesse de Clèves*?

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MODERN GERMAN PLANT NAMES IN *-ing* (*-ling*)¹

The old patronymic suffix expanded by the clipping process to *-ling* has had perhaps a more vigorous existence than any other in modern German dialects. It is thoroughly familiar in its diminutive sense in modern English, where it sometimes shows a trace of the pejorative meaning so often attached to diminutives, though we may question the prominence of the diminutive element when we find Kipling writing "little bearling" (*Jungle Book*). There seems to be here either a reversion to or a survival of the original idea of offspring. In modern German it is the pejorative sense that predominates in the new formations with the *-ling* suffix. And in this capacity the suffix has come so much into vogue, that as early as the eighteenth century the grammarian Schönaich (*Neologisches Wörterbuch*, 1754) declares the frequent use of such new coinages to be in bad taste.

At an early date the suffix was specialized for the formation of concrete appellatives. Grimm (*Grammatik*, III, 376, 441, 462) enumerates some sword names and apple names. For a list of Germanic coin names see the articles by H. O. Schwabe, *Modern Philology*, xiv. In the articles cited below may be found a partial list of fish and bird names, which appealed particularly to the popular imagination. Snakes and insects were also colloquially given names in *-ling*. Of all these, however, it is the group of plant and tree names, particularly the names of fungi, which is the largest, terms which are to a great extent missing in the *Deutsches Wörterbuch*.

Botanical nomenclature before the nineteenth century presents a great confusion. Large numbers of terms were applied indiscriminately to two or more plants, or referred to different plants in different localities. The habit of selecting a characteristic at random or as it happened to appeal to the imagination of the natives in christening the plant, resulted in having it appear under

¹ For a discussion of the earlier history of this suffix see Leo Meyer, *Kuhns Zeitschrift*, vi, 7 ff.; *PBB.*, III, 151 f.; von Bahder, *Die Verbal-abstracta*, Halle, 1880; Hermann Paul, *PBB.*, vi, 236 and 545 ff.; Grimm, *Grammatik* (Index); Wilmanns, *Deutsche Grammatik*, II, 278-283; Johannes Schmidt, *Geschichte des indogermanischen Vokalismus*, I, 84.

a dozen or more names, just as certain species of fish, cattle and horses are known by different names according to their age. Yet another source of variety was the misinterpretation by the layman of botanical or foreign names which were forthwith adapted to his own tongue and not infrequently expanded with the *-ling* suffix. No less unfamiliar seem to have been a considerable number of MHG. and OHG. names, which suffered changes similar to, though not always so violent as those of foreign origin. Some of the corruptions of foreign names appeared already to have Germanic endings and it was then easy for the untutored peasant to take the final step and give it a familiar form. These names are, of course, only in part *-ling* derivatives and must be carefully distinguished from the native formations.

So we find among these spurious derivations some in *-meng*. *Ackermennig*, *-menning*, or *-meng* is from the Lat. *agrimonia*; and *-menig* then led an independent existence forming such names as *Gänsemenig* for *portentilla anserina*. Lat. *petroselinum*, parsley, gave rise to *-sillig* and *-silling*. *Alsing* and *Olsing* are garbled forms of *olsenitum*, a medieval name for *peucedanum palustre*. *Pfirsing* comes from *persicus*. *Tschillingen* eventually goes back to MHG. *zingelinde*. And finally, the Transylvanian dialect shows a number of curious metatheses which result in apparent *-ing* derivatives, as an example of which we may quote *Sammlenk*, a variety of thistle which bears the name of *Saudistel* or *Saumalk* in various parts of Germany.

In the formation of these popular terms it is not possible to ascribe any particular function or meaning to the suffix *-ling*. The basis of the new word is most often some salient characteristic of the plant: as color (*Rötling*, *Weissling*, *Grünling*); taste (*Bitterling*, *Säuerling*, *Süssling*, *Eggheiling*); shape (*Längerling*, *Grübling*, *Spitzling*); manner of growth (*Winderling*). In a considerable number of cases it is the habitat that suggests the new term: *Drieschling*, *Angerling*, *Strändling*, *Weideling*, and perhaps also *Schöberling*. At other times an old forgotten word or an unfamiliar or foreign one, as already mentioned, is the nucleus: *Kriechling* < *criehbaum*, Graff, IV, 592; *Kümmerling* < Lat. *cucumer*; *Kicherling* < Lat. *cicer*; *Pröbstling* and other numerous variants from *fraga*, *Deutsches Wb.* II, 373; *Sävling* < Lat. *sabina*; *Spänling* < OHG. *spenila*, Graff, VI, 348. On the role played by animal names in popular botanical nomenclature (*Aalbesing*, *Hing-*

Bäsing, Genseling, Schweinling) see the treatise by Richard Loewe, *Germanische Pflanzennamen*, Heidelberg, 1913.

Only a small number of these names are given in the earlier volumes of the *Deutsches Wb.* The labor of collecting the names has been accomplished in a fairly complete way by Nemnich, Grassmann, Meigen, and especially by Pritzel and Jessen.² Since these works have been consulted for the recent fascicles of the *Wörterbuch* I give below only a list of those names which seem to require special comment and in case of their inclusion in the *Wörterbuch*, have been incorrectly explained. The source when not otherwise stated is Pritzel and Jessen. The words with an asterisk are listed in the *Deutsches Wb.*³

AALBESING, *ribes nigrum*, *Aalbeerstrauch*, *currant*; see Besing.

BESING, Besinge, Basinge, applied to several varieties of berries.

From *bes*, LG. form of *Beere*. See Frischbier; *Woordenboek*; Franck.

*BÜRSTLING, *nardus stricta*. From *Borste*. Fischer, I, 1298.

Variant: Pirschling. Not given as a plant name in the *Deutsches Wb.*

EGGHELINK, *daphne mezereum*. Pritzel considers it a corruption of MHG. *zigelinde*. However, his source for the word is the *synonyma apothecarium*, which was current in manuscript form primarily in northern Germany. Hence it would be more likely to be derived from MLG. *echelen*, *egelen*, to be distasteful. For this and the noun *echeling*, *eichelinge*, *egeling* (Ekel), see Schiller-Lübben. *Deutsches Wb.* has Egge-ling as the name of the perch in his third year.

*ENGERLINGSSCHWAMM, *agaricus arvensis*. It may be a corruption of Egerling, as suggested. But as the word is also applied to a fat worm (Lexer; *Deutsches Wb.*), it is more likely

² Nemnich, *Polyglotten Lexikon*, Hamburg, 1793-1798; Meigen, *Deutsche Pflanzennamen*; Grassmann, *Deutsche Pflanzennamen*; Pritzel und Jessen, *Die Deutschen Volksnamen der Pflanzen*, Hannover, 1882. And the special articles by Davis, *Zeitsch. f. d. Wortforsch.*, iv, 161 ff.; Müller, *ZfdW.* II, 186 ff.; Feldmann, *ZfdW.* XII, 115 ff.; Gürtler, *ZfdW.* XII, 215 ff., 248 ff.

³ References are also made to Schmeller, *Bayerisches Wörterbuch*; Heinsius, *Volkstümliches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, Hannover, 1818-1820; H. Frischbier, *Preussisches Wörterbuch*, Berlin, 1882; *Bremisch-niederdeutsches Wb.*, Bremen, 1767; Martin und Lienhart, *Wörterbuch der elsässischen Mundarten*, Strassburg, 1899 ff.; Hermann Fischer, *Schwäbisches Wörterbuch*, Tübingen, 1904 ff.; Joh. Franck, *Etymologisch Woordenboek der nederlandsche Taal*, 'S-Gravenhage, 1892; *Woordenboek der nederlandsche Taal*, Leiden, 1882 ff.; and others, self-explanatory.

- a derivation of Anger, from the place of growth. Variants: Angerling (Sanders), Enderling (Heinsius).
- GÖLLING, *calendula officinalis*. The locality (Mecklenburg) suggests comparison with Dutch *guldeling* (contracted to *guling*), a name given to a variety of apple. *Woordenboek*, v, 1245.
- GRENSELING, according to Sanders, the name of several plants, among them *portentilla anserina*, where the suffix has been added to *grensel*, in first instance the name of the *portulaca*. Lexer considers *grensinc* (*grien-*, *grin-*, *gruns-*, *gres-*) to be derived from *grans*, bill of bird, mouth of animal, projection in general, and this, in turn, from *rans*, Bauch, Wanst. See Schmeller, I, 1005. The plants seem therefore to be named from the shoots that stick up from the ground. The name is also given to a crop just coming up (Schmeller).
- GRUZZING, Grunzig, *hellebore*, according to Pritzel, but see Graff, iv. 344 and Schmeller, I, 1011 s. v. *Greussing*. There the name is recorded as being used in southern Germany for a certain brew of beer.
- GUNDLING, see Kundling.
- HINGSTBÄSING, blackberry; see Besing. Frischbier, s. v. Hingst (Hengst).
- HOCHBÜRSTLING, see Bürstling. Rosegger, *Waldheimat*, I, 194.
- HOLZSTÖCKELINGBAUM, Holzströmlingbaum, wild apple. *Deutsches Wb.* has Holzstränling-. See the article in Heinsius s. v. Strömling, a small variety of herring.
- *HUPFERLING, *thüringisches Springkraut*. Söhns, *Unsere Pflanzen*, 186. *Deutsches Wb.* gives only the meaning *flea*.
- KATLING, *wild apple*. From LG. *Kate*, hut. Perhaps because the tree was used to grow hedges (about the cot). *Brem. Wb.*
- KRÄZLING, see Krösling.
- *KRESSLING, Krestling, a kind of cranberry. From *Kresse*. A case of the extension of the name of the cress to other plants. It is also a fish name.
- KRÖSLING, *agaricus esculentus*. Apparently another case of the transfer of names. Cf. *Deutsches Wb.* s. v. Kröseldorn, MLG. *croselbusg*, Fr. *croselier*. In Switzerland the gooseberry is called *Kruselbeere*.
- KÜNDLING, a variety of caraway. From the Latin *cunila*. But see Kluge, s. v. Gundelrebe. Variants: Kundling, Kümmlingkraut, Gundling. The variety of forms given by Pritzel can all be explained by the variant Latin forms: *cūnīla*, *cōnīla*, *cūnēla*.
- LIECHTLING, *polyporus umbellatus*. So called near Vienna according to Pritzel and probably from the phosphorescence of the fungus at night, which was an ancient source of word coinage. Compare *ᾠλαοφότις* for peony.
- *MAILING, see Meiling.

- MÄUSERLING, *gooseberry*. Quoted by Pritzel from oral tradition in Carinthia. May be connected with Bavarian *maucheln*, *mauchen*, *Mauchkraut*, a plant used as a remedy for a foot disease of horses called *die Mauche*.
- MEILING, *morchella*. Derivation uncertain. Possibly from the Bavarian *meilicht*, "mit Flecken versehen"; Tirolian, *moalet*, *moalig*, "fleckig, schmutzig." Schmeller, I. 1584.
- MOTERLING, Mutterling, *claviceps purpurea*. Not from *mudde*, Schlamm, as Pritzel suggests, but really *Mutter*, as the Silesian name of the plant, *Mehlmutter*, shows.
- PILZLING, *fungus* in general. Rosegger, *Waldschulmeister*, 66.
- PIRSCHLING, see Bürstling.
- RÄUSCHLING, a variety of grape. Cf. *Deutsches Wb. s. v. Riessling*, of which it is possibly a corruption, since one of the many variants of Riessling is the Suabian form *russling*. Perhaps connected with *Rusch*, *Schweizer Idiotikon*, VI, 1385.
- *RECHLING, *agaricus campestris*. Given by Pritzel with a question mark. Cf. *Deutsches Wb. s. v. Rehling*. Likewise Heinsius. The common form is *Rechling*, *Schw. Idiot. VI*, 139. Also applied to *agaricus cantharellus*.
- RECHTLING. See preceding entry. Davis, p. 172, erroneously supposing this to be derived from the adjective *recht*.
- RUSCHELING, *centaurea cyanus*, *corn flower*. Claimed by Pritzel for MHG., but not in *Lexer*. Compare *der Rusch*, *Binse*, *rush*. Cf. Schiller-Lübben, *s. v. ruschelme*.
- RÜSTLING, wild apple. The elm is sometimes called *Rustbaum*. Possibly a connection with MLG. and HG. *Rust*, *Ruhe*. See *Schw. Idiot.*
- SÄLTLING, Saltling, *sour grass*. From L. G. form of Salz. No corresponding HG. form **Salzling*.
- SÄVLING, juniper. From the Latin name *Juniperus sabina*.
- *SCHÄRLING, Schärtling, *heracleum sphondylium*, the Swiss name of what is more generally known as *Bärenklaue*. From *Scharte*, because of the indented leaves.
- *SCHMELZZLING, *boletus luteus* and a species of apple. On account of the shining skin.
- *SCHÖBERLING, applied to various plants, among them the fungus *clavaria botrytis*. Possibly from the place of growth: Schober, Heuschober.
- SIBERLING, recorded by Feldmann, and Sibilling, by Davis, are identical and should not be given separately.
- *SPEIERLING, *pirus aucuparia*, *Deutsches Wb. s. v. Spierling* is probably connected with *Sperwerbaum*, as indicated by the south German variants *Sperbebeere*, *Sperbel*.
- SÜBLING, Sillingwurz, *lilium martagon*. Pritzel from oral tradition. It is apparently a corruption and transfer from *Silge*, which is derived from *-selinum* in *petroselinum*. See Heinsius *s. v. Silge*.

TÄUBLING, Tälbling, *agaricus piperatus* and with qualifying adjectives applied also to many other fungi, because poisonous plants were popularly supposed to make the victim mad. Compare the innumerable names: Tollwurz, Tollkirsche, Tobhafer, etc.

TERLINK, Terlingbaum, *cornus mas*. So called in LG. territory. Possibly from LG. *Tarl* (*Tarrel*), dice or cube. See *Deutsches Wb.* s. v. *Tarl*; Schiller-Lübben s. v. *Terlink*.

TOBERLING, *lolium temulentum*, Tobhafer, Nemnich. See Täubling.

WERBESKÜMLENG. Transylvanian corruption. See Kündling.

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CHAUCER'S *METAMORPHOSEOS*

For Chaucer's use of the Greek genitive singular *Metamorphoseos* instead of the plural *Metamorphoseon* in referring to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* in the Introduction to the *Man of Lawes Tale* (l. 93) no explanation, I think, has hitherto been offered. Skeat says: "It was common to cite thus, by a title in the *genitive case*, since the word *Liber* was understood. There is, however, a slight error in this substitution of the singular for the plural; the true title being P. Ovidii Nasonis *Metamorphoseon Libri Quindecim*."¹

The purpose of this note is to show that the "slight error" was not Chaucer's alone but was a common one in the MSS. and early editions of Ovid.

In the lists of MSS. taken from the catalogues of the libraries of the Middle Ages there are four of Ovid with the title *Metamorphoseos*. As these lists often refer to the *Metamorphoses* as *Ovidius Magnus* or *Major*, we have now no means of telling how many others had this title, *Metamorphoseos*.²

One of the oldest and best extant MSS. of the *Metamorphoses* is an eleventh century MS. known as the Codex Marcianus Florentinus 225, formerly in the Bibliotheca Dominicanorum S. Marci, but now preserved in the Bibliotheca Laurentina. This MS. is given by Riese³ as having the title *Metamorphoseos*. Otto Korn⁴

¹ *Oxford Chaucer*, v, 141.

² Manitius, *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F., 47. *Philologisches aus alten Bibliothekskatalogen*, pp. 31-36.

³ A. Riese, *Carmina P'Ovidii Nasonis*, Lipsiae, 1872, vol. II, *Metamorphoses*, Praefatio, p. x.

⁴ O. Korn, *P. Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon Libri XV*, Berlin, 1880, p. i, note.

also cites this same Codex Marcianus Florentinus 225 as beginning, *P'Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoseos Liber I cum suis narrationibus incip.*⁵

Another ms., known as Codex Amplonianus prior Erfurtanus Numero I, of the twelfth or thirteenth century, is cited by Grau⁶ as having the title, *Incipit I Liber Ovidii Metamorphoseos*.

Moreover in a ms. of Guido delle Colonne's (Guido de Columna) *Liber de Casu Trojae* preserved in the library of Harvard University, Ovid's work is referred to as *Methamorphoseos*.⁷ It is interesting to note that the copyist of this ms. says he copied it between April and September 1353, a date within Chaucer's life time. It is, of course, well established that Chaucer was familiar with Guido's work.

The frequent use of the title *Metamorphoseos* caused considerable discussion among the commentators as to what was the true title of the book. Burmann⁸ quotes from three of these. The first, Raphael Regius of the fifteenth century, argues for using the title *Metamorphoseos*, urging that the theme of the whole work is "transmutation," though of many kinds.⁹

The second commentator whom Burmann quotes is Micyllus (1503-58), who, though admitting the weight of the arguments for the plural, decides to let the title stand as in former editions, *Metamorphoseos*.¹⁰

Farnaby (1575-1647), the third commentator quoted by Burmann, says that on account of the unity of the work it is often written *Metamorphosis*. But he argues that there are many trans-

⁵ Hugo Magnus in his edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Berlin, 1914 describes this ms. and gives the title as reading, *P'Ovidii Nasonis Metamorphoses Liber I cum suis narrationibus incip.* But *Metamorphoses* here is apparently an oversight on the part of the proof reader, for the grammatical construction would not allow this reading.

⁶ R. Grau, *De Ovidii Metamorphoseon codice Amploniano Priore*, Diss. Halle, 1892, p. 35.

⁷ Lydgate also in his *Troy Book*, I, 567-8 has

That Ovyde lyst recorde hym silve
Methamorphoseos, his famus dedis twelve.

⁸ Ovidius, II, Notis Burmanni, Amsterdam, 1727, p. 7.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

formations and that the title is frequently written *Metamorphoses*, furthermore that certain mss. prefer the title in the plural.¹¹

Nicolaus Heinsius (1620-81)¹² gave the weight of his authority to the reading *Metamorphoseon* as follows:

METAMORPHOSEON LIBER PRIMUS. Nihil verius hac lectione, quam optimus liber Berneggerianus, alter codicum splendidissimi Equitis ac Baroneti Rogerii Twisden, et Patauinus Sancti Joannis in Viridario agnoscunt sub finem quoque voluminis ex Balthasaris Moreti V, Cl. codicibus unus, et initio libri septimi Mediceus primae notae sic exhibebant. Neque aliter Graeca horum librorum Metaphrasis Planudae. Reliqui METAMORPHOSEOS, perperam: uti Farnabius quoque iam vidit. Genuina huius poematis inscriptio extat apud Senecam patrem Epitome Controuers. lib. III. cap. VII, etc.

It will be noticed that Heinsius after citing several authorities to establish the soundness of the title *Metamorphoseon* says that *the rest* wrongly have *Metamorphoseos*.

Further evidence of numerous early editions with the title in the singular is to be found in an "Index Editionum" prefixed to the first volume of an edition of Ovid's works in the Studiis Societatis Bipontinae. In this index are listed thirteen editions with the title *Metamorphoseos* and twelve with *Metamorphosis*.¹³ The first of these editions bears the date of 1479 and the last 1543. The persistence of the singular form appears in an edition at Frankfort in 1601,¹⁴ where the Greek letters ΩΣ are used with the rest of the word in Latin spelling, *MetamorphoseΩΣ*. J. C. Jahn in his edition, 1832,¹⁵ gives the following explanation of the title of the poem:

Poëma inscriptum est Graeco vocabulo *Metamorphoses* cum Latinum *transformationum* vocabulum, ut videtur, nondum inventum esset, sed Quintiliani tempore demum novaretur. V. Bähr, Geschichte der Roem. Literatur, p. 118. Atque hanc inscriptionem cum scriptores veteres, Seneca, Quintilianus, Tertullianus, Fulgentius, Servius et Priscianus, tum Planudes et optimi libri mss.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹² *Heinsii Commentar. in Ovidium*, Tom. II, Lipsiae, 1758, p. 425.

¹³ *Publii Ovidii Nasonis Opera* cum notitia Literaria, volumen primum, Argentorati, 1807, pp. xlii ff.

¹⁴ *Ovidii Opera*, Tom. I, Frankfort, 1601.

¹⁵ *P. Ovidii Nasonis Opera Omnia*, Lipsiae, 1832, vol. II, Tom. I, Introductio, p. 4.

agnoscunt et confirmant. In deterioribus recentioribusque codicibus minus apte singulari numero *Metamorphosis* totum opus nuncupatur.

From the foregoing it would appear that Chaucer's use of *Metamorphoseos* was in accord with the best scholarship of his time.

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A SCENE IN *THE FATAL DOWRY*

Not much is known of the plot-sources of Massinger and Field's tragedy, *The Fatal Dowry*. When I edited the play as my Princeton University Doctor's dissertation, I brought together in the Introduction the few and obvious facts which we possess on that subject: that the story of Charalois' self-immolation to secure burial for his father's corpse is that of Cimon and Miltiades as told by Valerius Maximus; that the action is located in fifteenth century Burgundy immediately after the overthrow of Charles the Bold; and that a Spanish original for the intrigue of the last three acts has been conjectured but never discovered. Recently, however, I have come upon what I believe to be the source of one of the most important scenes in the play—the most dramatic scene of all, the "big situation" of the tragedy.

The fourth act, it will be remembered, works up to a climax when Charalois brings his erring wife before her own father, of whom he demands an impromptu judicial sitting and exercise of his customary powers. The father, Rochfort, is visibly shaken, whereupon Charalois produces a handkerchief to bind before the old man's eyes, explaining, on Rochfort's shrinking query as to his purpose, that the judge must be protected against the partiality which the sight of his own daughter might stir in him. The scene is well handled, well psychologized; Rochfort forces himself to proceed, hears the testimony, and when Beaumelle herself pleads guilty, is so much moved with indignation at her unworthiness that he not only declares she must die, but, tearing off the bandage as no longer needed, justifies his decision with powerful arguments. Only when Charalois executes the decree and Rochfort sees his daughter dead at his feet, does nature break forth in passionate revulsion.

I find a striking parallel to this scene in *The Poor Man's Comfort*, by Robert Daborne, an obscure author's obscure play, scarcely accessible save in A. E. H. Swaen's reprint in *Anglia*, XXI. Here Gisbert, the "Poor Man," has recently been honored and elevated to the position of Chief Justice. He is unexpectedly confronted by his daughter, Urania, and her husband, Lucius, arraigned for murder. Lucius had just been reconciled to his devoted wife after a long alienation, when Flavia, a courtesan with whom he had been intimate, abused and attacked her, and was stabbed by him. Flavia's mother presses the charge, and Lucius and Urania each seeks to claim the deed and so to acquit the other. As a father, Gisbert pleads for them both before his colleagues, and gains a verdict in their favor; then, declaring that he must now discharge his other function, he reassumes the rôle of a judge, and condemns them both to death. When he pronounces sentence, his feelings almost master him, and he blindfolds himself that he may not falter. Only the interposition of the King saves Lucius and Urania and enables the play to live up to its title-page promise of being a tragi-comedy.

The general similarity of situation, especially in view of the common detail of covering the eyes to repress the clamor of a father's heart, argues a connection between these two scenes. Its probability is strengthened by a consideration of the fact that Daborne had some intimacy with both Massinger and Field in the second decade of the seventeenth century—as witness, among other things, their well-known begging letter to Henslowe for an advance on a play in which the trio collaborated along with Fletcher. And if Boyle is correct in dating *The Poor Man's Comfort* 1617 (*Engl. Studien*, XXVI, 365-9), we have further and perhaps still stronger ground for presumption; for *The Fatal Dowry*, as I have shown in my edition of that play, was most probably written shortly afterwards,—1618-9.

Indeed, if it were not for the external evidence for dating the plays, I should have been inclined to believe that *The Poor Man's Comfort* succeeded and borrowed from *The Fatal Dowry*, rather than *vice versa*. In the hands of Massinger the episode is fresh, natural, highly dramatic; with Daborne it is somewhat forced, perfunctory, and "stagey." For example Rochfort is blinded perforce, and only then can begin a task from which he shrinks; Gisbert deliberately makes theatric the opposition of his alternate

rôles of a father and a judge, and only at the end finds himself melting, whereupon he binds his own eyes. He hastens to condemn his daughter without careful inquiry as to her guilt, for his chief concern seems to be to exhibit himself as one who is incorruptible. As a matter of fact, Urania was innocent! Here we have the straining for effect, the exaggeration which we should anticipate in the imitation rather than in the original of a true and powerful scene. But we have definite knowledge that Daborne had left the stage and become a clergyman by 1618; and while *The Fatal Dowry* could *conceivably* have been written anywhere between 1616 and the spring of 1619 (the time during which Field was with the King's Men) or even earlier, the evidence all points toward its composition near the very end of that period.¹

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¹In fact, there is ground for speculating that Field severed his connection with the stage while this tragedy was being written, and so did less of it than was originally apportioned to him. It is well known that Massinger customarily wrote the first and last scenes of plays in which he collaborated. In *The Fatal Dowry* we find the first act his, the second act Field's, three-fourths of the third act his, its remaining quarter and the long first scene of Act IV Field's, and the rest of Act IV his—this arrangement giving the more experienced Massinger the "big scene" of the play. Up to that point the alternation has been regular, and we should expect Field to write the first half of Act V, down to the trial, and Massinger the rest, a division which would not only let the latter conclude the play, but also give him a chance at his especial forte, a forensic scene; while Field would have the comedy of V, i, in which he was better than Massinger, and the reconciliation of Charalois and Romont—naturally his, since he had been the one to present their quarrel. But as it turned out, Massinger wrote all of Act V; yet there are a few traces of Field's hand in that earlier half of it which he ought to have written,—as there are nowhere else in the Massinger share of the play, save in the latter part of I, ii. These traces would suggest either that Field had done something towards discharging his contracted task in Act V before he abandoned it, and that Massinger incorporated a tiny bit of this something in his own eventual writing of the scenes; or else that Field, after Massinger wrote it, had the curiosity to inspect the work which he himself had given over, and slightly revised it. We have no evidence that this apparent withdrawal by Field from the play was caused by his retirement from the King's Men; but as we have other reason for dating *The Fatal Dowry* at least *very close* to the time of that retirement, such a hypothesis is certainly the natural one first to occur to us.

REVIEWS

L'Évolution du verbe en anglo-français (XII^e-XIV^e siècles). Thèse pour le doctorat présentée à la faculté des lettres de l'université de Paris par F. J. Tanquerey. Paris: Champion, 1915. xxiv + 868 pages.

Recueil de lettres anglo-françaises (1265-1399). Thèse complémentaire présentée, etc., par F. J. Tanquerey. Paris: Champion, 1916. lx + 180 pages.

The first of these two volumes begins with an introduction of about ten pages, followed by a "bibliographie" listing the most important texts, which is divided into "ouvrages littéraires" (1110-1397, with mention of editions used and the printed studies consulted), and "ouvrages non littéraires" (letters, political and diplomatic texts, etc.). Of both these classes of texts the author takes constant account, and the forms he cites show the spellings at successive periods of the three centuries. A large number of grammatical works and studies on various special subjects, some on Anglo-French, others on continental French, were also used, but no complete list of these is given. After the bibliography, which is dated at "Saint-Andrews, mai 1914," comes a paragraph of thanks to "M. Antoine Thomas tout d'abord, notre maître,"—a name which at once prepossesses the reader in the author's favor,—and to others. This is dated "Lorient, juillet 1914"; and finally (p. xxiv) we read a note explaining that the work was printed during the war and the proofs had to be corrected hastily "pendant les loisirs que me laissaient mes-devoirs militaires." This is dated "*A bord du Tibre, Octobre 1914.*"

It appears, then, that the thesis as a whole was finished, or practically so, before the outbreak of the war, and we may examine it as if it had been printed then, making due allowance for misprints and for possible infelicities of expression which would have been corrected in the proof-reading if circumstances had been favorable.

At the outset it may be said that the author has accumulated a large body of material and has arranged it according to a plan which, as will appear presently, I think an unfortunate one. He has discussed his material with conscientious care. He shows a

real aptitude for linguistic investigations, not merely for collection of material, but also for intelligent discussion. This appears, for instance, in the treatment of the final *t* in the third person singular, and in that of the infinitives in *-eir* and *-er*.

Since Anglo-French, whether it be called a dialect of French or not, certainly came from continental French, one requisite for a competent account of its history is a knowledge of early continental French, and, on account of the close relations with the continent, especially with Normandy and the north of France, there is needed a knowledge of the later changes of the language in France. After the political separation of Normandy from England we may expect influences from the continent to change gradually, to show themselves rather through the written than the spoken forms of the language, but this kind of influence can hardly be expected to show itself at once; it would be likely to appear only after a certain lapse of time, perhaps half a century or so, as Anglo-French gradually loses ground and the French of France (not necessarily the language of Paris, or Central French only) has to be more and more consciously taught in England. In any case it should be remembered that the true source of Anglo-French, except for some learned words and spellings, is continental French and not Latin or Vulgar Latin, and that continental French (again be it said, not necessarily Parisian French only) was inevitably looked upon as the standard or good French during the whole existence of Anglo-French, so far at least as anybody ever considered that matter.

Mr. Tanquerey's arrangement of his material is to put in a first part, "Les Formes," filling over 700 pages, and apparently meant to give the facts without explanation, first the personal endings in six chapters, one for each of the singular and the plural endings; this section on personal endings is called "Livre premier" (pp. 1-276); then comes Book II, "Les Modes" (indic., subj., imper., infin., partic., and, as a sixth chapter, "Les Inchoatifs"); this book ends on p. 543; next we have, as Book III, the tenses (pp. 547-741); and finally comes the second part (pp. 745-862), intended to explain the changes due to phonetic causes or to analogy, with a chapter on the influence of Latin and of continental French dialects, and a brief final chapter headed "Conclusions générales."

Evidently this plan might easily lead to repetitions and even to some confusion, and these consequences appear sometimes on closer

examination. The remarks in the Introduction, pp. ix, x, are far from satisfactory as a justification of the arrangement. The lack of an index of all the verb forms cited (such an index is announced on an accompanying slip for early publication) makes itself very seriously felt. It is not an easy book to read, and it is rather hard to judge it without at times unintentionally doing injustice to the author. It is possible that I have failed to find some things that are really in the book and of which I made no note in my first reading.

If the personal endings are taken up first it would seem that no such endings should be postponed for treatment under a later heading, or at least, if that is ever thought necessary, a reference should be given in the proper place to such later treatment; and also that a special section should be devoted to alterations of the stem, such as are seen in Old French in *aidier*, *mangier*, *parler*, *tróver*, etc. (now to be found only, if at all fully, in various places). With these two subjects adequately treated, the forms without distinction of person, as infinitives, participles, and gerunds, could have a section to themselves. The inchoatives, now strangely placed under moods, would naturally go under alterations of the stem. There would doubtless be some difficulty in details, but such a plan would in my opinion be easier to carry out and would be less annoying to readers. Why are the full endings *-eie*, *-oue* (*-oe*) of the imperfect indicative postponed to Bk. III (the tenses) as are the preterites in *ui* (even when that ending is accented) and other preterites, except that in *-ai* of the first conjugation? This *-ai* of the first person singular, like the *-ai* of the future, gets a treatment in Bk. I. On p. 657 we find a sort of table showing where have been already treated—in part only—the endings of the imperfect subjunctive, including the first and second persons plural; yet here we find added “quelques précisions sur quelques points que nous ne pouvions pas traiter dans le chapitre des Désinences personnelles, car ils sont particuliers à l'imparfait du subjonctif.” And then we see a page and a half on the endings *-ums* (*-oms*), *-ions*, *-iens*, devoted to the distribution of these, and nearly two pages on the distribution of *-ez* and *-iez* in the second person plural. Here, too, we get information about the syllable which in these two plural persons precedes the accent, and about the stem itself.

Another criticism may be made as to the explanations offered for various forms; namely that explanations are repeatedly given

in the first part, instead of being postponed to the second. Now I do not object to explanations in the first part; rather I should prefer to have all the explanations given as soon as the occasion for them arises, and if any are to be postponed to the (or a) second part I should like a special reference, as exact as possible, to that part. I notice two examples of explanations in the first part (there are several others) because I have to object to what is said in both of them. On p. 32 *haz*, 'I hate' (is *hé* also found in Anglo-French?), is explained by "analogie avec *faz* [< *facio*], analogie amenée probablement par la similitude de *fet* et de *het*." But if both *haz* and *het* come from continental French the explanation is not an Anglo-French problem, and further in continental Old French, as doubtless commonly in Anglo-French, *fet* and *het* do not rime, the *e* not being the same *e*, so that the similitude is really limited to the final *t*.—Pp. 346, 347, we read of *face*, the subjunctive of *faire*, as "terminé assez régulièrement par *ace* . . . *face* se rencontre invariablement dans chaque auteur." Its importance appears, the author thinks, in the action it has exerted on other verbs, and I have no intention of denying this possibility. As to *face* itself, it is of course an entirely regular development from the Latin subjunctive of *facere*. But so is *place* < *placeat*, for which he gives a list of illustrative passages, which list he has tried to make as complete as possible, though he does not claim to have found all there are, and he has overlooked the interesting old spelling *placet* with its final *t* in Roland, v. 358 (Oxford Ms.). He thinks his list suffices to show "que le subjonctif de plaire modelé sur *face* n'a jamais été aussi commun que la forme régulière" [meaning *plaise*]. His own list, doubtless very far from complete, for the form *plaise* (*pleise*) has 11 cases with precise or easily verified references; the one he gives for *place*, with presumably exact references, totals 14, if I have counted rightly. It is not surprising that the analogical and later form *plaise* is common in the fourteenth century, perhaps to the total exclusion of *place*; one might or, rather one should, compare the state of things in continental French.

Since an account of the evolution of the Anglo-French verb, like the history of other features of the language, is properly concerned with changes in the language itself, not merely with spellings, it is plain that the investigator must consider always what the probable pronunciation was, though he cannot always decide that ques-

tion. Our author is too much occupied with the spellings as if they could be entirely trusted. Not that he does not, and indeed he repeatedly does, speak of cases where one or more letters are merely written, but mean nothing; but he does not keep this matter sufficiently before the reader's mind, and apparently does not keep it always before his own. It is unfortunate that he does not seem to think it important to notice whether *u* means the Latin sound or the French *u*, nor whether *e* means an open *e* or a close *e*, to say nothing of other letters. Thus on p. 155 there seems to be a confusion as to the two values of the letter *u*, in the discussion of the word *puet*, *poet*, *poit*, etc. In any case the matter there discussed has nothing to do with the ending of the third person singular.

P. 35. Mention is made, in speaking of a final unoriginal *s* in the first person singular, of *suis*, as one of the few twelfth-century cases, in the *Quatre Livre des Reis*, II. 7. 18, where, it is true, Le Roux de Lincy's text has *ki suis-jo*, but the later edition due to E. Curtius (*Gesellschaft für roman. Lit.*, vol. 26, published in 1911), which is not mentioned in the *bibliographie*, reads *kí súi jó*. Nor is the other form with final *s* (it really has a final *z*, and probably rightly so), *recreiz*, *Roland*, 3892, any better for the author's purpose. In the first place it is a second person singular, not a first, and it is also an imperative in sense, as a glance at the line should show at once. In the next place the Oxford Ms. reading is itself evidence for the imperative use of the second person singular pres. indic. But this question cannot be dealt with here; cf., however, Nyrop, *Gramm. hist.*, II, 218; Schwan-Behrens, *Gramm.*, § 337; and my note on p. 362, below.

Pp. 218-229. It seems that the distinction between monosyllabic *-iez* and dissyllabic *-iiez* in the second pers. pl. has not been clearly grasped; the spelling *-iez* for both has perhaps caused some confusion. On p. 220 he groups the present subjunctive in [Latin] *-iam* with the imperfect indicative and the conditional as having dissyllabic *-iez*, but he observes in the next paragraph that the imperfect indicative and the conditional "*ne perdent jamais leur i (i syllabique)*," and makes a separate group for these. He has on p. 225 some misgivings about the propriety of his grouping, where it also appears that *saciez*, for instance, in the *Cumpoz*, v. 125, has not dissyllabic *-iez*; *algiez*, *Cumpoz*, 3343, has also monosyllabic *-iez*.—P. 281: "*c'est le verbe manoir qui apparaît sous la forme meignent au vers 983 du Roland d'Oxford.*" But it is far

from certain that this is the verb *manoir* (*maneir*). It is the last word in the line, and the assonance in the laisse is *ei-e*. Stengel reads *meinent* adding in brackets a question mark. Cf. *Zt. f. rom. Philol.*, II, 174. Our author, it may be observed, says, p. 319: "Le verbe mener montre tres tôt une *n* mouillée au subjonctif," but he adds: "on la [la forme *meigne*] trouve pour la première fois au XIII^e siècle." Perhaps it really occurred in the twelfth and produced this analogical indicative form, if the verb in this line really was *mener*. But it may be only a spelling; we do not know that the scribe really pronounced the word as he wrote it.—P. 299: "*aiut* (ad-juvet) " is given as one example of the "*v* final du thème [qui] passe à *u* devant la désinence." It is not explained how the *v* could give an Old French accented *u*, nor why the author does not accept the usual explanation of *aiut* in the present subjunctive.—P. 320. For the present subjunctive of *ester* several references are given to show the ending *-ce*, though none of the forms are printed in full. The same references, with one omission and one or two additions, are repeated on p. 349, and the forms in *-ce*, not written out, are there credited to the verb *estoveir*. I have verified almost all the references, finding (as in all but a few other cases where I have tested them) that the numbers are correct and that the verb is, as I expected, *estoveir*. Probably there was some confusion in the author's notes.

P. 362. The imperative singulars of the first conjugation which occur ending in *-es* are here strangely classed as "impératifs à forme de subjonctif," and the oldest cases (those in the Psalters) are explained as due to translation of the Latin containing *ne* with the subjunctive. In all I count here 23 cases (15 in the Psalters), of which 5 (3 in the Psalters, one of which translates a Latin imperative without accompanying negative) can be in Old French either indicative or subjunctive: *livres* (*bis*), *remembres* (*bis*), *démoustres*. If the explanation offered is correct, it is strange that no unmistakable subjunctive forms for verbs of the first conjugation are mentioned. For the other conjugations 8 examples of the subjunctive are given, and for imperatives in *-s* of these other conjugations might be mentioned on the other hand, from our author's page 373, *dis* (*Folie Tristan*, Oxford, v. 297, and *Quatre Livre des Reis*, I. 20. 6); also *ne faz*. *Adam*, v. 311, and some other cases where the form is clearly not a subjunctive. But the two cases of *dis* should, it seems, be struck out; Bédier's text of the *Folie* has *di*

(v. 299) and Curtius reads *di* in the other passage. Cf. also my note on p. 35, above.—P. 372. The verb *taire* (*taisir*): “la forme *te* [as imperative], quoique étymologique, est isolée [this one case occurs at the end of the fourteenth century] . . . elle est cependant aussi correcte que *fai* de faire, *di* de dire, *sui* de suivre.” What does the author mean by the words *étymologique* and *correct* here and in some other places? The Old French *taiz*, *Roland*, 1026, for instance, should have put him on his guard.—P. 602. Of the “weak” forms of the *ui* preterites, containing in early French *ouï* or *eü* (*soüstes*, *oüstes*, *eüstes*, etc.) he writes:—“. . . la diphtongue *ou*, ou la voyelle *o* en hiatus devant l’*u*. . . *Ou* devait passer à *eu* et cette diphtongue à la voyelle simple *u*. . . La diphtongue étymologique”; and he spells accordingly (not *ouï*, *eü*). But this, which is evidently intentional and evidently wrong, must not lead us to conclude that he is ignorant of the facts, for on p. 621 he says that “la diérèse subsiste pendant tout le XII^e et pendant une grande partie du XIII^e siècle.” It really looks as if for him the word *diphtongue* meant two adjacent vowel letters (not necessarily sounds), whether they stand in the same syllable or not.—P. 714, note. Here he says it is “manifestement impossible” to imagine the infinitives, *overe*, *covere*, *offerre*, etc. [beside *ovrir*, *covrir*, *ofrir*, etc.], with special reference to Gaston Paris’s opinion in *Alexis*, p. 125, that the future *soferai* or *soferrai* is from the infinitive *soferre* (nearer to Lat. *sufferre*) which he (Paris) said existed. Our author adds: “Du reste nous n’avons jamais rencontré *sufere*.” To find *soferre* (and *offerre* too) is no difficult task. Godefroy’s *Dictionnaire* is easily consulted and in vol. VII, p. 498, is listed *souferre* with four citations, and in the second one is to be found *offerre* also, in rime with *souffere* and two other words. *Offerre*, it is true, is not in Godefroy in its alphabetical place. Very likely Paris, if he were living, would not now say that the future forms in question were formed from these infinitives; he might prefer to look on *soferre* and *offerre* as back-formations from the future.

Pp. 746-47. One of the most noteworthy characteristics of the second part of the work we are examining, the explanatory part, is the attempt to diminish the importance of analogy, in changes of verb forms, by increasing that of regular phonetic change. The principle from which the author starts and which seems to him “la condition de toute étude scientifique” is “que l’on ne doit faire

intervenir l'analogie que lorsque toute autre explication est impossible [which goes too far; "invraisemblable" would be better]; si, pour une forme donnée, on peut montrer que l'action normale des lois a *pu* [italics his] produire les modifications qu'on y étudie, on devra s'en tenir à cette explication." There need be no objection to the sentence beginning with *si* if the laws are already established and if we substitute *dû* for *pu*. Without these qualifications his principle can be accepted only as making the phonetic explanation more or less probable, just as each case of supposed analogical action is more or less probable according to the circumstances of the individual case. He discusses in this part at considerable length the value of the written (feminine) *e*, and his discussion atones to a great extent for the treatment of that subject in the first part.

In this second part perhaps the most interesting of the detailed discussions is the chapter on the "influences extérieures"; that is, of Latin and the continental French dialects. The author finds much evidence for the influence especially of Walloon and Picard after about 1250. He seems, however, not to see all the significance of the evidence he presents for influence of written continental French. It points toward the conclusion that French was becoming more and more a foreign language in England. The chapter headed "Conclusions générales" is good. It shows that, in spite of the somewhat confusing arrangement of his first part, he has really been more successful in digesting his material than might have been expected.

The "thèse complémentaire" contains 164 letters, of which 114 have not been previously printed. The selection has been made from a very large number preserved. The introduction gives a list of the various sources which contain, and of some which may contain, letters in French written in England. Those which are here printed vary in length from a few lines to one of over three printed pages; the average length seems to be rather less than one page. There are historical notes on the persons concerned and a vocabulary which seems adequate in general. I miss *merym* (*meryn*), in letters 74, 126; it is O. Fr. *mairien* in Godefroy. The introduction also contains a grammatical study, not intended to include all details, which takes up the subjects of phonology and

morphology, with about four pages on points of syntax, for which a fuller comparison with continental French would have been in place.

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Rousseau and Romanticism. By IRVING RABBITT. Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1919. xxiii + 426 pp.

Professor Babbitt has been able to illustrate his theme as well as to expound it. His book is itself an example of the persistent and pervasive influence of the habits of mind and tendencies of thought which it describes. The author is a romanticist, first of all, in a very general sense which he has himself defined: "Every imaginable extreme, the extreme of reaction as well as the extreme of radicalism, goes with romanticism; every genuine mediation between extremes is just as surely unromantic" (p. 97). He appears constitutionally averse to any "genuine mediation between extremes." His characteristic procedure is to heighten the contrasts between certain historic movements to the utmost, and then to identify himself with one side of these exaggerated antitheses. To look for their common grounds, to seek what is central rather than eccentric in each doctrine, to extract even from an error the truth of which it is an hypertrophy—these possibilities seem rarely to occur to him. As an historiographer of ideas he abounds in fresh and striking insights, but is lacking in balance, proportion, the sense of measure, and the sense of fact. It is history colored—and highly colored—by his own temperament and enlivened by his prejudices, not a cool, circumspect and 'objective' survey, that Mr. Babbitt gives us. He is, again, 'romantic' in the bold individualism of his aesthetic judgments. In these matters he unhesitatingly prefers his "individual sense (*sens propre*) to the general sense of mankind (*sens commun*)," and he has attained the distinction of having damned perhaps a larger number of eminent and long accepted writers than any other modern critic.

His romanticism is shown, moreover, not merely in these characteristics of his general temper, but also in specific philosophical ideas. The metaphysics which forms the background of his thought is, like that of many of the romantics, a kind of illusionism, Indian

in its ultimate sources, as, in part, was theirs. Not merely the external world, but experience itself, in so far as it is finite and changing, all the concrete stuff of human life, is but a veil of *Mâyā* drawn across the face of an incomprehensible Reality; "man is cut off from immediate contact with anything abiding and therefore worthy to be called real, and condemned to live in an element of fiction or illusion" (p. xv). Nevertheless, Mr. Babbitt also believes, with many romantics, that we have a direct "perception of something that is set above the flux," of the One which abides behind the phantasmagoria of the Many, and that "with the aid of the imagination" we can in some fashion express this in art and in life. He adheres, also, to what may be called the typical romantic theory of knowledge, reviving, with only a difference of terms, the antithesis of *Verstand* and *Vernunft*, and the doctrines of the German Romantic School respecting the office and rank of these two faculties. The mere "intellect" is not the guide of life nor the means to an acquaintance with the true nature of things. It has a "purely instrumental value in the service of outer perception" (p. 170); but a "superrational perception" alone "satisfies the craving for immediacy" in the apprehension of reality (pp. 166-169). The ideas and almost the language are pure Schellingianism. Mr. Babbitt likes to dilate upon "the warm immediacy of perception," which he regards as the original and only genuine source of knowledge; just so was *unmittelbar* the favorite word of the romantic epistemologists.

In the author's ethical ideas the influence of the romantic tradition is scarcely less apparent. Moral truth, also, is revealed by the individual's "immediate perception," and is by no means to be identified with "the law of the community." "This law, the convention of a particular time and place, is always but a very imperfect image, a mere shadow indeed of the unwritten law which, being above the ordinary rational level, is infinite and incapable of final formulation"; and the "unwritten law" will sometimes authorize those who are so fortunate as to possess it to defy "the convention of their time and country" (p. 48). Mr. Babbitt here opens the way for the moral individualism which ends in social anarchy. Nevertheless, his own intuitions find the moral temper of Christianity congenial; and upon this theme, also, he echoes some familiar utterances of older romantic writers. Christianity, he observes, has, in its genuine forms, always meant "a sense of a

deep inner cleft between man's ordinary self and the divine." In thus insisting upon the reality of a "civil war in the cave" of human nature, it has expressed the profoundest of all moral truths and rendered its greatest service to mankind; and it has rightly drawn from this truth the lesson of humility, that virtue which is "the special ornament and crown of the Christian religion." So Chateaubriand long ago wrote that it is Christianity "qui a révélé notre double nature et montré les contradictions de notre être," and that for the Christian "la vanité est la racine du mal." With Christianity's tenderness for the weak, on the other hand, and its 'democratic,' not to say revolutionary, side, Mr. Babbitt has small sympathy. The "extreme of reaction" is the form which the romantic excess takes in him; and in this too he is in line with the dominant tendency of the movement.

The foregoing paragraphs are not offered as a just and balanced account of Mr. Babbitt's opinions and intellectual affinities. While everything that I have thus far said seems to me true, the whole is intentionally one-sided and incomplete; for it is presented as an imitation of Mr. Babbitt's own method as an expositor. If he had included himself in his survey, and in doing so had adhered to his usual procedure, it is in some such fashion as this that he would have written of himself—except that there would have been more critical acid and a freer way with facts. He searches everywhere in the literature of the past two centuries for manifestations of a trinity of heresies, "Romanticism, Rousseauism and Baconianism," which being three are, in his eyes, yet one. Such manifestations are not difficult to find, if you go about the business in the right inquisitorial manner. For on the one hand, the marks of the presence of these heresies, as defined by Mr. Babbitt, are very numerous and very various—and one is good if another fails. And on the other hand, he seldom troubles to consider the *total* character of the opinions or aesthetic qualities of the writers to whom his inquisition is applied. He goes through modern literature making a tendencious selection of passages torn from their contexts, or of single aspects of complex and balanced, or self-contradictory, doctrines. By these means he is able to compile a species of *Index Expurgatorius* of the most comprehensive scope. One gets the impression that Mr. Babbitt really thinks that the greater part of the literature of the last two hundred years ought never to have been written; and that, being written, it ought not to be read,

unless, perhaps, as an awful warning *pour décourager les autres*, and by those only who have first been soundly indoctrinated against its corrupting influence.

The perversion of history which results from such a method, at its worst, may be illustrated from Mr. Babbitt's account of Schiller. In the *Aesthetic Letters*, we are told, Schiller "looked for the driving power [in art] which the cold reason of Kant lacked, not to a supersensuous reality, not to insight, in short, but to emotion" (p. 43). Schiller in these letters, while his intentions were no doubt "noble," "prepared the way for the romantic conception of the creative imagination," according to which "imagination is to be free, not merely from outer formalistic constraint, but from any constraint whatever" (p. 70). He held that "one may assume safely the aesthetic attitude, or, what amounts to the same thing, allow oneself to be guided by feeling," since, with Rousseau, he had "faith in man's native goodness" and therefore assumes "that feeling is worthy of trust" (p. 43). "By encouraging the notion that it is possible to escape from neo-classical didacticism only by eliminating masculine purpose from art, he opens the way for the worst perversions of the aesthete." For Schiller,

"as soon as anything has a purpose it ceases to be aesthetic. Thus the aesthetic moment of the lion, he says, is when he roars not with any definite design, but out of sheer lustiness and for the pure pleasure of roaring" (*ibid.*).

Now this is not absolutely without a basis in the *Aesthetische Briefe*; Mr. Babbitt could point to passages which, if their context is wholly disregarded, bear some resemblance to the theses which he imputes to Schiller. Yet as a general account of the characteristic contentions and tendency of the *Letters*, the statements quoted (which are nowhere corrected or qualified by Mr. Babbitt) are an almost complete falsification of the facts. Schiller in reality insists that the "freedom" which is attained in the aesthetic experience is "something absolute and supersensuous," and that in it man is somehow raised above the temporal flux, though by the aid of a sensible presentation. So far from desiring to "free the imagination from any constraint whatever," Schiller declares that "the essence of beauty is not lawlessness, but the harmony of laws, not caprice, but the highest inner necessity." So far from assert-

ing the "native goodness of man," Schiller takes as the point of departure of his entire argument the premise that "the support which is requisite to maintain society" in the evolution of a higher social order, "findet sich nicht in dem natürlichen Charakter des Menschen, der, selbstsüchtig and gewalttätig, vielmehr auf Zerstörung als auf Erhaltung der Gesellschaft zielt." So far from holding, in these letters, that, either in art or life, one may "safely allow oneself to be guided by feeling," he constantly affirms the indispensability of a principle of "pure form" and "unity," which has "immutability for its object" and imposes limits upon the changefulness and insatiability of feeling—which, in short, is manifestly next of kin to that "inner check" of which Mr. Babbitt and Mr. Paul More delight to discourse. It is, indeed, true that in one sense Schiller would exclude "purpose" from art, but what he plainly means by this is that art must be disinterested; that its function is not to gratify sensuous desire, nor to convey information, nor even to teach specific 'morals,' but to achieve 'beauty.' Yet the main thesis of the *Aesthetische Briefe* is that art *in general* has an essentially ethical function, that it is the first stage in the moral discipline of mankind. By habituating men to the love of form, harmony and measure in sensible things, and in those free and disinterested activities in which men engage when the pressure of their primary physical needs is removed, art serves as a propaedeutic to morality.

"So wie sich ihm [dem Menschen] von aussen her, in seiner Wohnung, seinem Hausgeräte, seiner Kleidung, allmählich die *Form* nähert, so fängt sie endlich an, von ihm selbst Besitz zu nehmen, und anfangs bloss den äussern, zuletzt auch den innern Menschen zu verwandeln."

Such is the doctrine which Mr. Babbitt sees fit to represent as a gospel of romantic license and a preparation for "the worst perversions of the aesthete."

Even more misleading, if possible, than his account of the *Aesthetic Letters* are Mr. Babbitt's references to Schiller's essay *On Naïve and Sentimental Poetry*. The ideas in this essay, we are told, "grow rather inevitably out of a primitivistic or Rousseauistic conception of nature"; they "reflect the primitivistic trend of the 18th century and at the same time point the way to the working out of the fundamental primitivistic contrast between the

natural and the artificial in the romanticism of the early 19th century." Now the outstanding fact about Schiller's essay, in its relation to Mr. Babbitt's theme, is that it is the most important and most influential *attack* upon "primitivism" made during the 18th century; and that it is so little "Rousseauistic" that it constitutes a direct antithesis to the *Discours de Dijon*. "Dass das Ziel, zu welchem der Mensch durch Cultur *strebt*, demjenigen, welches er durch Natur *erreicht*, unendlich vorzuziehen ist"—that is its epoch-making conclusion. Mr. Babbitt has apparently missed the significance of the writing which is perhaps the most decisive single turning-point in the history with which his book is concerned.

It is partly in consequence of this that he falls into the fundamental historical error which is embodied in his title and pervades most of his treatment of the subject—the error of assuming that "Rousseauism" and Romanticism are essentially one. It is an error in which he has been anticipated by Seillière, Lasserre, and others, and it appears to prevail rather widely among students of French literature. But if the word "Romanticism" is to be used with any historical precision, and in a sense applicable to the doctrines of those writers who were the first to call their own ideals "romantic," then the movement which the term denotes, though it undeniably has some elements in common with "Rousseauism," is in still more significant, and historically pregnant, respects antithetic to the preconceptions and tendencies most characteristic of Rousseau. To make clear the profound distinction, as well as the subsidiary affinities, between the two complexes of ideas, is almost the first requisite for any correct analysis of the meaning and historic trend of the romantic movement; and this requisite Mr. Babbitt seems to me to fail to furnish. I cannot, however, within the limits of this review, go into this question with the thoroughness which it deserves. But I must add that the author's attempted history of the word 'romantic,' though an improvement upon some previous attempts of the kind, is inadequate and, in essential particulars, incorrect, especially as an answer to the question "how the epithet romantic came to be applied to a distinct school" (pp. 95-104).

I have thus far—in view of the province of this journal—considered the book chiefly on its historical side. So regarded, its method appears to me essentially unsound, and its representa-

tions of historical fact frequently misleading; though it also contains a great deal of weighty matter which no serious student of the history of ideas in modern literature can afford to leave unconsidered. It is, however, primarily as moralist rather than as historian that Mr. Babbitt writes. He proffers both a diagnosis of the malady of the age and a remedy for it. The most serious faults of his book doubtless merely illustrate the dangers of any attempt to preach a gospel by means of an interpretation of history. In such a case, the more earnest the moralist, the more justly suspect the historian. For an adequate examination of the ethical and religious doctrine of the book I have no space here. In its preaching of individual self-discipline it assuredly has much that is salutary for this generation. Yet there can be immoderation even in the preaching of restraint; and the error of an apotheosis of "the expansive emotions" is not remedied by the contrary error of an apotheosis of inhibition. To the latter error Mr. Babbitt seems to me to incline not less unmistakably than some of the writers whom he condemns inclined to the former. The one overemphasis is as far removed as the other from the difficult wisdom which consists in seeing life steadily and seeing it whole, with its essential duality of form and content.

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The Life and Works of Friedrich Hebbel. By T. M. CAMPBELL, Ph. D. Boston: Richard G. Badger, The Gorham Press, 1919. \$3.00.

This book is one of uncommon merit. It presents for the first time in the English language a comprehensive study of the foremost German forerunner of the modern drama. When Ibsen witnessed a performance of Hebbel's *Maria Magdalena* in Dresden, he was deeply impressed by the play and expressed astonishment that the Germans should receive his dramas with enthusiasm and neglect their own Hebbel. Heinrich Laube, director of the Hofburgtheater, as early as 1848, soon after Hebbel's arrival in Vienna, said to him bluntly: "Wenn Sie bei der Wahl Ihrer Stoffe nicht immer erst zwei Drittel Ihrer Kräfte aufbieten müssten, um dem Publikum den Gegenstand appetitlich zu machen, so würden Sie

mich, Gutzkow, und uns alle darniederwerfen, dass wir nicht wieder aufstehen könnten." Laube was unconsciously describing the drama of the future, the drama containing a serious though often unpalatable social problem, with its minute and subtle analysis of a situation instead of developing action. Such was the drama which Hebbel wrote, which in the beginning could not make headway against the entertaining, frivolous and conventional art of his contemporaries. Nevertheless Laube's fears were realized in the future, the once popular plays of the "young Germany" group were bowled over in the next generation, never to rise again. Laube's powerful clutch on the leading German stage to be sure prevented full recognition of the genius of his uncompromising rival during the latter's life-time, but several decades later, when the success of the modern drama was assured, he who had prepared the way for Ibsen and the modern drama, came to his own in German-speaking countries. Scholars, critics and players, though not after another debate, crowned him Germany's greatest dramatist of the nineteenth century.

The flood of controversial literature that has appeared since the first thorough-going biography of Hebbel, by Emil Kuh in 1877, has been carefully studied by Professor Campbell, and he presents this vast material unobtrusively, with admirable restraint, in a volume of two hundred and fifty pages. The book challenges comparison at once with that masterful *Lebensbild* by R. M. Werner, also in one volume. Naturally the editor of the historical-critical edition of the works, diaries and letters of Hebbel, has the advantage of experience, he paints with bolder strokes and richer color, his work seems to flow as from a single casting. But neither is unity lacking in the equally meritorious work of the younger writer. Here also we get the vivid impression of a grim and determined struggle against almost insuperable difficulties. Poverty, hunger, defeat and disappointment are arrayed against genius conscious of its strength, yet strained to the breaking point by its inflexibility. The ill-fated Kleist despaired in a similar struggle, Richard Wagner like Hebbel of tougher fibre, fought to the bitter end and won. Professor Campbell also shows us the intimate relation existing between his author's life and works, for Hebbel lived his works and grew in strength the more he touched the soil from which he sprang.

Professor Campbell's book is better adapted to American readers,

it presents more details of the kind that render the subject more comprehensible to them. Systematically all phases of Hebbel's work are treated, not only the dramas, but also the poems and prose work. Hebbel's much discussed philosophy receives a clear exposition, and is given an historical setting (p. 117) :

It is easy to see, that Hebbel spoke the vocabulary of his times. His use of the *Idea*, the *Universal*, the *Individual*, of the conflict between these elements, of tragic guilt, and so forth, reminds us instantly of the thinkers by whom he was surrounded. And we shall see later that his conception of the State, as embodied in theory and practice, connects him equally as well with his generation. Therefore it has been asserted, on the basis of extended investigation, that Hebbel's entire system of "criticism and esthetics is a selection, a rounding out, and an occasional deepening, of problems of his time, undertaken by a philosophical nature."

Between Scheunert's interpretation of Hebbel's theory of the tragedy and that of Walzel, Professor Campbell favors the latter, who would free the poet from the reproach of metaphysical dogmatism. The pantragic view of life as related to the individual, who is hopelessly doomed in the struggle with the inert mass, he regards as the main structure of the poet's applied philosophy. Yet he sees a decided development in the direction of a more conciliatory view of life.

In the revolutionary struggle of 1848 Hebbel was a radical only up to a certain point, hailing the overthrow of Metternich and extolling the freedom of the press, but after that he was a member of a commission to request the emperor to return to Vienna. As in life so in his theory of the tragedy Hebbel concedes an equal right to individualism or revolution on the one hand, and to law and order as embodied in the state idea on the other. Nowhere of course is this better illustrated than in the play *Agnes Bernauer*, where the poet argues a case for a deed of violence, of manifest injustice, committed for the protection of the state. Quoting the poet's own words (p. 189) :

The individual, however splendid and great, however noble and fair, must under all circumstances yield to society. For in society and its necessary formal expression, the state, humanity lives as a whole, while in the individual only one single phase of it is unfolded.

Ibsen was not as compromising, but presents no solution as Hebbel does. The modern drama followed Ibsen, it is radical, revolutionary.

This attitude of the radical conservative or conservative radical is found also in Hebbel's treatment of the problem of woman. It is generally conceded that the poet's noblest and grandest creations are women. In this respect he is the continuator of Kleist and Grillparzer. Hebbel's psychological analysis is more subtle, his portraiture more modern, he openly advocates equal social rights for his heroines, he justifies their struggles to obtain those rights as well as their revenge for acts of injustice. Yet the same poet would balk at the mention of equal political rights as at something threatening to undermine the public safety, he would oppose woman suffrage, though his eloquent, poetic pleas for justice prepared the way for its seemingly sudden realization in the present-day revolutionary epoch.

Admirable is Professor Campbell's tactful treatment of those phases of Hebbel's life where we are repelled by his egotism, by his wanton disregard of the rights of those about him, as for instance his relation to the unfortunate Elise Lensing. We are led to understand the tragic conflict between gratitude and the duty of genius to be true to itself.

It is hardly to be estimated a fault in the book before us, if it gives less proportionate space to the poet's formative period, in order to leave more for the discussion of his mature period. Perhaps Tieck's *Genoveva* should be given more consideration in the discussion of Hebbel's drama on the same theme, the poet's denial of any influence not being conclusive evidence. The bibliography at the end of the volume would unquestionably be far more helpful if arranged in the order generally maintained in a reference catalogue. But these are minor considerations indeed.

Professor Campbell's book should be welcomed as the best introduction to the life and works of Hebbel in the English language. It is destined to become the indispensable guide to the study of Hebbel in this country and is bound to make the great dramatist more widely known and appreciated. Its scholarly comprehensiveness, its sound critical judgment and its grace of style make it a model of its kind. The example 'twere well to imitate with much needed studies of the life and works of Kleist, and Grillparzer, or of Gerhart Hauptmann and other modern dramatists.

A. B. FAUST.

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CORRESPONDENCE

NOTES ON PRADON

I. According to his biographers no separate verses of Pradon are known other than his *Impromptu à Mlle Bernard* and his versified answers to Boileau's *Satires*. LaChèvre¹ cites only the *Réponse à la Satire X. du Sieur D****. The compilation called *Nouvelle Bibliothèque de Société*² contains two unknown epigrams of Pradon, probably taken from a manuscript collection of epigrams or copied from another compilation:—

CONTRE UN FILOU

Colin, à ce qu'on dit, trois Archers inhumains
T'ayant pris à l'écart, faisoient mal tes affaires;
Mais tu t'es finement dérobé de leurs mains:
C'est le moindre larcin qu'on t'ait jamais vu faire.

* * * * *

Faut-il être étonné qu'à la jeune Isabelle,
Malgré tout ton esprit, tu plaisais moins que moi?
Tu ne l'entretiens que de toi;
Et je ne l'entretiens que d'elle.

In the same volume³ an epigram is found which his biographers have not collected:

Certain Pradon, bâtard de Melpomène,
Rimant toujours et rimant toujours mal,
Voulut encor exposer sur la scène,
De son génie un avorton fatal.
L'affiche annonce, et tout Paris y vole:
Chacun, avant, eut soin de se munir
D'un gros sifflet, vain projet, soin frivole;
On bâilla tant qu'on ne put s'en servir.

M. B.
D. S.

These initials M. B. D. S. are those of Monsieur Boileau Despreaux. Other of his epigrams in the same collection are signed in the same way.

II. The mother of Pradon was Marguerite DeLastre of Rouen. She was probably the daughter of Charles DeLastre who acquired local fame as a poet and whose verses are cited by Guyot in the *Trois siècles palinodiques*. He was crowned at the annual competition of the "Palinods" in 1614, 1616, 1620, 1623, 1625, and 1627. The father of Pradon's mother must have died before 1635, since

¹ *Bibliographie des Recueils collectifs*, Paris, 1901-1905, III, 486.

² London, 1782, IV, 104.

³ P. 116.

she is mentioned in her marriage act ⁴ as the daughter and heiress of "le feu Charles DeLastre." The accordance of dates goes to show that the poet Charles DeLastre and Pradon's grandfather were the same person. This might explain the poetical strain in the competitor of Racine. The only published verse of DeLastre seems to be the poem printed in the anthology, *Le Cabinet des Muses* of 1619. Saint-Amant calls this poet his friend in *La Vigne* (1627) :—

Cher compatriote de Lâtre,
Humeur que mon ame idolâtre,
Homme à tout faire, esprit charmant,
Pour qui j'avoue estre Normant.

III. "Le ridicule tue," and Boileau has very effectively killed Pradon's reputation. To measure the distance between our appreciation and the evaluation of his work during his lifetime it is instructive to note that as early as 1685, when he had not published his best play, *Regulus*, he was cited in Holland, together with Corneille and Racine, as the highest authority in French dramatic art, and as an example worthy of inspiring the Dutch playwrights. The Dutch poet Bernagie in the Preface of his *Paris en Helene* (1685) discusses poetic justice and defends Corneille's opinion that it can not be styled a fixed rule in tragedy. Virtue, he argues, is always lovable even in the midst of the most frightful and the most unmerited disasters. The virtuous hero must therefore not triumph at the end of the play. "Most of the tragedies of wise antiquity end in this way. *Britannicus*, *Bajaset*, *Piramus* and *Thisbe* etc. testify clearly as to the opinions of Racine, Pradon and others." *Piramus* and *Thisbe* here referred to is Pradon's play of 1674. The members of the influential Dutch literary society of the time, "*Nil Volentibus Arduum*," translated from the plays of Pradon to give their compatriots a taste of what they esteemed the best in the French dramatic art of the time.

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A NOTE ON *The Tempest*

It seems a thankless task to try to locate the island that Shakespeare had in mind in writing his *Tempest*; surely it is only a fairy island, a scene of enchantment not to be found on any map, and forever vanished from human view as completely as Plato's Atlantis. But in spite of this, more than one critic has been tempted to give to these scenes of magic a local habitation and a name. Hunter contended for Lampedusa, Elze for Pantalaria. Many have assumed that the Bermudas were the locality meant:

⁴ Beaurepaire, *Notice sur Pradon*, Rouen, 1899.

but this suggestion has come from a too hasty reading of Ariel's reference to the 'still-vex'd Bermoothes,' whither he had been sent by Prospero to fetch dew. The natural assumption from this passage would certainly be that Ariel does not start from the Bermudas; his point of departure is elsewhere, and, presumably, far distant from them; in this consists the difficulty of his task.

If we cannot locate the island definitely on any map of the world, we can, at any rate, draw certain inferences from the mention of other localities in the play. The travelers, when overtaken by the storm, are returning from Tunis to Italy. Directly after the storm, Ariel says:

For the rest o' the fleet,
Which I dispers'd, they all have met again,
And are upon the Mediterranean float
Bound sadly home for Naples.

Evidently, the island is either in the Mediterranean or near it; if not within the sea itself, then presumably in the ocean west of Gibraltar. This seems the natural sense of the passage; Ariel has restored to the Mediterranean float the ships blown out of it by Prospero's storm. Access from Africa must be fairly easy; not only have these travelers come thence, by Sycorax, the mother of Caliban,

from Argier,
Thou know'st, was banish'd.

If an offender could be banished to the island, it must have been known to the inhabitants of North Africa, and probably not very far away. This would agree perfectly with the suggestion given above, that it was located west of Gibraltar.

In the scene in which we are first informed of the reason for the voyage, as well as the point of departure (2. 1), occurs this bit of dialogue:

Adr. Tunis was never graced before with such a paragon to their queen.

Gon. Not since widow Dido's time. . . .

Adr. 'Widow Dido' said you? You make me study of that. She was of Carthage, not of Tunis.

Gon. This Tunis, sir, was Carthage.

Adr. Carthage?

Gon. I assure you, Carthage.

Doubtless more than one reader has wondered, with Antonio and Adrian, at this head-lugged allusion to Dido and Carthage, and felt inclined to ask with Antonio: 'How came that widow in?' It would be safe to infer, under the circumstances, that something in Shakespeare's reading had recently called his attention to some story about Carthage.

We may be sure of one fact as to his reading at this time; in this same scene Gonzalo paraphrases several lines from Montaigne's essay *Of the Caniballes*, modifying the wording of Florio's translation only enough to make it fit into verse. This is one of the

few things certain as to the source of the play. But, so far as I know, it has not heretofore been noted that this same essay contains a reference to an island similar in every respect to Shakespeare's, and which must surely have given the suggestion for it. Montaigne has given an account of Plato's Atlantis and of other lost lands; he continues:

The other testimonie of antiquitie, to which some will referre this discoverie, is in *Aristotle* (if at least that little booke of unheard of wonders be his) where he reporteth that certaine Carthaginians having sailed athwart the *Atlantike* Sea, without the strait of *Gibraltar*, after long time, they at last discovered a great fertill Iland, all replenished with goodly woods, and watred with great and deepe rivers, farre distant from al land, and that both they and others, alluded by the goodness and fertility of the soile, went thither with their wives, children, and household, and there began to inhabit and settle themselves. The Lords of *Carthage* seeing their countrie by little and little to be dispeopled, made a law and expresse inhibition, that upon paine of death no more men should goe thither, and banished all that were gone thither to dwell, fearing (as they said) that in successe of time, they would so multiply as they might one day supplant them, and overthrow their owne estate.

There can be, it seems to me, little doubt that this island, corresponding so exactly, in description and location to Shakespeare's, suggested it to him. Perhaps it would not be fanciful to find in the last lines the origin of Caliban's plots to people the isle with Calibans and to overthrow its ruler.

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A NOTE ON LAMB

In his essay "On the Tragedies of Shakspeare," Lamb says that Shakespeare's mind was, "to borrow a phrase of Ben Jonson's, the very 'sphere of Humanity.'" No edition of Lamb's works, so far as I know, records the exact source of the phrase. It is found in *A Pindaric Ode on the Death of Sir H. Morison*, II, 20. The section of the poem is as follows:

Alas! but Morison fell young:
He never fell,—thou fall'st, my tongue.
He stood a soldier to the last right end,
A perfect patriot, and a noble friend;
But most a virtuous son.
All offices were done
By him, so ample, full, and round
In weight, in measure, number, sound
As, though his age imperfect might appear,
His life was of humanity the sphere.

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BRIEF MENTION

An Interpretation of Keats's Endymion. By H. Clement Notcutt, Professor of English in the University of Stellenbosch, South Africa (Printed for the Author by the South African Electric Printing Co., Capetown, 1919). There has long been a rivalry among critics in framing apologies for the *Endymion*. Hancock, for example, exclaims "If *Endymion* cannot be saved as a poem, it may be worthy of honor as a human document about Keats," for it reveals, as Lowell says, "the flush of his fine senses and the flutter of his electrical nerves"; but "judged by the finished products of the masters, *Endymion* as a whole is dead. Yet parts may be treasured like the Elgin marbles, and the sum of its parts is greater than the whole. But whatever the fate of the poem or its fragments as art, it is certainly a rich living autobiography of Keats during the happiest, the most energetic year of his life" (Hancock, pp. 70, 76). Two decades later (1917), Mr. W. T. Young still finds "no organic and orderly principle," presiding over mere "exuberance of description" and a heaping up of "phrases which describe exquisite sensations." The tale of *Endymion* and Phoebe, the "dominant theme, is transposed frequently into an allegory of the poet's life and endeavour," but "we are not sure at what points *Endymion* ceases to be the mortal lover and becomes a symbol of the poet's mind." Critics of this class show no marked advance beyond the first apologist, Jeffrey, who was persuaded that the poem "is, in truth, at least as full of genius as of absurdity," but that it has extraordinary merits as poetry.

Another class of critics is distinguished by adherence to the conviction that the poem is organically planned, however much the design may be obscured by "an Arabian Nights jugglery with space and time." In its lowest terms the accepted tenet requires one to do the utmost in keeping hold of "the thread of allegoric thought and purpose that seems to run loosely through the whole." This injunction is expressed in Mr. Colvin's words, who has been persuaded by Mrs. Owen's "main conception of an allegoric purpose vaguely underlying Keats's narrative." The mazes then of an allegory are to be traced. That this judgment has not from the first been clearly proclaimed is surprising enough, for it is to be inferred, as Mr. Bridges has shown, from the method and purpose of *I Stood Tiptoe* (designated "The short *Endymion*") and *Sleep and Poetry*. What remains to be done, as with the greater and more complex allegory by Keats's master in this manner, is to recover at one and another step the surer grasp of the thread that leads thru the labyrinthine windings of this symbolic story.

The critics of the first class are wont to call Keats to bear witness against himself. They refuse to interpret the recoil from the strain of composition in accordance with usual experience, and find confirmation of their view of the poem in the poet's confession that he wrote "without judgment" and without being too "nervous" about making it "a perfect piece." The critics of the second class have, however, the support of the deeper significance of the poet's testimony. Keats would be understood to have written "independently," in truthful expression of his mind and sensations. This untrammelled fidelity to a clearly conceived purpose kept him in mood and coherence of aim ready and eager to resume the task after intervals of rest or interruption. And a warranted inference that he conformed at every point to the structural demands of the unity of the piece—a coherence of the argument and a progressive development of his great theme—is to be drawn from a letter to Mr. Taylor, in connection with a defense of a significant change in a passage of the poem (de Sélincourt, 428; Colvin, 180; Notecutt, 2 f.): "The whole thing must, I think, have appeared to you, who are a consecutive man, as a thing almost of mere words, but I assure you that when I wrote it, it was the regular stepping stone of the Imagination towards a truth." Moreover, the manly, intellectual character of Keats, his attested common sense, his frank and discriminating self-criticism, his exalted conception of the function of poetry, and his conviction springing from a retrospective view of his work, "I think I shall be among the English poets after my death," in short, the internal evidence of Keats's mind, character, and artistic method refutes the assumption that the *Endymion* is merely "a web of mingled obvious faults and exquisite beauties" (Arlo Bates). The impressionistic judgment, because it implies that the poet has disregarded the principles of symmetrical and logical structure, contradicts a dominant quality of Keats's mind and art. The intellectuality of his art (as of all great art) excludes the possibility of a planless composition, of a plan that is not well thought out. An apparent exception proves the rule. The theme of the *Hyperion* embraces interlocking events that are however so separable and in themselves significant as to lessen an effect of incompleteness that may be occasioned by interruption after one or another step in the story of progressive changes in the Olympian hierarchy. Indeed one might almost be warranted in saying that the incompleteness of the poem symbolizes and enforces the meaning of the metaphorical theme.

Professor Notecutt has strong convictions respecting the poem and courageously promises to contribute to its more complete interpretation. He hopes "to show that there is a fuller and more consecutive meaning running through the whole poem than has yet been recognized; that many of the details which have been thought to be superfluous and unmeaning are significant and appropriate when viewed from the right standpoint; and that much of the

criticism that has been directed against it is mistaken and irrelevant, since it is based upon a failure to understand the meaning and purpose of the passages criticised" (p. 6). His guiding principle in the interpretation of an allegorical composition is thus laid down: "It may be regarded as one of the canons in the interpretation of allegory that if apparently disproportionate stress is laid upon any aspect of the story there is probably enshrined in it something of special significance in the allegory." This must hold for a well-constructed piece, and is here applicable, for "the more one examines this poem the more evidence one finds that the thinking has been close and consecutive, and that while the expression is in places immature and faulty, the conception is fine, and much more carefully worked out than has yet been admitted" (p. 18).

Several outstanding features of Professor Notcutt's 'Interpretation,' the result of study extending thru ten years, shall be briefly indicated, without collating his views with those of other critics, from whom much is derived and carried toward greater precision. This inter-relation of conjectured theories and of annotations leads one to hope that some competent student will be convinced of the timeliness of a variorum edition of the *Endymion*. A good pattern for the work is given in Professor Alden's edition of *The Sonnets of Shakespeare* (1916). The new editor would find himself well enough supplied with theories respecting the poem as a whole, theories marked off by distinct differences or interlaced by subtle agreements; but he would become aware of a surprisingly limited aggregation of notes and comments on separate passages and on details of expression and poetic symbolism, leaving enough to be done to stimulate and reward the undertaking of the task.

The allegory has a "double purpose," a "wider meaning" that has reference to the romantic revival of poetry and the "narrower meaning" of the development in the individual mind of the poetic passion and pursuit of the ideal. "In some parts of the poem the two ideas can be recognized side by side, but usually one or the other is dominant for the time. . . . Indeed it would have been difficult to keep the two ideas apart from one another, for the impulses that were stirring in the mind of Keats, . . . were but part of the great tidal movement that was flooding in through many channels" (p. 7). But before going further in pointing out the prominent features of this 'Interpretation,' it should be observed, in confirmation of Professor Notcutt's main outline as well as in deference to his expressed wish (p. 70, note), that help in holding the thread of the allegory has been derived chiefly from Professor de Sélincourt's explanation of the fourth book. Indeed the coherence of the allegory is proved by what is obviously the correct interpretation of the fourth book, which finally folds back to the beginning, with Peona representing the practical mind, and

gathers up and harmoniously resolves all the struggle and perplexity of the "triple soul." The "skyeey mask" of "Cynthia's wedding and festivity" is a detail that is puzzling. The explanation offered is that this symbolizes "the attitude, not so much of the general public, as of that section of it which has a genuine interest in poetry, and which recognizes the early dawn of a new era, such as the New Romantic Movement in poetry." Others may be rejoicing in the poet's work, while he himself is in a mood despondent of his aim and achievement.

In the first book, the new movement in poetry is elaborately typified in the worship of Pan. The neglected altar and the many paths to it, trodden by worshippers in the long ago, apparently "remind us" that reverence for nature was in the creed of the older poets. That creed is revived and the altar revisited by all classes, the general public. The attempt to explain other details of this disputed passage leads to results that are surely surprisingly subtle. 'The strayed lambs,' for example, are ingeniously conjectured to mean published poems that have not been rightly received as well as unpublished and even unwritten ones cherished in the mind, which deserve admittance to the 'herds of Pan' because of idealistic worth. And this meaning may be extended to embrace also the experience of other poets.

The progress of the poet's development under the influence of the classics, is symbolized, thruout the second book, in Keats's own concrete and sensuous fashion. The highly polished gems, and the unfading metallic lustre of the literature of antiquity, which lacks for the present day the bright light and the glow of life, is described in lines "hard to match as a description of classical literature as a whole:

Dark, nor light
The region: nor bright, nor sombre wholly,
But mingled up; a gleaming melancholy;
A dusky empire and its diadems;
One faint eternal eventide of gems."

This key unlocks the meaning of "the metal roof" and "an orb'd diamond," and of other concrete details in the description of the underground wandering, from which the poet at last recoils, exclaiming "O let me once more hear the linnet's note!" See also III, 123 ff.

One more prominent feature of his Interpretation must suffice to show that Professor Notcutt has offered suggestions that must stimulate the effort of critics to frame a completely coherent exposition of the poem in all its details. The allegorical significance of the story of Glaucus cannot, however, be fully reported within the limits of this paragraph. Only a few of the stronger lines of the sketch may be indicated. The vicissitudes in the life of Glaucus are a symbol of such a movement in the history of poetry as that from the period of sincerer striving after the ideal to the

fatal yielding to the baleful charms of the age of Pope, followed by a remorseful awakening. Keats thus describes "in picturesque form what he regarded as the tragical history of English poetry after the Restoration." It would seem, therefore, that Circe reflects a portrait or a caricature of Pope himself, and that the severities of *The Dunciad* meted out to "petty scribblers" are depicted in III, 513-533. Does not then the scroll grasped by Glaucus (III, 670) clearly represent the "redeeming" book of balladry, Percy's *Reliques*? The redemption promised in the scroll "was fulfilled when Endymion, representing the spirit of the new poetry, scattered first upon Glaucus, and then upon Scylla, some of the 'powerful fragments' of the rescued scroll"; under this "magic influence Glaucus was restored to his youthful vigour and beauty, and Scylla came to life again."

J. W. B.

The Yale Shakespeare is a convenient, attractive, and moderately-priced edition of Shakespeare, designed for the use of schools and colleges. Its most distinctive feature is the emphasis of the text by the subordination of critical apparatus. No Introduction keeps the student from coming at once upon the play. Obsolete words are explained in small, inconspicuous type at the foot of the page, where if necessary they can be quickly and conveniently referred to. At the end of the volume is grouped all the critical material: Notes, few and carefully chosen, and put in the concisest form; several appendices dealing in the briefest space possible with the Sources, Text, and History of the Play; and, finally, Suggestions for Collateral Reading. Further assistance to the student will be provided in a supplementary volume to be entitled "A Handbook to Shakespeare."

This interesting series is under the editorial management of Professors Wilbur L. Cross, C. F. Tucker Brooke, and Willard H. Durham, which adequately guarantees the scholarly execution of the work. The individual volumes have been entrusted to various members of the Department of English at Yale University, who have so far executed their tasks with care and discrimination. The text chosen for reproduction is that of Craig's Oxford Shakespeare, with minor changes adopted, presumably by each editor, from the First Folio and the earlier quartos.

For those teachers who desire a good standard text of Shakespeare, attractively printed, edited with scrupulous scholarship, and freed from the usual incubus of too elaborate introductions and notes, this undertaking of the Yale Press will prove welcome.

It goes without saying that in a school series of this character little new or important for the expert is to be found. One notable exception, however, deserves special mention. Professor Brooke's discussion of the authorship of the first part of *Henry VI* cannot be ignored by any student of Shakespeare.

J. Q. A.

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THE SOURCES OF *THE TEMPEST*

Because it had been Shakespeare's unvarying custom for many years to dramatise some story which had been already told, it is customary to suppose that he did not invent even the very slight plot about which *The Tempest* is built. No play has been more discussed in this connection, and none has yielded a larger number of sources for individual passages or features than this sourceless comedy. Especially the storm and ship-wreck from which the play receives its name has been discussed and rediscussed; and the vitality of the problem is still unimpaired, if we may judge from the recent contributions to it by Mr. Rudyard Kipling,¹ Professor Gayley,² and Professor Rea.³

But it is not with any description of the storm that I am now concerned. The main source of the drama has never been found, or at least it has never been agreed upon. Most critics have regarded *Die Schöne Sidea* merely as an analogue, perhaps going back to the same source from which *The Tempest* was taken. Whether this is so, or some fellow actor who had been in Nuremberg in 1604 or 1606 told Shakespeare the plot of the German play, *The Fair Sidea* could account only for the merest outlines of the story. In 1885 Edmund Dorer called attention⁴ to a collection of Spanish stories, *Noches de Invierno* ('Winter Nights')

¹"How Shakespeare Came to Write 'The Tempest,'" London *Spectator*, July 2, 1898. In *A Book of Homage to Shakspere*, 1916, and, with valuable introduction by Professor Thorndike, in the Publications of the Dramatic Museum of Columbia University, 1916.

²*Shakespeare and the Founders of Liberty in America*, 1917.

³*Modern Philology*, September, 1919.

⁴In the *Magazin für die Litteratur des In- und Auslandes*, CVII, 77.

by Antonio de Eslava, of which the fourth chapter contains some fundamental similarities to the story of *The Tempest*. In 1905 Mr. Joseph de Perott put forward the claims of another Spanish romance, *Espejo de Principes y Caballeros*, translated 1579-1601 as *The Mirrour of Princely Deeds and of Knighthood*, which was very popular at the time.⁵ In the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* for 1907 Dr. Gustav Becker set aside Mr. de Perott's contentions in favor of Dorer's, and suggested a common source for Eslava and Shakespeare;⁶ whereupon Mr. de Perott contended that Eslava and Shakespeare drew upon different variants of the *Mirrour of Knighthood*, and proceeded to exploit its claims in English, Spanish, German, and Italian.⁷

This, I believe, brings down to date the suggested sources for *The Tempest*, so far as the love plot and the treachery intrigues are concerned. What must be evident to everyone who examines the question carefully is that none of them is adequate for the play as a whole, and that they are all alike in leaving the Caliban conspiracy unprovided for. Surely so small a matter might be left to Shakespeare's own invention; and if the source of the main plot were obvious and none for the Caliban-Stephano-Trinculo story were forthcoming, we should say no more about it. But just the reverse is true. I think it can be shown that the Caliban subplot was derived directly from a well-defined group of *commedia dell'arte* scenarios, which present at the same time a dramatic framework much closer to that of *The Tempest* than is either the *Noches de Invierno* or *Die Schöne Sidea*. My contention will be, there-

⁵ See Jusserand, *A Literary History of the English People*, II, 496, 498, 515, III, 396. It is rather curious that it is not mentioned in most of the larger histories of English literature.

⁶ We have no indication that the *Noches de Invierno* was translated into English in Shakespeare's time. A German translation was published in 1666; but Becker's more literal translation of the fourth chapter, the story of King Dardano and his daughter Serafina, aroused for the first time a general interest in the subject. For a short summary of this story see Herbert E. Greene's Introduction in the Tudor Shakespeare. I agree fully with Dr. Greene that "this tale can hardly be the immediate source of *The Tempest*."

⁷ *The Probable Source of the Plot of Shakespeare's Tempest*, Publications of the Clark University Library, 1905; *Cultura Española*, XII, 1023 (1908) and XV, 733 (1909); *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XLVII, 128 (1911); *Romanic Review*, V, 364 (1914); *Studi di Filologia Moderna*, VII, 271 (1914).

fore, that these scenarios furnish at last the basic source of *The Tempest*.

In the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch* for 1910 is an article by Max J. Wolff on "Shakespeare und die Commedia dell'Arte" which traces in detail all the analogies the writer can find between Shakespeare's humorous situations and those which the travelling Italian companies may have presented in London. We have references to the frequent appearance of these Italian companies, but we have no record of what plays or impromptu scenarios they may have performed.⁸ Wolff makes a remarkable showing, and fully justifies his conclusion that there is scarcely a comedy of Shakespeare which does not show somewhere this Italian influence. But when he comes to *The Tempest* he has nothing of the least consequence to offer.

Wolff, however, while apparently exhausting the possibilities in Scala's collection, did not make use of an unedited manuscript to which attention has more recently been called by Ferdinando Neri in his *Scenari delle Maschere in Arcadia*.⁹ Neri publishes five scenarios from a ms. of Locatelli, dated 1622, and in his Introduction outlines other scenarios and calls attention to the general analogy they present to *The Tempest*. Unfortunately, Neri contents himself with a few of the most general points of similarity, and these not the most significant; and it is perhaps on this account that his book failed to receive the attention it deserved. Locatelli touched up these old scenarios and made them more suitable for stage presentation but claims no original authorship. Some of the scenarios seem to have been acted not only in Italy but abroad for a considerable period before they were collected and written down. If any of them appear as probable sources for *The Tempest*, there is no reason to doubt that Shakespeare could have seen them acted in London.

The scenarios printed by Neri show us the enchanted island of Arcadia, ruled by a magician who has spirits (sometimes satyrs) in his control. The magician raises a tempest and causes a shipwreck; and the strangers from the ship soon appear on the island,

⁸ See *The Commedia dell'Arte* by Winifred Smith, chapter v. That the references to the Italian companies in England are mostly to the *commedia dell'arte* performances is conjectured by Professor Cunliffe (*Mod. Phil.*, iv, 602).

⁹ Città di Castello, 1913.

each one thinking that he alone is saved and lamenting the loss of his companions. We watch the fortunes and the loves of these people, and the magicians' dealings with them. There are two groups of characters: those of noble birth, and the comic masks. At the end the fathers recognize their lost children and the lovers are united. In one of the plays, *Pantoloncino*, the magician says at the end that he will not exercise his art any longer, and throws away his staff and book.¹⁰ This is the very framework of *The Tempest*. If there is sufficient evidence that Shakespeare drew directly upon the scenarios now to be examined, then it is a reasonable assumption that the first suggestion for writing a play about a magician on his enchanted island came from this source, and that he merely fitted to it some ready-made story of love and intrigue, just as he made use of the current interest in the Somers shipwreck in elaborating upon the opening storm. It is to be noted also that the crudity and unliterary character of these scenarios does not count against their probable influence. One must constantly visualize the action, if he would put himself into a position to judge truly.

Let us now consider certain more definite points of correspondence between *The Tempest* and the scenarios presented by Neri. The opening scene of *The Tempest*, showing a ship at sea, in imminent danger of being wrecked, with characters speaking from the deck, concluding with the sinking of the ship through the power of the magician who has raised the tempest, finds a parallel at every point in *La Nave* ('The Ship'). There we see the magician who rules the island conjuring the sea and producing a tempest in order to cause the Captain and Queen to be wrecked. Then the Captain and Queen are shown in the boat, lamenting, and calling for aid against the hazard of the sea. The magician causes the ship to go down, but the Captain and Queen are saved and presently appear again on the island. In this instance the scenes mentioned occur toward the close of the little drama; but in *Arcadia Incantata* ('Enchanted Arcadia') the play begins with the magician announcing the coming shipwreck of the strangers, and immediately thereupon the sea in a tempest and a shipwreck are shown. In *Li Tre Satiri* ('The Three Satyrs') the sea is shown, with ships on it, immediately after Pantalone has told of the wreck and

¹⁰ Neri, Introduction, p. 16.

of the loss of his companions. The wreck is a feature of others of these scenarios. The idea of showing the actual tempest and shipwreck on the stage must surely have been derived from the *commedia dell' arte*; and this, therefore, and not the *Noches de Invierno*, would be the source of the magician's device of bringing other characters of the drama into his dominion.

I may mention in passing certain minor analogies which, though interesting in themselves, are conjectural and not determinative. Prospero's having rescued Ariel from a cloven pine and threatening to reconfine him in an oak, and more especially Caliban's

And here you sty me
In this hard rock,

with Prospero's answer that he was

Deservedly confined into this rock,

though different in fact, could easily have been suggested by the frequent transformations of this sort in the *commedia dell' arte*. In *Li Tre Satiri* the magician changes Filli into a tree and Pantalone cuts the tree and frees her. In the same play Zanni comes from a rock and says he was transformed into it because he would not do what the old magician wanted him to do. At the close of *La Nave* the magician (an evil one in this instance) is changed into a rock; while in *Il Gran Mago* ('The Great Magician') Filippa is changed into a tree and Pantalone into an ass.¹¹ The grotesque horror of Caliban's attempted attack upon Miranda finds an equivalent in *La Pazzia di Filandro* ('The Madness of Filandro'), where a satyr loves a nymph and would carry her against her will to a grotto, and in *Pantaloncino*, where the magician rebukes his savage servant ("not exactly a satyr" says the stage direction) for his love of a nymph. There are other features which in the acting may have suggested more than we have any right to assume from these brief scenarios, such as Pantalone with his bottle of wine in *I Forestieri* ('The Strangers')¹² and the antics of the drunken clowns in *La Pazzia di Filandro*.

I come now to the curious analogies which the scenarios present to the story of Caliban and his confederates. In *La Pazzia di*

¹¹ I am not recording the many analogies these scenarios present to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and to other comedies of Shakespeare.

¹² Neri, Introduction, p. 23.

Filandro we read: "Gratiano talks about Zanni; he says he does not know whether he is a man or beast. He says he has a head and legs, but that the ass has just the same; finally he makes up his mind. We are reminded of the first entrance of Trinculo, in *The Tempest*. It will be recalled that he comes upon Caliban lying on the ground and questions whether the monster be a man or a fish: "Legg'd like a man! And his fins like arms! Warm, o' my troth! I do now let loose my opinion, hold it no longer: this is no fish, but an islander, that hath lately suffered by a thunderbolt." Trinculo creeps under Caliban's gaberdine to protect himself from the storm, and Stephano, the drunken butler, enters. On seeing the curious thing before him he says, "This is some monster of the isle with four legs." In *Li Tre Satiri* Pantalone is seeking his lost companions when he sees a whale, and from this whale comes out Burattino. Now it would be frankly absurd to offer this as a "source" for Stephano's pulling his comrade Trinculo out from under the cloak of the fish-like monster Caliban,—at least if it were necessary for a great poet to copy his "original" faithfully. But if Shakespeare witnessed this commediate dell' arte episode and found that it appealed to the crowd, there is no reason why it might not have suggested Stephano's amazed "Thou art very Trinculo indeed! How cam'st thou to be the siege of this moon-calf? Can he vent Trinculos?" In *Arcadia Incantata* the lost companions "recognize each other with buffoonery, touching each other." We do not know exactly what the stage business may have been, but we do know that it could not have been much different from the behavior of Stephano and Trinculo upon their mutual recognition:

Trin. If thou beest Stephano, touch me and speak to me; for I am Trinculo,—be not afraid—thy good friend Trinculo. . . .

Steph. Prithee, do not turn me about; my stomach is not constant.

Caliban takes Stephano for a god, would kiss his foot and bring him gifts; and later, before Prospero's cave, Stephano and Trinculo deck themselves in the "glittering apparel" they find upon the "line" or lime tree. In *Li Tre Satiri* the comic masks, Pantalone, Burattino and Zanni, also deck themselves in stolen finery, dressing as Jove, Cupid and Mercury, and are mistaken for the gods by Fausto and the shepherds, who pay them homage and bring them gifts. In *Il Gran Mago* and *La Nave* the magician

hangs garlands on a tree, which the comic masks find and put on.

This brings us to the essential point of the Caliban plot. Caliban asks Stephano for revenge on the tyrant and sorcerer who has cheated him of the island, promising,

Thou shalt be lord of it, and I'll serve thee.

The task, he says, will be easy, "having first seiz'd his books."

Cal.

Remember

First to possess his books; for without them
He's but a sot, as I am, nor hath not
One spirit to command. They all do hate him
As rootedly as I. Burn but his books. . . .
And that most deeply to consider is
The beauty of his daughter. He himself
Calls her a nonpareil. I never saw a woman
But only Sycorax my dam and she;
But she as far surpasseth Sycorax
As greatest does least.

Ste.

Is it so brave a lass?

Cal.

Ay, lord; she will become thy bed, I warrant,
And bring thee forth brave brood.

Ste.

Monster, I will kill this man. His daughter and I will be king
and queen,—save our Graces! and Trinculo and thyself shall be
viceroys.

The securing of a magician's books in order to rob him of his power is common enough,¹³ but this emphasis upon it in *The Tempest* is peculiar considering that nothing further is made of it. Let us follow, however, the story of *Li Tre Satiri*, remembering that it is this play on which we have already chiefly drawn for our analogies.¹⁴

The special significance of the point now to be considered involves another issue. There are some indications that *The Tempest* was revised in honor of the Princess Elizabeth's marriage in 1613, and that the wedding masque was not merely inserted at this time but took the place of more dramatic material. The evi-

¹³ Mr. de Perott mentions an instance in the *Mirroure of Knighthood*, v, 368 (*Probable Source*, p. 215).

¹⁴ The magician opens the play by telling of his wonderful powers. He is determined to punish the shipwrecked strangers. Filli then enters, and there is a scene between the old magician and the young girl. It is immediately after this that Pantalone enters, telling of the wreck and the loss of his companions. This comes the nearest of any of the scenarios to suggesting the *Tempest* sequence.

dence for this and the character of the piece as it may have existed in its original form in 1611 I have considered in another paper.¹⁵ It is to my attempted reconstruction of the play in its earlier version that the following analogy holds; but there is enough remaining in the play as it stands to illustrate my point.

In *Li Tre Satiri* Pantalone and Zanni actually steal the magician's book from his cave. Like Caliban, they fear the spirits and the beatings with sticks they have received. They open the book to see its power. At once the satyrs appear, ready to obey them. They command, and the satyrs carry out their wishes. After witnessing the fortunes of other characters, we again find Pantalone and Zanni with the book, and the native shepherd Fausto in their power. He promises to serve them, and asks them to give him Filli for his wife. He urges them to punish the magician, who, he says, is the cause of all the ills of the place. The magician says he has foreseen the treachery and conspiracy against him, which is being made by the shepherds and strangers by means of his book. He makes a magic circle, into which the other characters are drawn, and thus brings them all into his power.¹⁶ By this means he is able to recover his precious book. He then breaks the spell, the fathers recognize their lost children, and the lovers are united.¹⁷

¹⁵ Read before the Modern Language Association at its meeting in Columbus, March, 1920. To be published later.

¹⁶ Compare Prospero's similar expedient with Alonso and his followers.

¹⁷ It is interesting to notice in this connection that at the end of *The Tempest* Prospero says to Ariel,

Set Caliban and his companions free,
Untie the spell.

They are not, as the play now stands, put under a spell, but are being "hunted soundly" by the dog-seeming spirits. To this punishment are added, however, "dry convulsions" and "aged cramps," so there is no actual inconsistency. In *Li Tre Satiri* the characters are forced to dance in the magician's magic circle; but in *Arcadia Incantata* the magician charms them so that they stand immovable and he enters to them invisible, as Prospero does. The scenarios are so closely connected that it is impossible to doubt that the same company performed various numbers of the group. Shakespeare, if he was interested, may have seen their entire repertoire. These half impromptu and wholly unliterary productions could furnish him only with hints for his rich fancy; but that the hints were sufficient to account for the entire Caliban-Stephano-Trinculo story seems to me reasonably clear.

I am quite aware that Trinculo's coming out from the cloak of the fish-like monster Caliban is not the same thing as Burattino's entrance from the mouth of a whale, any more than Ariel's imprisonment in a tree is the exact equivalent of the *commedia dell'arte* transformations. I do not doubt Shakespeare's having heard both of Jonah and of Daphne. But when I visualize such a series of stage pictures as I have just outlined, in a drama group which also shows me a magician on his island, a tempest of his raising, a shipwreck actually portrayed, attendant spirits leading the strangers into a charmed circle, the fathers recognizing their lost children, and the magician finally relinquishing his power and throwing aside his staff and books, I am unable to doubt that we have in the scenarios the immediate source of *The Tempest*.

But Shakespeare, having this much, still needed more. What story should he tell about a magician on his island with shipwrecked strangers in his power? The names he chose for several of his characters indicate that he may have begun his search for a possible plot in Thomas's *Historye of Italye* and Eden's *History of Travaille*. History provides us with an Alonzo, King of Naples, whose son Ferdinand succeeded him to the throne; with a usurping Duke of Milan and a banished Duke of Milan; with "practices that he [Prospero Adorno, the Duke of Milan's lieutenant] held with Ferdinando, kyng of Naples."¹⁸ The author of *As You Like It* needed no new source to suggest a duke banished by his usurping brother and restored to his dominion in the end. But what Shakespeare did not find in the accounts of Milan and of Naples was a suitable love story: a captive prince, the son of his usurping enemy (or of the confederate king), who should be set at menial tasks and prove himself a worthy husband for the magician's daughter. Since there is no evidence of Shakespeare's having drawn directly upon *Die Schöne Sidea* or the *Noches de Invierno*, and no indication that there even existed a parent source (for certainly the *Mirroure of Knighthood* will not do); and since on the other hand, a fellow-actor's description of the German play would be quite adequate for what there is left unaccounted for by way of plot, it seems to me that we must either take the Locatelli scenarios as the basic source of *The Tempest* or else suppose that Shakespeare had access to some older romance from which they

¹⁸ Furness, pp. 343, 350.

also were derived.¹⁹ And even if the source from which these scenarios were derived should be found, unless it provided material which is used in *The Tempest* and which does not appear in the scenarios, I should still think it more than probable that it was from the commedia dell' arte performances that Shakespeare derived the scheme of his play.

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A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY SPANISH ANALOGUE OF MEASURE FOR MEASURE

The *Comedia del Degollado*, composed in four acts and in verse, by the Sevillian poet and dramatist Juan de la Cueva was first performed at Seville in the year 1579.¹ A brief analysis of the plot shows that this play deals with romantic incidents frequently found in sixteenth-century comedy and fiction. Arnaldo, a young officer, sets at liberty the Moor Chichivali, whom he had captured in a skirmish, on condition that the ransom money be sent to him within a certain time. Chichivali returns in person with the ransom and ill repays his captor's generosity by abducting Celia, Arnaldo's sweetheart, when dressed as a page she was about to attend a dinner offered by Arnaldo to certain other ladies. Arnaldo, heartbroken by the news of Celia's abduction, is carried off in another boat by one of Chichivali's companions, and the lovers meet at the court of the Moorish king. Chichivali finds it impossible to preserve the secret of Celia's disguise, and discloses her identity to the young Moorish prince, who at once becomes a rival

¹⁹ Benedetto Croce suggested that "Shakespeare must have taken the name Trinculo from a Neapolitan drinking-song, and quoted an old *ritornello* in that dialect in support of his view:—

Tríncule míncule
spilli e spillone . . ."

L. C-M. in the *Athenium* for March 20, 1915. This is the only review in English of Neri's book, so far as I am aware.

¹ This play is included in the first volume of the *Comedias y tragedias de Juan de la Cueva, publicadas por la Sociedad de Bibliófilos españoles*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1917, with an introduction by Francisco A. de Icaza. This publication is based upon the second edition, Seville, 1588, of the *Primera parte de las comedias y tragedias de Ioan de la Cueva*.

of Chichivali for her love. When Chichivali tries to force his attentions upon her, Arnaldo intervenes, kills Chichivali, and is condemned to death, in spite of Celia's protestations, in order to save her lover, that she has committed the deed.

In the third act, Celia begs the Prince to intervene in behalf of Arnaldo, and he agrees to do so on condition that she yield herself to him, a proposal which she rejects indignantly, declaring that she would prefer death. The Prince then relents and asks the jailer in what way Arnaldo's life may be spared, and the jailer finally suggests that a substitution be made, and that the head of another prisoner be sent to the King as evidence of Arnaldo's death. This substitution is effected, the head is brought to the King and deceives him as well as the Prince and Celia. The Prince upbraids the jailer for his disobedience, but is satisfied when he hears the jailer's explanation :

Quando a pedirme vinieron
 Justicia y verdugo el preso,
 Cumpli tu mandado expreso
 Luego que en la carcel fueron.
 Otro que le parecia,
 Preso, y tambien sentenciado,
 Aquél les vue entregado
 Por el que se me pedia.
 Ayudó la sombra obscura
 A mi hecho, y desta suerte
 Al otro dieron la muerte,
 Y a Arnaldo libró ventura.
 Allí lo tengo, señor;
 Mira qué mandas que haga;
 Que lo que te satisfaga
 Hare, qual tu servidor.

Arnaldo is introduced as proof of this statement, and the Prince bids him conceal himself. Although the Prince has saved Arnaldo, he has not abandoned his desire to gain possession of Celia. The latter bitterly reproaches him for breaking his word, and the Prince promises to present Arnaldo alive to her if she will yield herself to him. Celia, confident that Arnaldo is really dead, agrees to this proposal, and is forthwith confronted with Arnaldo. She is overjoyed at the sight of him, and then is rudely reminded by the Prince of her promise. Arnaldo declares that he far prefers death to Celia's dishonor, the Prince relents on seeing this evidence of their love, and promises to send them home.

The last two acts of this play offer certain analogies with the fifth novel of the eighth decade of Giraldi Cinthio's *Gli Hecatommithi*, first published in 1565. Here a youth of Innsbruck named Vieo is arrested for seducing a young girl, and is condemned to death by Iuriste, the Governor. Vieo's sister, Epitia, pleads with the Governor for her brother's life, alleging as excuse for his act his love for the girl and his willingness to marry her. Iuriste is inspired with passion for Epitia, and consents to free Vieo on condition that she yield herself to him, making to her at the same time a vague promise of marriage. Epitia is horrified by this proposal, and takes counsel with her brother in prison, who begs her to make this sacrifice for him. She finally consents to Iuriste's proposal, but the latter, before satisfying his desire, gives orders for the execution of Vieo, and on the following day sends her brother to her, not alive, but dead. At first Epitia determines to kill her violator, but later decides to demand justice from the Emperor Massimiano. When the Emperor hears her story he summons Iuriste, confronts him with Epitia, obtains from him a confession of his guilt, and orders that he first marry Epitia and then be put to death. After the marriage, Epitia experiences a strange change of heart, and does not wish to be responsible for her husband's death. She pleads with Massimiano that clemency is as great a virtue as justice, secures the release of Iuriste, and lives happily with him for many years.²

This novel of Giraldi Cinthio is the chief source of George Whetstone's *Historye of Promos and Cassandra*,³ published in two parts, consisting of five acts each, in 1578. The English play differs from Giraldi Cinthio's novel in at least one important respect; namely, that in the novel the Governor's order to execute Vieo is actually carried out, while in Whetstone's play Andrugio is spared by a merciful jailer, who substitutes another head for that of Andrugio, and successfully deceives both the sister and the Governor. These modifications have been generally ascribed to Whetstone.⁴

² In an article entitled *Shakespeare's Masz für Masz und die Geschichte von Promos und Cassandra*, published in the *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, Weimar, 1878, XIII, 175, K. Foth mentions a number of non-literary versions of the same story. See also *Notes and Queries*, July, 1893.

³ Republished in *Shakespeare's Library*, vol. II, part II, London, 1875.

⁴ See K. Foth, *ibid.*, p. 169.

It has been well known that Giralaldi Cinthio himself dramatized the novel under discussion in a play entitled *Epitia*, but not until 1890 was the suggestion made⁵ that certain divergences from the novel found in *Measure for Measure*, which agree in this respect with *Promos and Cassandra*, also exist in *Epitia*. This discovery of Bilancini deserves to be quoted here, since it seems to have been overlooked by the historians of the Elizabethan drama: "Non indegna di nota è una particolarità che ambedue le tragedie offrono, ma che nella novella non si trova: che cioè in *Misura per misura* come nell'*Epitia* il fratello della fanciulla non è ucciso, ma in sua vece vien mandato a lei il cadavere di un malfattore. Basta questo per concludere che lo Shakespeare debba aver conosciuto, oltre la novella, anche la tragedia del Giralaldi? Io non so; accenno solo a questa somiglianza e lascio crederlo al Klein, il quale, poi,—caso curioso!—mentre nota tra le due tragedie altri raffronti accessori di nomi, trascura questo assai più importante di fatto."⁶

Returning to *El Degollado*, the romantic incidents of the capture of Arnaldo and Celia create a different setting from that found in Giralaldi's novel and in the three plays above mentioned. Arnaldo's offense is a murder which is morally justifiable. The Prince here plays the part of the Governor in the other versions. In *El Degollado*, however, the Prince is more merciful, and is responsible for the order to substitute the head of another man as evidence of Arnaldo's death. In *Epitia* and *Promos and Cassandra*, the jailer performs this merciful act on his own initiative, and in *Measure for Measure* this request is made by the Duke in disguise. In Giralaldi's novel, *Epitia*, and *Promos and Cassandra*, the young girl actually sacrifices her honor to save her brother's life. This sacrifice is avoided in *Measure for Measure* by the substitution of Mariana for Isabella, and in *El Degollado* by the rather tardy repentance of the Prince. Arnaldo is a more courageous character than his counterpart in the other versions. He refuses to live at the price of Celia's honor, while in Giralaldi's novel, *Epitia*, *Promos and Cassandra*, and *Measure for Measure*, we have the disagreeable scene of the brother begging his sister to save his life by the sacrifice of her virtue. In Giralaldi's novel, *Epitia*, and

⁵ See Pietro Bilancini, *Giambattista Giralaldi e la tragedia italiana nel - sec. XVI*, Aquila, 1890, p. 89.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

Promos and Cassandra the heroine not only marries her violator, but saves him from the death he so richly deserved. Judged from modern standards, a satisfactory solution is found only in Shakespeare and in Juan de la Cueva.

It is by no means certain that either Giraldi's novel or *Epitia* was the immediate source of *El Degollado*, and it is therefore difficult to determine to what an extent the construction of the plot was the work of the Spanish dramatist. The play is interesting as one of the best composed in Spain in the period shortly before the appearance of Lope de Vega, and because of the analogy its plot offers to the theme of *Measure for Measure*.

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CHARLES DICKENS: HIS READING

The enormous amount of reading matter accessible to Dickens makes it impossible to be precise in regard to what he read, except when we have his own statements, or evidence of the direct influence of writers upon him, or the information of his personal friend and biographer, Forster. Dickens had a personal acquaintance with practically all the leading literary men of his time as well as many of the lesser lights, and hence must have known much about their works. He does not, however, mention any direct knowledge of the writings of many, and we are thus left to infer such knowledge according to the law of probability.

In one of his numerous letters to Wilkie Collins, Dickens has given a fairly accurate statement about his formal instruction. In it he says that he "was born at Portsmouth on the seventh of February, 1812; that my father was in the Naval Pay Office; that I was taken by him to Chatham when I was very young, and lived and was educated there till I was twelve or thirteen, I suppose; that I was then put to a school near London, where (as at other places) I distinguished myself like a brick."¹ This account, however, should be somewhat amplified and corrected. His mother

¹ *Letters of Charles Dickens*, edited by his sister-in-law and his oldest daughter, Chapman & Hall, London, 1882, two volumes, II, 43.

was his first teacher, and to her he owed an inestimable debt for arousing in him a desire to read. Forster states that "he has frequently been heard to say that his first desire for knowledge, and his earliest passion for reading, were awakened by his mother, who taught him the first rudiments not only of English, but also, a little later, of Latin. She taught him regularly every day for a long time, he was convinced thoroughly well."² His first actual school experience came when he attended a preparatory school at Rome Lane, Chatham. Then, from the age of seven to nine, he went to a school in Clover Lane, kept by William Giles, a Baptist minister. Giles evidently recognized that the youngster had ability, for later, while the *Pickwick Papers* were being published, he sent him a silver snuffbox inscribed to the "inimitable Boz." The family now went to London, and his father's financial straits and eventual imprisonment interfered with the education of Dickens from the age of ten to twelve; but from twelve to fourteen he attended "Wellington House Academy" at Hampstead Road, as a day scholar. At this time he was writing short tales which were circulated among the students and given dramatic representation by them. For a short time after this, he attended a school conducted by one Mr. Dawson in Henrietta Street, Brunswick Square. This closed his formal educational career, although he later learned to read and speak both French and Italian.

It was at Chatham, at the age of about nine, that Dickens first began the reading which had such great influence on his later work. The well-known passage in *David Copperfield* (Chap. iv) which describes David's reading is almost literally autobiographical. At this time Dickens read *Roderick Random*, *Peregrine Pickle*, *Humphrey Clinker*, *Tom Jones*, *The Vicar of Wakefield*, *Don Quixote*, *Gil Blas*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *The Arabian Nights*, and *Tales of the Genii*, also a few volumes of voyages and travels, of which he was always particularly fond. He not only read these books, but made himself forget the small troubles of boyhood by impersonating the characters in them. His ability for acting was thus happily fostered at a tender and impressive age. At about this time, he also read the *Spectator*, the *Tatler*, the *Idler*, the

² *The Life of Charles Dickens*, by John Forster, J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, 1872, three volumes, I, 26.

Citizen of the World, and Mrs. Inchbald's *Collection of Farces*.³ At this time he also took rank as a youthful prodigy by writing *Misnar*, a tragedy founded on the *Tales of the Genii*. While his family was living in London, he, then about ten years old, borrowed from obliging friends the *Scottish Chiefs*, Holbein's *Dance of Death*, and Colman's *Broad Grins*, which "seized his fancy very much."⁴

Thus far the chronological development of his formal education has been traced, and, what is far more important, the kind of reading which he voluntarily indulged in while yet a little boy. From this point on, however, the chronology of his reading is too vague to be accurately determined, and it seems best to discuss the different types of literature that interested and influenced him.

It is, of course, the novel to which he owes most and which he most often mentions as a source of pleasure for reading, particularly the novels of the eighteenth century. He was very fond of Defoe, especially the *History of the Devil* and *Robinson Crusoe*; the thing which impressed him most in the latter book was that it had "nothing in it to make anyone laugh or cry."⁵ *Tom Jones* is one of the books already mentioned as having been dear to him in his youth, and there are also other references to Fielding. Of Smollett's work he liked *Humphrey Clinker* best, but thought *Roderick Random* and *Peregrine Pickle* "both extraordinarily good in their way."⁶ *Tristram Shandy* he knew too. He was not fond of Richardson, remarking that "he is no great favorite of mine."⁷ Goldsmith's *Vicar of Wakefield* was the most delightful of all stories to his mind. He also casually mentions his acquaintance with *The Castle of Otranto*.

There are references, moreover, in Forster's *Life* and in the *Letters* to many nineteenth century novelists. *Kenilworth* "I have just been reading with greater delight than ever,"⁸ he says; and he knew *A Legend of Montrose* and *Peveril*. George Eliot's *Scenes of Clerical Life* he speaks of as being one of "the best things I have seen since I began my course,"⁹ and remarks that he can never say enough of these stories because they are so ad-

³ Forster's *Life*, I, 34.

⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 41.

⁵ *Letters*, II, 48.

⁶ *Letters*, I, 369.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 183.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 28.

⁹ Forster's *Life*, II, 47.

mirable. His well-rounded knowledge of Thackeray's works is evident in his laudatory remark of "his refined knowledge of character, of his delightful playfulness as an essayist, of his quaint and touching ballads, of his mastery over the English Language."¹⁰ The work of Wilkie Collins he of course knew very well, and also that of Mrs. Gaskell. He writes her asking her to contribute to his forthcoming *Household Words*, and speaks of her *Mary Barton* as a "book that most profoundly affected and impressed me."¹¹ With Charles Reade's works he was also acquainted. There is mention of his interest in Italian and German novelists, and he knew some Russian novels as well. Of American novelists, he took special pleasure in Hawthorne's early tales. The first book which he put in Forster's hand, on his return from America was the *Mosses from an Old Manse*, and he urged Forster "with repeated injunctions to read it."¹² *The Scarlet Letter*, however, he criticised rather severely. He thought that there were many parts of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* which were admirably done.

His interest in the drama, as shown by the writing of four plays and by his acting, was very keen. His works contain many references to characters and scenes in Shakespeare's plays, and his admiration for him is expressed in a letter from America to Forster: "I continually carry in my great-coat the *Shakespeare* you bought for me in Liverpool. What an unspeakable source of delight that book is to me!"¹³ His excellent acting of the part of Bobadil is sufficient testimony to a thorough knowledge of at least one of Ben Jonson's plays. He says of *She Stoops to Conquer* and the *Good-natured Man* that they "are so admirable and so delightfully written that they read wonderfully."¹⁴ *The Blot on the Scutcheon* he was very enthusiastic about and eager that Macready should play it.

Other forms of literature appealed to him more or less strongly. Poetry as a whole does not seem to have interested him to any great extent. For Wordsworth he had little love, but he was very fond of the *Bridge of Sighs*, doubtless because of his humanitarian instincts; and he was charmed with Tennyson's *Idylls*, because he thought they were so well written. He had a particular

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, III, 299.

¹² Forster's *Life*, II, 440.

¹⁴ *Letters*, I, 390.

¹¹ *Letters*, I, 233.

¹³ *Ibid.*, I, 355.

love for books of travel. During the summer of 1851, his reading "took in all the minor tales as well as the plays of Voltaire, several of the novels (old favorites with him) of Paul de Kock, Ruskin's *Lamps of Architecture*, and a surprising number of books of African and other travel for which he had an insatiable relish."¹⁵ Biography was another favorite study for him. Boswell's *Life of Johnson* he frequently mentions, of course to the credit of Johnson and to the discredit of Boswell. Charles Knight's *Biography of Shakespeare*, Forster's *Life of Goldsmith*, and Barry Cornwall's *Life of Lamb* are works of which he speaks with special praise.

Certain other authors may be mentioned here, whose works as a whole have defied classification in the above divisions. At the head of the list is Carlyle. "I would at all times go farther to see Carlyle than any man alive,"¹⁶ said Dickens. And Forster states that admiration for Carlyle "increased in him with his years; and there was no one whom in later life he honored so much or had a more profound regard for."¹⁷ The *French Revolution* he read "for the 500th time,"¹⁸ and the result of the reading is seen in the *Tale of Two Cities*, where, in such chapters as *The Grindstone* and in many other places, there can be little doubt that he had Carlyle in mind, consciously or unconsciously, as he wrote. He thought that Landor's *Imaginary Conversations* were among the most charming and profound productions that he had ever read. The *Spectator* of Addison and Steele he liked for the humorous papers, and thought that they were about as delightful as the serious papers were indifferent.

Two more subjects remain to be considered: the Bible and the classics. In regard to the Bible, even the casual reader of Dickens is aware that its ideas and phraseology are in constant evidence in his work. With the classics, however, the case is different. Dickens, too, knew "small Latin and less Greek." It has been pointed out that his mother taught him Latin, and he may have reached as far as Virgil in his study of it. But anything approaching classic restraint was foreign to his innermost feelings. The classic motto, "Nothing in excess" is as little true of him, perhaps, as of any romantic writer; for in Dickens practically everything is in excess and restraint is virtually unknown. He

¹⁵ Forster's *Life*, II, 439-440.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 520.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 334.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 440.

wore his "heart on his sleeve" if ever a man did, and cared more for one London waif than for the whole tribe of gods and goddesses of antiquity.

As was stated in the first paragraph of this article, it is impossible to make definite statements as to the exact nature of the bulk of Dickens' reading. The most important of his definitely known readings have been discussed above, and the list is perhaps rather suggestive than anything else. From the above material, scrappy and disjointed as it is in part, the fact is plain that he was an omnivorous reader of certain literary forms, particularly the novel, the drama, biography, and travel; and, to a lesser degree, of history, poetry, and economics. There is little indication that he was at all interested in science. Perhaps the greatest single influence that resulted in the humanitarian ideas so prevalent in his novels was Carlyle, whose bitter attacks on the existing social order are emulated again and again in the novels of Dickens. And perhaps, also, the greatest single influence on his art as a novelist was Smollett, whose method of depicting characters after the *comedy of humors* manner is common knowledge. It is evident that the books which Dickens is known to have read constitute but a comparatively small part of his whole reading; for he surely knew about the work of all the leading literary men of his day, with most of whom he was on terms of friendship. As editor, moreover, of *Household Words* and *All the Year Round*, he must have been acquainted with much of the work of many of the minor writers of that time. However, the first reading of his most impressionable years was luckily in the best of the novels of manners, the type to which the bulk of his own work is most closely akin.

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NOTES ON OLD FRENCH SIMILES OF THE CHASE

The earliest French narrative poetry is poor in similes. There is only one completed comparison in the *Rolând*:¹

“ Si cum li cerfs s'en vait devant les chiens,
Devant Rollant si s'en fuient paien.”

The *Voyage de Charlemagne* (ed. Koschwitz) contains:

- a. Si fait dreite sa reie come ligne qui tent. (297.)
- b. Il le font torneier et menut et sovent
Come roë de char qui a terre descent. (356-57.)
- c. Cil corn sonent et boglent et tonent ensement
Com tabors o toneires o grant cloche qui pent. (358-59.)
- d. Altresil fait torner com arbre de molin. (372.)
- e. Come en mai en estet quant solelz esclarcist. (383 and 443.)
- f. Et out la charn tant blanche come flor en estet. (403.)
- g. . . . Chieent les mailles ensement com festuz. (537.)
- h. Cele out la charn tant blanche come flor en espine. (707.)

All these are the simplest type of evident comparisons: ‘straight as a line,’ ‘turn like a wheel,’ ‘as loud as thunder,’ ‘bright and pleasant as May,’ ‘white as a summer flower,’ ‘white as the hawthorn flower,’ ‘to fly like chips.’

In tracing the gradual development and extension of the literary comparisons which came about in old French narrative poetry, one may readily distinguish two groups into which these comparisons fall: those suggested by the observation of animal and of inanimate nature, and those suggested by human nature and pursuits. Falling somewhat across these two groups are comparisons taken from the hunt and falconry. It is of these comparisons that Henri Estienne speaks in his treatise, *La Précellence du Langage françois*, first published in 1579, where he refers to ‘la venerie’ and ‘la fauconnerie’: “Es termes desquels nous avons grande prerogative, quant à l’un, pource que nostre nation s’est addonnee à l’exercice d’iceluy, plus qu’ aucune du temps des anciens, ne despuis: quant à l’autre, encore plus grande, pource que si elle n’a l’honneur de l’avoir inventé, pour le moins ha elle cestuy-ci, que de petits com-

¹ Ed. Müller, lines 1874, 1875. Cf. Groth, *A. S. N. S.*, xxxviii (1883), 417.

mancements elle l'a mis en quelque perfection." ² And Estienne proceeds to reveal the wealth of terms and figures drawn from these sports in the language of the sixteenth century.

Estienne's claim for the influence of these two sports upon the language of his time is as true for the earlier language of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The chase with dog and bird must have profoundly affected the psychology of all classes in France between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries. There is nowadays so little game left to hunt in the civilized world, and the methods of hunting have so completely changed, that the chase hardly offers any figures of speech to the language now in process of formation. Our knowledge of the method and conduct of the chase is largely due to literary reference, and the fine points once familiar in an age of universal expertness are becoming lost on the modern reader.

Some notes taken in reading old French narrative poetry may serve to keep alive the memory of our literary debt to the chase and the outdoor life of our ancestors. Some of the similes are still current; others, though out of use, charm us with the fine observation and technical familiarity they betray; all take us out into the woods where the wild boar runs, or into the fields where the wolf is a lurking menace to the sheep, or along the river brim where the gentry fly their falcons at larks, mallard ducks and other gentle prey.

Our current English comparisons for excessive speed are 'like the wind' or 'like lightning.' But the most obvious exhibition of speed in the eyes of the medieval Frenchman was furnished by the birds of prey used for hunting. The speed of their evolutions in the air, as they swooped, darted and seized their prey, furnished the most frequent comparisons for all sorts of occasions, but especially for the actions of combattants in war or private duel. The frame of these comparisons is practically conventional, but some variety is noted in the details of the observation. The following are examples:

- a. Aysi se mist a descendre corant
Con feit falcon quant sor meslart s'estant.
(*Entrée d'Esp.*, 3310-11, ed. Thomas, *Soc. Anc. Textes.*)
- b. Plus isnels qe jamés n'ira falcon a loir
Vindrent de grant randons li bauçans e li soir.
(*Ibid.*, 5054, 55.)

² Ed. Huguet, Paris, 1896, p. 117.

- c. Et sist sor .i. destrier ki plus cort d'une alaine
 Qu'esmerillons ne vole a l'aloe-procaine.
 (*Alexandriade*, p. 41, ed. Le Court de la Villethassetz et Talbot.)
- d. Et li bons chevaus ses pas rue
 Plus tost que faucon chace grue.
 (*Octavien*, 4254, 55, ed. Vollmöller.)
- e. Plus tos s'en va k'esmerellons
 Ne k'espreviers quant il oisèle.
 (*Perc. Gall.*, 30728, 29, ed. Potvin.)
- f. Aler les font de tel randon
 K'esmerellons ne s'i tenist,
 Ne faucons gaires, quant coisi
 Proie, quant l'a de lonc véue
 Et il descent devers la nue
 Por sa proie mius enverser.
 (*Ibid.*, 31126-31.)
- g. Et cil li vat plus de randon
 C'ostors ki chasc le colon.
 (*Beaudous*, 3900, 01, ed. Ulrich, Berlin, 1889.)
- h. El cheval sist Cornu, plus le fait randoner,
 Qu'esmerillon ne vole, por aloe encontrer.
 (*Conq. de Jér.*, 8086-87, ed. Hippeau.)

Falconry also suggested many comparisons applicable to the ardor for battle, to the fierceness of pursuit, and the urgency of flight.

- a. Plus desirent bataille qe sparvier tortorelle.
 (*Entrée d'Esp.*, 10489.)
- b. Ne croi faucons plus maelart asaille
 Chun le niés Karle le Païn fiert e taille.
 (*Ibid.*, 13147, 48.)
- c. Come l'aloe qui ne puet
 Devant l'esmerillon durer,
 Ne ne s'a ou asseürer
 Puis que il la passe et sormonte:
 Aussi cil a tote sa honte
 Li vet requerre et demander
 Merci, qu'il nel puet amander.
 (*Chev. Char.*, 2758-64, ed. Förster.)
- d. Cléomadès tant redoutoient
 Que devant s'espée fuioient
 Com fait ane (l. aue = oie) devant faucon
 Et grue pour l'alerion.
 (*Cléomadès*, 1167-70, ed. Van Hasselt, Bruxelles, 1865.)
- e. Il n'y avoit si hardi Sarrazin qui l'osast onques attendre, mais
 fuirent devant luy comme fuyt la perdris devant le lanier.
 (*Mélusine*, ed. Elz., p. 192.)

- f. Si con girfaux grue randone,
Qui de loing muet, et tant l'aproche
Qu'il la cuide prandre et n'i toche:
Einsi fuit cil et cil le chace.
(*Yvain*, 882-5, ed. Förster.)
- g. Sifaitement com li colon .
S'en fuent devant le faucon,
Si font cil ki de lui sont pres.
(*Beaudous*, 2722-24, ed. Ulrich.)
- h. Si com li espriviers l'alowe
Destroint il ces chevaliers toz.
(*Ibid.*, 4339, 40.)
- i. Tout chil desrengent con ostoirs a hairon.
(*Anseïs de Carthage*, 4313, ed. Alton.)
- j. Ensement li fuount com fet li mauviz,
Kaunt ele veit le faucoun en son voliz.
(*Boeve de Haumtone*, 601, 2, ed. Stimming.)
- k. Ausi com li ostoirs es anes (l. aues) avolant,
Quant il les a véues et il i vient bruiant;
Tot aussi vint Richars ens es Turs eslaissant.
(*Conq. de Jér.*, 1480-82, ed. Hippeau.)
- l. Ensi comme esperviers qui vole à recelée,
Quant il chace pertris ou oisel de volée,
Les va Renaus chacant à la perche quarre.
(*Ren. de Mont.*, p. 410, ed. Michelant.)

The flight of birds in dense flocks occasionally served as a comparison for close formation in battle:

- a. Paiens istrent defors, serez come esperviers.
(*Entrée d'Esp.*, 9350.)
- b. Ausi firent empresse cum fauchuns vers clamor.
(*Ibid.*, 8439.)
- c. Paiens volent plus dru (que) ne vollent arondel.
(*Gal. li Rest.*, p. 333, ed. Stengel.)
- d. Les petit pensonciaus en estez por calor
A. c. et a .ccc. s'asenblent entre lor,
E quant l'on li giete o pains o autre sor,
Entr'aus se deronpent e fuient por paor;
Quant l'on en son estant en rier a fait retor,
Por ferir sor le pain s'arengent tot entor,
Le petit i fert bien, asez plus le greignor:
Tot ensi sor li quens, d'orfnes avohieor,
S'asenblerent Paiens quant mort fu lor seignor;
Qi fiert de darz, qi d'ace, qi de mace forçor.
(*Entrée d'Esp.*, 10118-27.)

Other similes which betray a close observation of certain birds, especially of hunting birds when moulting, are as follows:

- a. Joffrois ne se tint pas c'oisiaus qui est en mue.
(*Bueves de Commarchis*, 3938, ed. Scheler.)
- b. Pour l'amour de l'enfant souvent la couleur mue,
Souvent se retournoit com oisiaus pris en mue.
(*Brun de la Mont.*, 811-12, ed. Meyer.)
- c. Qui voit plus cler parmi la foudre
Que faucons ne fet la riviere.
(*Mont.*, *Fabliaux*, ii, 130.)
- d. Ausi con uns ostoirs muers
Ki se va par l'air enbatant
Se va la dame deportant,
Mostrant son cors de rue en rue.
(*Ibid.*, ii, 201.)
- e. Au biau faucon lanier mauvès
Resamble maint homme de fès.
(*Ibid.*, iii, 86.)

Passing from birds to the wild animals, we find that the latter served much the same purpose, as a term of comparison for speed, fierceness, cowardice and other qualities shown in the fight. The reputed qualities of the lion, tiger and leopard belonged then, as now, to a literary tradition; but the wolf, wild boar, bear, stag and hare furnished qualities which were better known to a mediæval audience than they are to us. Especially frequent are references to the enmity of the wolf and sheep. The simplest type of comparison is such as 'fierce as a leopard, a lion, a tiger, or a wild boar'; 'swifter than a stag,' 'hungry as a wolf,' 'cowardly as a hare.' The only simile in the *Roland* is of this sort: "As the stag runs before the dogs, so do the Pagans flee before Roland." There are no animal comparisons in the *Voyage de Charlemagne*. But they were early current, and make plain the fact that forest hunting was done with dogs:

- a. Ome senbles qui core a chiens,
Qui chast sa beste por ataindre.
(*Béroul, Tristan*, 1874, 75, ed. Muret, *Soc. Anc. Textes.*)
- b. Si s'antrevient d'un eslais
Plus tost que cers qui ot les glais
Des chiens, qui après lui glatissent.
(*Cligès*, 4931-33, 3d ed., Förster.)
- c. Plus tost l'ot estrangle qui n'eüst .i. levrier
.i. lievre ou .i. conin, quant il ist del (rochier).
(*Maugis d'Aigremont*, 1682, 83, ed. Castets, Montpellier, 1893.)

- d. Ausi porte la teste en haut levee
Que li cers que on cache a la menee,
Quant li bracet le cacent a la ramee.
(*Aiol*, 899-901, ed. Normand et Raynaud.)
- e. Plus menuëmant, que brachez
Ne va traçant perdriz ne caille.
(*Yvain*, 1266, 67, ed. Förster.⁵)
- f. Coume senglers qui a estal livré
Enmi les chiens quant il l'ont arresté,
Se desfendoit Charles au cuer sené.
(*Enf. Ogier*, 6020-22, ed. Scheler.)
- g. (Aucassins) fait un caple entor lui autresi con li senglers, quant
li cien l'asalent en le forest.
(*Auc. et Nic.*, ed. Suchier, p. 12.)
- h. Com li chiens le cengler, quant est navrez à mort.
(*Aye d'Avignon*, p. 47, ed. *Anc. Poètes de la France*.)
- i. Non fu jameis lever, quant plus desir le maine,
Que plus tost randonast a la levre proçaine
Cum fist sor Ysorés le bon duc de Viaine.
(*Entrée d'Esp.*, 5340-42.)

Of all the wild animals the wolf appears most often in mediæval figurative speech, as he doubtless did in mediæval life. The wolf was a constant menace in many localities, and his daring attacks, when hungry, upon the sheep furnished many similes of the following type:

- a. Si con li leus qui tout deveure,
Qui mais n'i cuide avoir retour,
Se'contient Illes en l'estour.
(*Ille et Galeron*, 2586-88, ed. Förster, Halle, 1891.)
- b. Con plus est escauffez, plus est entalentis
D'entrer en le bataille et commenchier estris
Que ly leus afamez n'est d'entrer es berbis.
(*Hugues Capet*, pp. 146-47, ed. *Anc. Poètes de la France*.)
- c. Atant c'est en l'estor ferus
Ses a despars et desrompus,
Si com li leus fait les barbis.
(*Beaudous*, 2898-2900, ed. Ulrich.)
- d. Vostre enfant voi en autretel fornél
Com en la boche dou lous le sanple agnel.
(*Entrée d'Esp.*, 6119-20.)

The two longest similes in the *Roman de Troie* are developments of this figure, one of which is as follows:

Tot autresi com sueut li lous
 Entre les aigneaus fameillos,
 Qui destreiz est de jeûner
 E qui ne(1) puet plus endurer,
 E cui ne chaut qui que le veie,
 Quant il vuet acoillir sa preie;
 Tot autresi fait Achillès.

(*R. de Troie*, 21089-95, ed. Constans, *Soc. Anc. Textes.*)

This installment of old French similes suggested by the hunt with dog and bird shows how closely language follows upon human pursuits and activities. Few of those quoted above could develop today, for the conditions which gave rise to them have disappeared. Thus a study of popular similes can be seen to have some bearing on the cultural history of society.

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ANOTHER OF POPE'S SCHEMES

Of all men of letters Pope bears the palm as a schemer of schemes. There is hardly a single period of his career that is not marked by some deep laid plot. He seems to have enjoyed taking the circuitous rather than the direct route toward accomplishing his ends. Sometimes he found himself in tight places, owing to his double dealing, and had to scheme his way out; sometimes his devices looked toward exalting himself as a model of virtue; but more frequently his designs were directed toward the persecution of men whom he had, for the most part, gratuitously made his enemies. How well his multifarious conspiracies succeeded and how well he covered up his tracks is clearly seen in the fact that for years after his death he was eulogized as one of the most virtuous of men. It was only in the nineteenth century, when modern scholars began to uncover his tortuous methods and petty tricks, that his reputation began to decline; but it has continued to decline until today even his admirers can hardly speak of his character without apology. One of his schemes is the subject of this contribution.

In his life of Pope, Mr. Courthope states that the third volume of Pope and Swift's *Miscellanies*, which contained the treatise on the *Bathos*, was held back until the *Dunciad* was completed, in order that the treatise might provoke the author's enemies to attack

him and thus furnish some justification for his hurling his thunderbolt. As proof that such was the purpose of the *Bathos*, Mr. Courthope cites Savage's statement that the *Dunciad* was inspired by attacks produced by the treatise. An examination of the four volumes of the *Miscellanies*, 1727-32, reveals further proof.

It is probable that the inception of the *Dunciad* dates back as far as 1720. By 1725 it had assumed some kind of form. In June or July of the next summer Swift, while visiting Pope, rescued the *Dulness*, as it was then called, from the flames. The same summer supplied the author with a hero in the person of Lewis Theobald, who in his *Shakespeare Restored* had revealed Pope's complete lack of editorial ability. In the summer and autumn of the following year the satire reached the form in which it first appeared.

Another result of Swift's visit to Pope was the design of publishing their *Miscellanies*. In October, 1726, Swift was busy collecting all the "small things" that he thought could safely be printed. In February of the next year Pope writes the dean that the *Miscellany* "is now quite printed," and that he is pleased with it. "The third volume," he says, "consists of verses, but I would choose to print none but such as have some peculiarity, and may be distinguished for ours, from other writers."¹

It was not, however, until June that the *Miscellanies* appeared, and then only two volumes consisting of prose. In the preface to the first volume Pope makes plain his plan:

"The papers that compose the first of these volumes were printed about sixteen years ago, to which there are now added, two or three small tracts, and the verses are transferred into a volume apart. The second (and perhaps a third) will consist like this, of several small treatises in prose, wherein a friend or two is concerned."

Evidently Pope's design was to publish three volumes of prose and a last volume of verse, but not having enough material for the third prose volume, he published only the first two. Likewise the volume of verse was withheld, not to await the completion of the *Dunciad*,² but because there were not sufficient poems at hand,

¹ F. E. Ball's edition of Swift's letters, vol. III, p. 380.

² See Elwin and Courthope, vol. v, p. 213. Had Pope wished to withhold a volume in which to publish the *Bathos*, he certainly would have selected

after Pope had culled his material, to make a proper sized book. The next month Swift set about collecting enough material to make good the deficit.³

In the midst of this period of unusual activity, while the volume of poems was being completed and the *Dunciad* was receiving its final touches, Arbuthnot projected his treatise *Περὶ Βάθους*, or the *Art of Sinking in Poetry*. This was an attempt to lay down the rules whereby a poet might fail in verse, and to illustrate these rules by selections from contemporary poetry. Arbuthnot, however, intended the satire to be general and not personal. Pope, seeing the possibilities that lay in the work, appropriated it for his own purposes, that is, to provoke attacks that would justify his retaliating with the *Dunciad*. To make the treatise subserve his end better, he revised it, rendering it much more personal. There was one especially inexcusable chapter, in which he listed the initials of his future victims under the titles of various creatures such as flying-fishes, swallows, ostriches, parrots, didappers, porpoises, frogs, eels, and tortoises. In his hands the work departed entirely from literary criticism and became baldly personal.

When the *Bathos* was completed near the end of the year,⁴ the question of how it was to be published arose. Pope would have been as unjustified in issuing it by itself as in publishing the *Dunciad* without cause. Two prose volumes of the *Miscellanies* had already been published, and there was not sufficient material for a third.⁵ There only remained the volume of verse which was now completed. Yet to include a prose work among the poems would violate his plan for the *Miscellanies*, and Pope disliked giving up any prearranged scheme. But it was necessary to publish the treatise if he did not wish to publish the *Dunciad*

one of prose rather than one of verse, and thus avoided the difficulties into which he later fell. At the time the first two volumes appeared, he probably had no idea of using the *Bathos*.

³ "Pray copy out the verses I writ to Stella on her collecting my verses, and send them to me, for we want to make our poetical Miscellany large enough, and I am not there to pick what should be added." Swift to Rev. Thomas Sheridan, July 1, 1727. Ball, vol. III, p. 403.

⁴ The *Bathos* contains strictures on *Double Falshood* which was first produced Dec. 5, 1727.

⁵ In the "third" volume, 1732, Pope says it contains pieces written since the appearance of the other volumes of the *Miscellanies*.

unprovoked, and Swift was clamoring for the printing of the great satire.

Finally Pope decided to remove enough poems from the first of the poetical volume, as yet unprinted, to admit the insertion of the provocative piece. But since most of the verses to be removed were Swift's, he had to make some excuse to him. Rather than frankly telling the dean his purpose, he pretended that he rejected the verses as unfit,⁶ stating at the same time that he was substituting a production of his own. Swift acquiesced but with injured feelings.

In January, 1728, Pope wrote to Swift that the third volume was coming out, and that it contained the *Bathos* which he had rewritten. It did not appear, however, until March, though bearing the date 1727. On the title page the volume is called the "last" instead of the third. The reason for this peculiarity is evident. As mentioned before, Pope's plan was to publish three volumes of prose and one of verse. Had the volumes been numbered in chronological order, the first two would have been prose, the next verse, and the fourth prose again. Such an arrangement would naturally have been obnoxious to Pope. To avoid the difficulty caused by the volume of verse appearing when it did, he called it the "last," so that it could be considered the last of the series, even though he might later publish another volume of prose.

There is also another peculiarity of the volume. The first ninety-five pages consist of the *Bathos*. Then appears a complete and separate title page: *Miscellanies in Verse. London: Printed for Benjamin Motte, at the Middle Temple Gate in Fleet-street. MDCCXXVII.* After this comes the verse. It seems clear that Pope,

⁶ Swift writing to Motte, Dec. 18, 1727, says, "As to the poetical volume of Miscellany, I believe, five parts in six, at least, are mine. Our two friends (Gay and Pope) you know, have printed their works already, and we could expect nothing but slight loose papers. There is all the poetry I ever writ worth printing. Mr. Pope rejected some I sent him, for I desired him to be as severe as possible, and I will take his judgement. He writ to me, that he intended a pleasant discourse on the subject of poetry should be printed before the volume, and says that discourse is ready." Unfortunately there is a lacuna, followed by the words "not have let me suffer for my modesty, when I expected he could have done better. Others are more prudent and cannot be blamed." Swift evidently felt that Pope inserted the *Bathos*, because he considered it superior to Swift's verses. See Ball, vol. III, p. 440.

when he inserted the *Bathos*, perceived the impropriety of putting it with the poems, and separated it as much as possible from the rest of the volume, anticipating a time when he might remove it to more proper surroundings.

This malicious essay did not succeed in provoking many attacks, only a score of small things. Yet two months later, when the *Dunciad* appeared, the preface claimed in justification that for the preceding two months London had been full of pamphlets, advertisements, letters, and the like against the wit and character of Mr. Pope. We can read in this gross exaggeration of the effect of the *Bathos* the purpose of the *Bathos*.

Early in the summer of 1732 Pope set about collecting enough material to complete the third volume of prose miscellanies. Toward this end he asked Swift for contributions, which request the latter granted, though he was far from being convinced that the volume should be published, for he knew that it would contain, for the most part, the works of other writers than Swift and Pope.⁷ But Pope persisted, for he felt compelled to get the *Bathos* out of the volume of verse.

When the last volume, last in order of time, made its appearance, the title page proclaimed it the "third," so that it could be placed after the first two volumes of prose but before the volume of verses which had appeared before it and yet had been called the "last." The first hundred pages consist entirely of verses, after which comes a separate and complete title page: *Miscellanies. The Third Volume. London: Printed for Ben. Motte and Lawton Gilliver in Fleet-street. 1732.* The prose tracts separately paginated follow. Thus we see that the verses, as was the case with the *Bathos*, are here placed first and followed by a title page, and that they occupy practically the same amount of space as the *Bathos*. Furthermore, Pope in order to correct the illogical combination of prose and verse, tells us in the advertisement to the last ("third") volume:

"Of the following volume we need only say that it contains the remainder of those miscellaneous pieces, which were in some sort promised in the preface to the former volumes, or which have been written since. The verses are pagged separately that they may be added to that volume which wholly consists of verse, and the Treatise of the *Bathos* placed in their stead in this."

⁷ Cf. Ball, vol. iv, pp. 307, 359.

The treatise, having served its purpose, is to be restored to its proper place, though we are left in doubt how the transfer is to be accomplished.

When Swift received a copy of this issue, he was very displeased. He noticed that six sevenths or, as he later says, seven eights⁸ of the verse was his, and was incorrect besides, and that the greater part of the prose belonged to others.⁸ He again expressed disapproval of the whole affair, saying that the volume should never have been published. Against his will he sent what he termed a "certificate" acknowledging his consent to publication. The next year Charles Ford, writing to Swift, expressed his resentment against the way in which the latter's works had been treated by Pope in the *Miscellanies*:

"I have long had it at heart to see your works collected and published with care. It is become absolutely necessary since that jumble with Pope etc. in three volumes which put me in a rage whenever I meet them."⁹

In conclusion, Pope wished to use the *Bathos* to provoke attacks which would seem to justify the publication of the *Dunciad*. The only feasible plan was to remove from the poetical volume of the *Miscellanies* enough verses to permit the insertion of the treatise. Such a plan called for the publication of the volume before the third prose volume, as well as making necessary the mixing of verse and prose. This disarrangement Pope attempted to correct, after the *Bathos* had served its purpose, by calling the poetic miscellany the "last" volume and the fourth chronologically the "third" volume, and by putting separate title pages respectively after the treatise and the hundred pages of verse, so that an exchange could be effected, and everything reduced to proper order.

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⁸ Cf. Ball, vol. iv, pp. 359, 367.

⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. v, p. 37.

REVIEWS

From Ritual to Romance. By JESSIE L. WESTON. Cambridge University Press. 1920. xv, 202 pp.

One of the minor signs of reëstablished peace in the world is that the Grail quest is again to the fore in the field of mediaeval scholarship. Indeed, it is refreshing to see Miss Weston pay homage alike to the author of the famous *Golden Bough*, now Sir J. G. Fraser, and to Professor L. von Schroeder, with whose *Mysterium und Minus* most students of the drama and of folklore are familiar. The aim of the present volume is, as indicated in the title, to determine the origin of the Grail, "not to discuss the provenance and interpretation of the different (Grail) versions." Miss Weston feels rightly that some excuse is needed to add another study to the many already existing on this general theme, and she expresses her excuse by saying: "were I not convinced that the theory advocated in the following pages contains in itself the element that will resolve these conflicting ingredients into one harmonious compound, I should hardly feel justified in offering a further contribution to the subject." There is a vigorous, not to say youthful tone in this assertion. Thus the reader turns hopefully to the solution of a problem, the secret of which many have thought Chrétien de Troyes carried with him into the grave.

In addition to an Introduction, the book has thirteen chapters with the following headings: The Task of the Hero, the Freeing of the Waters, Tammuz and Adonis, Medieval and Modern Forms of Nature Ritual, the Symbols, the Sword Dance, the Medicine Man, the Fisher King, the Secret of the Grail (two chapters), Mithra and Attis, the Perilous Chapel, and the Author. One notable feature is that the book has no bibliography so-called. In fact, where references are made to other writers, both the date and place of publication are generally lacking. Richard Heinzel, *Ueber die französischen Gralromane*, Vienna (*Denkschriften der Akademie*, XL), 1892, is cited (p. 112) as Heinzel, *Ueber die Alt-Franz. Gralromanen*; Dulaure's work, Paris, 1905, is simply (p. 71) "Dulaure, *Des Divinités Génératrices*"; Brown's interesting study in

the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, xxv (1910), 1-59, is given (p. 68) as "*The Bleeding Lance*, A. C. L. Brown," and of A. E. Waite it is said (p. 74) that he "has published a book on the subject," but its title and place of publication are not mentioned. It is noteworthy, too, that thruout her discussion Miss Weston does not show the discrimination displayed by her best authorities in the field. Wisely she bases her fourth chapter on the monumental work of Baudissin, *Adonis und Esmun*, Leipzig, 1911; but where Baudissin twice (pp. 61 and 79) warns against associating phallic worship with the Phoenician aspect of these cults, Miss Weston leaps to the conclusion (p. 71) that the Lance and Grail are necessarily phallic symbols. Furthermore the body of her text contains such statements as these: "The aspirant was (I am told still is) admitted into the caste at the age of fourteen (p. 72)"; "I am informed that the Sword dancers of today always . . . form the Pentangle (p. 93)"; "Unfortunately the reference . . . either I omitted to make note of it, or entered it in a book which . . . went mysteriously astray in the process of moving furniture (p. 103)." Miss Weston is so insistent on the scientific value of her evidence, and would even accuse of "scientific dishonesty (p. 58)" those who dare question it, that we mention these features of her method at some risk of appearing pedantic. But the truth is that scientific research is synonymous with an accurate citation of authorities for purposes of control and with an objective presentation of the evidence, in which respects Miss Weston's treatise is very weak.

This is the more to be regretted since her theory, tho in no sense new, is, I believe, fundamentally sound. As early as 1842 Simrock saw in the concept of the Grail the "reproductive power of the slain god (Odin-Hachelbrand, Baldur, Adonis, Osiris)." Martin, writing in 1880 in support of a Celtic hypothesis, identified the Fisher King with Arthur passing a charmed life in Avalon, and beheld in both the myth of the summer god banished by the forces of winter. Heinzel admitted a vegetation-myth feature,¹ but regarded it as peculiar to the Pseudo-Chrétien *Elucidation*, whence he thought it had spread to other versions of the Grail legend. Thus it remained for Miss Weston (*Folk-Lore*,

¹ See also A. Nutt, *Voyage of Bran*, II, 1897, ch. XVIII.

XVIII, 1907, 283-305) to re-emphasize the idea of a vegetation-myth and to explain the Grail ceremony as a ritual, parallel to, if not actually connected with the Phoenician Adonis rites. The strong points in her argumentation were then, as they are now: 1) that in Wauchier de Denain Gawain sees at the Grail Castle a bier, on which lies a body, covered with a rich pall of crimson; 2) that vespers are sung over it amid lamentations; 3) that a lance, fixed in a silver socket, drips blood into a golden cup, whence by a channel the blood flows out of the hall; 4) that Gawain is told of a stroke by which the person on the bier met his death and of the destruction inflicted on the land by this stroke. All this bears a marked resemblance to the essential features of the Adonis rites at Byblos. Furthermore, according to Miss Weston, the *Elucidation* virtually repeats this experience of Gawain's, but prefaces it by the remark that the Court of the Fisher King can no longer be found because Amangons had offered violence to one of the maidens of the *puy*s or 'hills' and stolen her golden cup. And she also observed that other Grail stories refer to the wasting of the land—the so-called Enchantments of Logres—and that both the German *Parzival* and the Welsh *Peredur* make the appearance of the lance the signal of wailing and lamentation. On the other hand, the weak points in her theory were (and most of these persist in her present treatise): 1) that she takes the Gawain-, and not the Perceval-texts as the keynote to her explanation, thus disregarding what many scholars consider the true chronology of the Grail texts; 2) that no consistent explanation of the mysterious Fisher King is given; 3) that Perceval's relationship to him is slighted, if not entirely overlooked; and 4) that the position of the lance in the Wauchier text and the circumstance that the blood drips from it into a "golden cup," together with the fact that the maiden in the *Elucidation* has been robbed of her "golden cup," are the sole reasons adduced for the assertion that Lance and Grail are phallic symbols.

Such, in the main, was Miss Weston's position in 1907. In 1909 her *Legend of Sir Perceval* II appeared. Here she brought (p. 249 ff.) her views into connection with what she termed "The Development of the Grail Tradition." This she does by laying stress on Bledhericus Latinarius (the Bleheris of Wauchier, the Master Blihis of the *Elucidation*) as the real author of the Gawain ver-

sion; by attributing to the Adonis rites a triple character—for which, however, she gives no valid evidence—corresponding to the three planes of existence of modern mystics (God, Man, Matter; White, Red, Black or Green); by supposing that the Chastel Mortel of the *Perlesvaus* represents the third plane; and by again emphasizing the view, which is at least plausible and which some other scholars also hold, that Perceval was not originally a Grail knight, tho of course the same thing can be just as cogently affirmed of Gawain. This work was followed in 1913 by Miss Weston's *Quest of the Holy Grail*, which, appearing after my own Grail Studies,² repeats her former views and specifically combats my contention that Perceval, thru his matriarchal ties with the Fisher King, is the primal initiative into the vegetation rites. Here Miss Weston erroneously states (p. 128) that I regard the Eleusinia rather than the Adonis cults to be the origin of the Grail story. What I did say was: "Though the Grail ceremonies and the ancient mysteries (Osiris, Adonis, Tammuz, Attis, Demeter, Dionysos, and Orpheus) have the same leit-motiv, there exists no reason for claiming any direct connection between them," or, in other words, a comparison of the Grail ceremony with the Mediterranean cults explains the *meaning* of the Grail, without necessarily explaining its derivation.

Turning now to the present study, we find that Miss Weston is still seeking to carve a colossus on a cherry-stone, only the colossus has grown even more unwieldy in her hands than before. Her chapter-headings indicate the general line of her argument, which is never very precise. The Task of the Hero (ch. II) is to cure the infirm Fisher King and thereby to rescue the land from drought. But in reaching this conclusion, which I believe to be correct, the Grail texts are treated summarily and uncritically. Thus, the Grail-question in the *Prose Perceval* is quoted as: *Se tu eusses demandé quel' en on faisoit*, whereas a glance at the two mss. (one of which Miss Weston has edited) shows that the probable reading is: *que [or qui] l'on en servoit*; the assumption is made, without any attempt at proof, that it was Chrétien de Troyes who adopted this form of the question, which is said to be "a departure from an essential and primitive simplicity"; and

² *PMLA* xxiv (1909), 365-418; *Elliott-Studies*, I, 19-51; *MP*, ix (1912), 291-322.

finally attention is called to the fact that in the *Perlesvaus* the failure to ask the question is itself the cause of the Fisher King's illness, but it is not stated that this romance directly refers to Perceval's failure in Chrétien's work, a circumstance that would amply explain the change in question. The Freeing of the Waters (ch. III) then proposes to trace the vegetation-rite back to early Aryan origins. These the author finds elaborated in von Schroeder's *Mysterium und Mimus*. Not only does Indra in the *Rig-Veda*, argues Miss Weston, restore vegetation by releasing the waters, but the *Mahābhārata* records a mystic marriage whereby ritualistically the same result is obtained and "rain falls in abundance." The first parallel is impressive, but only when taken in connection with similar instances of the *motif* the world over. Furthermore, it is not new, as it is the object of rather elaborate treatment in von Schroeder's own article on the *Wurzeln der Sage vom heiligen Gral*, Vienna (*Sitzungsberichte der Akademie*, CLXVI), 1910. Could Miss Weston have had frequent discussions with Professor von Schroeder at Bayreuth in 1911 (see Preface, v) and not have heard of this treatise? As for the second parallel, the Grail romances contain no example of a ritualistic marriage, such for instance as the Adonis cults and the Eleusinia have; but why then does Miss Weston force her issue by citing as a parallel Gerbert's confusing statement that the Grail hero marries, but does not consummate the marriage physically? Since in Gerbert the Swan Knight was to be the Grail hero's son, it is clear that the marriage was not to be ritualistic, whatever else it was.

It would take us too far afield to mention all of the queries Miss Weston's treatise raises. In what follows we shall confine ourselves to the high-points of her interpretation, leaving the details to the reader's own investigation. Tammuz and Adonis (ch. IV) should have included the Carthaginian Esmun, especially since the account which Lucian of Samosata gives of the Adonis cult tallies in many respects with the complementary account by Damascius of the Esmun myth. But of neither of these important documents has Miss Weston so much as a mention. On the other hand, she does use to advantage the Psalms of Lamentation over the dead Tammuz, the resurrection idea inherent in the worship of both Tammuz and Adonis, the fact that both of these names, like that of the Fisher King, are merely appellatives, the connection of

both with the water, the prominent part played by women in the pagan and in the Grail ceremonies, and above all the suspension at the time of the rite of the reproductive energies of Nature. All of this could be strengthened by further study; such as detailed consideration of the seasons at which the ceremonies take place (Baudissin mentions two for Adonis), the fact that in early Christian times the Adonis cult was frequently celebrated on Good Friday, the supposed record of such a cult on the Island of Malta as late as 1591 (Baudissin, 129), and so on. In her succeeding chapters (v and xii especially) Miss Weston touches upon the survival of the Mediterranean cults in Western Europe and adds thereto instances of purely popular survivals taken from Frazer, Mannhardt, Schroeder, and Cornford (*Origins of Attic Comedy*). This material is rather the *disjecta membra* of a discussion of the subject than actual chapters treating the same. Thus, Gawain may have some likeness to the primitive Medicine Man; Peredur in the Black Book of Carmarthen has the epithet of *penwetic*, which has been interpreted as 'chief healer';³ the English Sword Dances, Morris Dances, and Mumming Plays have vegetation features; but it does not follow from Miss Weston's collection of traits gathered here and there that "Gawain's character of Healer belongs to him in his rôle of Grail winner (p. 102)," or that the Grail Knights go back to such characters as the Roman Saliî (p. 95) with their ritualistic dance. In her treatment of the Fisher King (ch. ix) Miss Weston is on firmer ground, altho most of her material is well-known (see *PMLA*, xxiv, 373 ff. and Miss Peebles, *The Legend of Longinus*, Baltimore, 1911, 203 ff.) and has been more fully presented by others. Fish, cup, and dove are well-nigh universal ritualistic emblems; and the rôle of Fisher does not belong exclusively to Jesus. A valuable suggestion of Miss Weston's is that Fisher King, Maimed King, and the Dead King on the Bier are "different aspects of the same personality." Certainly, the wounding *parmi les hanches*—like Arthur's wound in Geoffrey of Monmouth, xi, 1-2—is significant. "Le sanglier," says Vellay (p. 93), "frappe et blesse Adonis aux parties génitales, car la cuisse n'est ici qu'un euphémisme, dont on peut trouver d'autres exemples dans la cuisse de Jacob, dans la cuisse de Zeus, etc." So,

³ See Miss Williams, *Essai sur la composition du roman gallois de Peredur*, Paris, 1909, p. 57.

too, according to Damascius, Esmun, fleeing from Astronoe, strikes himself in the genital parts (Baudissin, 339). The Attis myth has the identical feature, which also occurs elsewhere.

Toward the close of her treatise (ch. XI and XII) Miss Weston takes up the question of the syncretism of Mediterranean cults, on the basis of the studies of Cumont, Reitzenstein, and Mead, and attributes—rightly, I think—considerable importance to the *Philosophumena* of the anti-heretical Hippolytus (199-217). But in spite of the clear case of syncretism that this document gives, Miss Weston does not succeed in working out consecutively the steps whereby the syncretized cults of Attis, Mithra, Osiris, Adonis, and Demeter worked their way westward to reappear in the interesting vegetation-story of Fécamp in the 12th century (see her *Sir Perceval*, I, 157 ff., and my own *Fisher King* in *PMLA*, XXIV, 400 ff.) and *perhaps* in the Grail versions. Under the heading of the Perilous Chapel (ch. XIII) Miss Weston lists King Arthur's ride to St. Austin's in the *Perlesvaus* as "the story of an initiation." This episode, as I have shown elsewhere,⁴ occurs unconnected with a Grail romance in Johannes Glastoniensis. Miss Weston's remark concerning it is suggestive, but her observation is not a proof; nor can she expect scholars to take seriously her further remark that since the Blanchland in a borrowed form of the story possibly represents Northumberland (where such traditions about Arthur were current), therefore we may see in the episode a survival of heathen cults transmitted by Roman legions in that region.

It must be obvious that it is difficult to deal fairly with such a book as Miss Weston's. Her tone is often provocative (see again p. 175); she accepts things as proved that will strike another as pure fancy; she constantly reverts to the idea that somehow the Grail story is better literature because it does not rest on "a poet's imagination, but upon the ruins of an august and ancient ritual"; she is notoriously neglectful of the researches of others in her field. In short, her method is unscholarly. At the same time, Miss Weston's various studies—and among these *From Ritual to Romance* has a pre-eminent place—are always suggestive and stimulating and in their particular attention to the rites of Adonis have contributed to open up an extremely fruitful line of investi-

⁴ *MP*, I (1903), 255 ff. and XVII (1920), 616 ff.

gation. It would be futile, I believe, to deny that a Nature-ritual of a pagan type underlies the Grail stories; indeed, others, independently of Miss Weston, have held this view. What is now urgently needed is a critical survey of the field; possibly a division of it into various sections; certainly a careful sifting of the important Grail texts with reference to the vegetation-elements they contain—with passages critically quoted and with some consideration of chronology and derivation. As everyone will admit who has touched upon this matter even superficially, the material, tho plentiful, is illusive and very complex.

Incidentally it may be added that Miss Weston has revived interest in the Old French *Sone de Nansai*, with its interesting reference to the wounding of Joseph of Arimathea:

Es rains et desous l'afola
De coi grant dolor endura;

and the resulting blight upon his land and people. But it has not been successfully demonstrated, as Miss Weston assumes, that this poem goes back to another of those convenient *lost-versions*. So, too, it remains an open question whether Grail and Lance, as such, originally belonged together. Robert de Borron's *Metrical Joseph* does not mention the lance, in spite of the fact that it relates the story of the Crucifixion. In the *Peredur* it is the Grail that is lacking, altho many assume that the "platter with the bleeding head on it" occupies its place. Wauchier (see above) has the lance bleed into a "cup," not into the Grail, which serves bread and wine. And in the *Syr Percyvelle*, which lacks entirely the visit to the Fisher King's Castle, what is the exact significance of the "cup" of which King Arthur has been robbed:

Fyve zeres hase he thus gane,
And my *coupes* fro me tane,
And my gude knyghte slayne (vv. 633-635) ?

Have we here a parallel to the Grail?⁵ Surely significant is Arthur's statement in the *Conte del graal*, ed. Baist, vv. 2786-2788:

Ne mangerai a si grant feste
.....
Tant qu'a ma cort novele viegne.⁶

⁵ Professor A. C. L. Brown tells me he is to deal with this question in his articles in *Modern Philology*.

⁶ See my references in *MP*, ix (1912), 311, note 2.

On the other hand, unlike Perceval, Gawain never meets a fisherman in a boat, and his chief concern is with the bleeding lance.⁷ All of this shows the need of discrimination, especially if we are to affirm, as Miss Weston does categorically (p. 194), that the matriarchal (tribal) side of the Perceval story has no connection with the fertility-rite, the argument being that Chrétien first connected the Perceval story with the Grail. For the fact is that the tribal idea is found elsewhere, precisely in connection with similar initiations. Indeed, the dualism of "cup" and Grail in Wauchier leaves open the possibility that it was Chrétien, who, finding the "cup" in his source, supplanted it by the semi-Christian *grail*, as found in Count Philip's book.⁸

Lastly, on the Oriental side of the Grail question, Miss Weston's latest contribution makes it desirable to consider anew the interesting story of the King of the Black Islands found in the *Arabian Nights*,⁹ where fishing, laming of 'the lower extremities,' disenchantment by water of the king and the inhabitants of his land are again strikingly illustrated.

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Eustorg de Beaulieu. A Disciple of Marot. 1495(?) - 1552. By HÉLÈNE HARVITT. Lancaster, Pa.: New Era Printing Company, 1918.

Among the numerous biographies of lesser sixteenth century authors that have appeared in recent years Miss Harvitt's volume will take no unimportant place.

The writer is indeed not the first in her particular field. Two accounts of Beaulieu had appeared as early as the year 1880: a pamphlet by G. Becker, *Eustorg de Beaulieu*,¹ and an article on the same subject by Emile Fage.² Besides this, Clément-Simon,

⁷ *Conte del graal*, vv. 6129-6133.

⁸ See Nutt, *Folk-Lore*, XXI (1910), 112 ff., and Leo Jordan, Herrig's *Archiv*, CXXXIII (1915), 222 ff.

⁹ Chauvin, *Bibliog. des ouvrages arabes*, VI, Paris, 1902, pp. 56 ff.

¹ *Eustorg de Beaulieu, poète et musicien du seizième siècle*, Paris, Sandoz et Fischbacher, 1880.

² *Eustorg de Beaulieu, poète et musicien du XVI Siècle*, reprinted from the *Bull. de la Soc. des lettres, sciences et arts de la Corrèze* (2me livraison) in *Portraits du vieux temps*, Paris, Ollendorf, 1891.

"a scholar thoroughly versed in the history and literature of the Limousin," published in 1889 an article on Charlotte de Maumont which treated incidentally of Beaulieu.³ G. Becker's work and Fage's are, however, negligible. Becker simply repeats Henri Bordier's more or less perfunctory contribution to *La France Protestante*, an article which Miss Harvitt has frequent occasion to correct, whereas Miss Harvitt brings to her task sound scholarship, competent knowledge of her subject and a sense of atmosphere sufficient to transport her readers back to the Lyons of the Renaissance, the Geneva of the Reformation.

Eustorg de Beaulieu was an industrious if not an inspired poet and has left behind him six metrical works: *Les Gestes des Solliciteurs* (1529); *Le Pater et Ave des Solliciteurs de proces* (1530?); *Les Divers Rapportz*, wherein the two former works were reprinted; *Chrestienne Resiouyssance*; *Le Souverain Blason d'honneur a la louange du tresdigne corps de Jesus Christ*; and *L'espinglier des filles*. He was born between 1495 and 1500 at Beaulieu-sur-Ménoire. Early orphaned, he was ill protected by a guardian who recklessly imperilled his inheritance, and so he began mature life almost without means. His profession of teacher of music led him, as was common in those days, from place to place, from Beaulieu to Lectoure in Armagnac where he held a post as organist; from Lectoure to Tulle, to Bordeaux, to Lyons. At Lyons he made acquaintance with the well-known Marie de Pierrevive, with Maurice Scève and with Marot, and published his *Divers Rapportz*. Soon afterwards, Beaulieu, who, although a priest, had been tempted by the doctrines of the reformers, fled from the city to Geneva and became pastor of Thierrens, a small town in Vaud. Here he put his musical and rhythmical gifts to good use in the service of his new convictions by setting sacred words to profane and popular tunes. In his *Chrestienne Resiouyssance*, published in 1546, he adapted to religious purposes a hundred and sixty such popular songs. The book contains also satirical and humorous poems written from the point of view of the new Reform, some more Protestant than Christian, more sincere than dignified.

One poem in the volume was subsequently revised and reprinted, the *Blason spirituel a la louange du tresdigne Corps de Jesus*

³ *Bull. de la Soc. des lettres, sciences et arts de la Corrèze*, XIV.

Christ. Beaulieu had taken a conspicuous part in the famous controversy which followed Marot's revival of the *Blason* with his *Du beau tetin* and of which Miss Harvitt gives a full and illuminating account. He now used the *Blason* with marked success for a religious purpose. Written in the tone of the *Miroir de l'ame pecheresse*, the poem attains more nearly to the qualities of true poetry than was habitual with Beaulieu's verse. It is indeed, in this case, difficult to understand Miss Harvitt's comment: "The tone of the poem is somewhat shocking to a modern reader." It is a tone that has been found from age to age in Christians with an inclination to mysticism, whatever their shade of opinion, ultramontane, quietist, ritualist, evangelical; and Beaulieu's poem affords a conspicuous example of the spiritual attitude it expresses. Miss Harvitt quotes three stanzas well worth reproducing here:

O donc Iesus, certes tes nobles membres (Luc. 2. a. b.)
 N'ont pas esté nourriz es belles chambres, (Ieh. 4. a.)
 Et ton beau chef qu'on deburoit tant priser,
 N'a pas tousiours eu où se reposer. (Mat. 8. c.)
 Aussi tes yeulx columbins pleins de grace (Ieh. 18. d.)
 N'ont pas esté sans plorer long espace, (Marc. 15. b.)
 Et sans sentir maintz souffletez et crachatz,
 Lors qu'à t'occire on faisoit le pourchas.
 Ton ventre blanc et trop plus clair qu'yuoire (Canti. 5. d.)
 (Matt. 21. c.)
 A eu souuent faim de menger et boire. (Ieh. 19. c.)
 Voire tes piedz, tes mains et ton costé
 De lance et cloux ont maint effort gousté. (Ieh. 19. f. 20. f.)
 Tes iambes mesme ont senti mainte estorce
 Des fiers bourreaulx qui les tiroient à force.⁴

Beaulieu shortly lost his pastorate of Thierrens and spent some time at the University of Bâle, where he published a little pamphlet for the instruction of young girls in the reformed religion, called *L'espinglier des filles*, which went through three editions and was his last work. Miss Harvitt, somewhat surprisingly, makes no comment on the ineptitude of this title. It revived a fashion carried to heights absurd enough to draw Rabelais' fire. The great humorist had parodied it some fourteen years earlier in his catalogue of the Library of St. Victor with such titles as *Le peleton de theologie*, *Le vistempenard des prescheurs*, *La cocqueluche des*

⁴ Harvitt, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

moines, Les cymbales des dames. But these jibes, if he was aware of them, flew harmless past Beaulieu. It was left for his executors to change the title of the posthumous edition of 1565 to *La doctrine et instruction des filles*, published thirteen years after Beaulieu had died in a state of great poverty.

The biography is by Miss Harvitt admirably composed and established. She corrects the surmises of Bordier, Fage, and even of Clément-Simon, "in general absolutely trustworthy," nor hesitates to take up the cudgels for Beaulieu against the learned Guiffrey.⁵ The biography is based chiefly upon internal evidence, and the author has had to "feel (her) way carefully through the mass of undated material and try to retrace (the) author's footsteps." Scholars may judge of the labor involved in a biography of this nature. The author's erudition and patience have borne fruit in the obviously trustworthy quality of her study.

Miss Harvitt has culled from Beaulieu's work selections generous enough to enable her readers to form an estimate of his talent. They are likely to justify her judgment that it "was most successful when applied to satire." She remarks upon Beaulieu's moralizing tone in the *Rondeaux* especially and, in general, upon his "critical sarcastic attitude." However, she quotes one or two passages to show him in a gentler mood. Among them is a *rondeau* on the Forest beginning:

En la forest a mainte chose,
En la forest on se repose,
En la forest faict beau chasser,
Beau chanter, beau le temps passer,
Beau composer en Rhyme et Prose.⁶

Throughout the volume, the reader is enlightened by criticism judicious and well informed. Although his biographer considers that Beaulieu "deserves a high place among the poets of the period," it is only by this single phrase that she yields to the common temptation of exaggerating the importance of her subject. Otherwise she makes no further claim for him than as a clever satirist with a keen feeling for external nature and a certain brilliance of style. One of his poems, the *Gestes des Solliciteurs*, she describes as "sparkling with life, more vivid, perhaps, than any

⁵ *Oeuvres de Marot*, Paris, Librairie de l'art français, 1876-1881.

⁶ Harvitt, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

chronicle can hope to be," another, the *Divers Rapportz* is, she thinks, "interesting from the point of view of literary history."

The fact is that, as a poet without the sweep of imagination or the power of expression to compose what in this day would be called poetry, Beaulieu stood by no means alone. Among the writers of the early Renaissance Marot and possibly Heroët are the only poets capable of sustained poetic utterance. Miss Harvitt justly remarks that "there was little or no distinction between the verse and the prose of the early poets of this period." She might have added that French literature has always harbored a *genre* midway between prose and what we call poetry, a truth illustrated in a later age by Boileau's conspicuous example.

Beaulieu belonged to the pre-renaissance group. A significant indication of this fact is his complete freedom from Italian borrowings and his sparing classical allusions. Although responsive to a certain degree to newer influences, Beaulieu in reality harks back to the Mystery plays, to Jean Bouchet and to Jean Marot. His place was with the Rhetoriqueurs. Though he took Clément Marot also as his model, his Marot was the Marot of the *rondeaux* and *épîtres*, not the translator of Petrarch, the tardy professor of spiritual love. Miss Harvitt is indeed of opinion that "there is no abyss" between the Rhetoriqueurs and the forerunners of the Pléiade: "The development from Rhetoriqueurs to Pléiade was, like all developments, gradual and continuous." This assertion cannot, however, be accepted as self-evident, for there is evidence that the revolt of the new poets from the old tradition was marked even before Du Bellay gave it definite expression in 1549. Indeed, even in the volume containing the epitaph on Pierre de Cornu, which begins:

Cy gist le corps du grand escornifleur
De Cornibus qui fueille encor ny fleur,

and is compact of those *jeux rythmiques* which are the very stamp of the Rhetoriqueurs (though rare, Miss Harvitt tells us, with Beaulieu), Beaulieu himself reacts against the traditions of the Rhetoriqueurs in verses which Miss Harvitt quotes in a wholly different connection:

Pour contenter plusieurs gens intractables,
Le temps viendra, s'il n'est desia venu,
Qu'equiuoquer leur faudra tous vocables,

Ou pour Poete on ne sera tenu;
 Ou, leur mascher les morceaulx si menu
 Et relymer tant la Rithme à leur aise,
 Qu'en la gastant du tout, elle leure plaise.⁷

One characteristic line of cleavage between the Rhetoriqueurs and the early poets of the Renaissance is the metrical scheme, and here Beaulieu is all of the old school, prolific in rondeaux, ballades, and epistles, their common baggage. Miss Harvitt does service to students of these matters by giving the rhythmical scheme of the fourteen ballades of the *Divers Rapportz*. It is to be regretted that she did not do as much for the rhyme-schemes of the songs in the *Chrestienne Resiouyssance*, which give promise of something new.

The book contains a comparative table of these songs and their profane counterparts, material invaluable to the student of this sort of literary or religious adaptation, a form of activity by no means confined to the period under consideration. The writer further discusses with much discrimination the authorship of two mystery plays and also of a translation of the Psalms with which Beaulieu was credited.

The volume concludes with an appendix giving Colletet's Life of Beaulieu; an admirable bibliography; an index to the Song-Books, sources of the adaptations of the *Chrestienne Resiouyssance*; and another to proper names. This equipment combined with the soundness and thoroughness of Miss Harvitt's work, should make her little volume an invaluable addition to the library of any student of French Literature.

C. RUUTZ-REES.

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Le Français pour tous, par NOËLIA DUBRULE. Boston and New York: Ginn & Co., 1919.

Le Français pour tous is a book written especially for Junior High School and High School students. It is based on a modification of the Direct Method. The author gives a model lesson in her *Suggestions to Teachers* which will be very valuable to those who intend to use the book. The French in which it is written is

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

good, a statement which cannot be made about all text-books published in this country. The material is composed of thirty-three picture units, each picture-unit considered as one week's work. There should be tables in the appendix where the student can find all the forms of the verbs grouped together. The idiomatic phrases at the beginning of each lesson are good in themselves, but no use is made of them in the text.

As for the method of teaching pronunciation, it would be advisable to treat all the sounds earlier in the book and then repeat the drill columns. Since the author depends on *imitation* only and uses no notation of any kind, what is the significance of printing (p. 52, paragraph 93): *Le signe + se lit plus (prononcé pluss)*? What guide has the pupil for the pronunciation of that word? With this method, the pupil needs the continual presence of the teacher.

The material itself is interesting, especially for the younger pupil. It gives an adequate vocabulary of every day life and of easy historical narrations.

A few suggestions (with page reference):

10, *les couleurs*. These should be classified as to gender and number.

18. no. 31. Sentences such as: *Il a proclamé la vérité*, or *Joséphine a vu sa patrie*, even tho given only for drill in pronunciation, sound artificial.

38. *Il y a des plantes et des lanternes*. Here again, a sentence for drill in pronunciation, but something more closely related than *plantes* and *lanternes* might have been chosen.

48, n. 85. In what connection can a pupil use the phrase *cherchez la femme*?

64. It is a pity that the pupil has to wait so long to have drill on the pronunciation of *g* when on p. 7 we find *horloge*; on p. 10, *rouge*; p. 11, *gomme*, etc.

81. *Elle a fait un bon voyage et est en parfaite santé*. Combinations like *et est* should be avoided.

102. *Au Bois*. Why not mention in the vocabulary that it refers to the *Bois de Boulogne* in Paris, and not merely to a great park.

103. The pupil is asked: *En quelle saison sommes-nous (dans l'image)*? Except for winter it might be any of the seasons. There is no vegetation at all in the picture.

104. Why should *élève* be given only in the feminine, since the book is addressed to all students? The impression is made that the word is only feminine.

108. The idiomatic expression *Tu n'y es pas* should be translated in the vocabulary, since other idiomatic expressions are so treated.

115. Should not *les parties du corps* be printed in heavy face type, or a space left between the phrase and what follows?

130. Where is the student supposed to find the translation of proverbs, especially of those which have no English equivalents or which cannot be translated literally, such as *Chercher midi à quatorze heures*?

152, 7. *Quels sont les autres châteaux?* The answer is illogical since with names of *châteaux* it lists *Tours*, which is not a *château*.

155. Why repeat the rime?

172. We find the same proverb on page 102.

183. Why should not the names of the authors mentioned be given in the vocabulary with their dates or some indication of who they are?

220. *Aux* used instead of *à les*. Why attract the attention of the student to a form which does not exist?

223. *Chanteur, euse*, defined *singer*. Why is no gender given? It is very evidently a noun.

233. *Fascinatrice* f., *fascinating*. If the word is an adjective, the masculine form should be given and no indication of gender, otherwise the pupil will mistake it for a noun.

240. *Malin-gne* is awkward. It would be better to print either *mal-in, igne*, or *malin-igne*.

240. *Manquer; y—fail of it*. This is not English.

243. *Etre des nôtres, join us*. The definition is correct, but it would be advisable to comment upon it.

249. *Qui; ing—parle, speaking, —roule, rolling*. Surely *qui* cannot be defined by *ing*! An explanation is necessary.

To sum up, the volume is good for very young pupils. For high school students who have to pass Regents or college entrance examinations a fuller appendix, giving tables of verbs and a more detailed treatment of grammar, would add greatly to the usefulness of the book.

HÉLÈNE HARVITT.

Columbia University.

The Life and Dramatic Works of Robert Montgomery Bird, by CLEMENT E. FOUST, Ph. D. New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1919. x + 725 pp.

It is a pleasure to note the continued activity of investigators in the field of American drama—until recent years a neglected branch of our literature. The latest proof of this activity is Dr. Clement E. Foust's volume on Robert Montgomery Bird, which contains a critical biography of over 150 pages and four of his plays, published from the manuscripts.

As the author states in the preface, there has hitherto been a total lack of a biography of Bird; hence the material we find here came entirely from first-hand sources. It is cause for wonder that the writer of once famous plays and of novels still read should have been thus overlooked, and we are indebted to Dr. Foust for bringing him clearly to our knowledge.

Like other of the earlier American authors, Bird (whose dates are 1806 to 1854) found that literature had few rewards to offer save discouragement and poverty, yet literature in one form or another instead of medicine, for which he prepared himself, was through life his principal vocation. The external obstacles which checked his aspirations, as well as those of numerous contemporaries, were mainly two: First, the people of the United States entertained a strange contempt for American literature, finding the British importations much more to their taste. Secondly, the absence of international copyright laws operated very unfavorably against the American writer. Since publishers in this country were at liberty to reprint English successes without payment to the author, they saw little logic in exchanging good dollars for uncertain native productions. Moreover the lax state of the national copyright worked against the dramatist, who was compelled to give over the unrestricted right of representation to one manager, with the probability that the text would be sadly garbled, and the certainty that the remuneration would be meagre.

Nevertheless Bird achieved honorable results both with his dramas and with his novels. *The Gladiator* and *The Broker of Bogota* were long popular on the stage, while *Calavar* and *Nick of the Woods* have thrilled readers for generations.

Dr. Foust presents in rapid survey the events of Bird's life, and

contrives to give an impression of his attractive, high-minded and courageous personality. No doubt lack of space and perhaps scarcity of material led to condensation on the part of the biographer; but a more leisurely treatment, which would have given opportunity for ampler development of Bird's winning character, would have been welcome.

Dr. Foust's critical estimates are conservative and just. Bird is appraised as somewhat of a pioneer, since, like Brockden Brown, he became a professional writer before writing was a well established profession in America. The two plays already mentioned are judged to have "permanently enriched our dramatic material." His novels "are essentially boys' books"; yet they possess a conscientious workmanship, a wholesome treatment of character, and a vivid and dramatic style that "once and for all discourage invidious comparisons, as have been made, between them and the 'dime-novel.'"

The style of the book is thoroughly readable, but it has been made business-like at the expense of the ease and charm one desires in biographical writing. The fault of repetition is somewhat noticeable: the writer is too fond of the expression "to a degree"; three times we are told that Bird was one of the first to explore Mammoth Cave; and three times his reasons for abandoning plays for novels are set forth.

Perhaps the chief defect of the monograph is that no attempt is made to place Bird in the literary movements of his time. Because the greater part of the volume is given over to the dramas, we might rightly expect a discussion of their relation to the dramatic tendencies of that period. We are not told that of the many American playwrights who had essayed blank verse tragedy, Bird was among the first to produce a distinguished stage success; or that in writing two tragedies on classic themes he was both following and giving impetus to one of the dramatic currents of the time; or that in basing two plays on Spanish American life he was showing the influence of Kotzebue's earlier but still frequently acted tragedies on that theme, and possibly also of Irving's historical work.

It may not be out of place here to point out a misleading statement in *The Cambridge History of American Literature* (vol. I, p. 309) to the effect that Bird's Mexican novels owed something to

Prescott's history. As a matter of fact Bird forsook this field eight years before *The Conquest of Mexico* appeared.

Of peculiar value is the second part of the book, made up of four plays printed from the Bird manuscripts in the possession of the University of Pennsylvania. To be sure *The Broker of Bogota* was published in Professor Arthur Hobson Quinn's *Representative American Plays* (1917), but *Pelopidas*, *The Gladiator*, and *Oralloossa* are here first made accessible to the public. That these dramas were all written for the famous Edwin Forrest, an actor of the athletic and not of the intellectual school, is apparent. Like the plays of Marlowe, which were probably shaped to the Herculean proportions of Edward Alleyn, they display sweep rather than profundity of conception, and largeness rather than subtlety of characterization. Yet in the protagonist of *The Broker of Bogota* Bird has presented a figure at once heroic and veracious, the most human of his creations. This factor, coupled with the careful construction of the play, gives it claim to rank as the greatest American tragedy prior to the Civil War, with the exception of George Henry Boker's *Francesca da Rimini* (1855).

The present reviewer regrets that Dr. Foust was unable to find room for Bird's manuscript comedy, *News of the Night*. True, it was an early effort and remained unacted; but the complications of the intrigue are ingeniously managed, and the genuine vivacity of the humor reveals an element of the author's equipment that might not be suspected from the tragedies.

A portrait-frontispiece, bibliographies of printed works and contributions to magazines, and an index complete a volume that commends itself throughout for the freshness and interest of the material.

ORAL SUMNER COAD.

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CORRESPONDENCE

NOTES ON *The Shepheardes Calender*

With *Aegl.* v, 57-58,

I (as I am) had rather be enuied,
All were it of my foe, then fonly pitied,

compare Faustus Andrelinus, *Ecl.* x, 22-23,

livorque probatur
Commiserante vicem melior pietate sinistram.

With *Aegl.* ix, 15-17,

Nay, but sorrow close shrouded in hart,
I know, to kepe is a burdenous smart.
Eche thing imparted is more eath to beare,

compare Petrarch, *Ecl.* xi, 5-6,

Enecat artatus mentem dolor; optima mæsti
Pectoris est medicina palam lugere;

also Ovid, *Tr.* v, 1, 63, "strangulat inclusus dolor," and *Tr.* iv, 3, 37-38,

est quædam flere voluptas;
Expletur lacrimis egeriturque dolor.

With *Aegl.* ix, 58-61,

Wel-away the while I was so fonde
To leaue the good, that I had in honde,
In hope of better that was vncouth:
So lost the Dogge the flesh in his mouth,

compare Faustus Andrelinus, *Ecl.* vii, 38-43,

Quam mens læva fuit, quam vanum pectus et excors,
Curia cum subiit pedibus fugienda citatis,
Ut fugit infernus sacratam spiritus undam.
A cane deluso documenta sequenda dabantur,
Ne peterem certis vanam pro carnibus umbram,
Quamvis maius erat visa sub imagine frustum.

The fable of the Dog and the Shadow seems to be very seldom used in Pastoral.

With *Aegl.* x, 31,

So praysen babes the Peacoks spotted traine,

compare Juvenal, vii, 30-32,

didicit iam dives avarus
Tantum admirari, tantum laudare disertos,
Ut pueri Iunonis avem.

With *Aegl.* x, 100-101,

The vaunted verse a vacant head demaundes,
Ne wont with crabbed care the Muses dwell,

compare Baptista Mantuanus, *Ecl.* v, 18-19,

laudabile carmen
Omni operam totumque caput, Silvane, requirit,

and 89-91,

nos, debile vulgus,
Pannosos, macie affectos, farragine pastos
Aoniae fugiunt Musæ, contemnit Apollo;

also Juvenal, vii, 59-61,

nec enim cantare sub antro
Pierio thyrsumque potest contingere mæsta
Paupertas.

‘Colins Embleme,’ which is usually printed at the close of the December eclogue,

Vivitur ingenio: cætera mortis erunt,

comes from the Pseudo-Vergilian elegy *Mæcenæ*, line 38. Professor de Sélincourt omits it. He says that all the earlier editions fail to give it, and that it is first found in Hughes (1715). But E. K.’s Gloss definitely mentions a December ‘Embleme’—and explains it. And his explanation fits this Latin line very well: “The meaning whereof is that all things perish and come to their last end, but works of learned wits and monuments of Poetry abide for ever.”

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A FEW NOTES ON POE

Interest in the subject of Poe’s biography and bibliography has been especially strong of late years, and many new facts have been discovered; nevertheless, it may not be out of place to note here a few things which have hitherto remained entirely unnoticed by Poe’s editors and biographers.

I

1. In the field of bibliography the most important item is the discovery that *Sonnet—Silence*, appeared first in the Philadelphia *Saturday Courier*, January 4, 1840. The version of the poem formerly considered the first publication, in *Burton’s Gentleman’s Magazine* for April of that year, is an exact reprint of the *Courier* text.

2. Poe’s title to the authorship of the series of articles called *Omniana* which ran in the five numbers of *Burton’s* from April to August, 1840 has always been more or less believed to hold as far as the numbers before June are concerned, but the appearance of a note on the meaning of the phrase *agit rem* in the July article, and the presence of the same note in the *Marginalia*¹ make it clear

¹ Cf. the Virginia edition of Poe’s *Complete Works*, edited by J. A. Harrison, xvi, 62.

that Poe wrote that instalment, and shows that some of his work appeared in that magazine even after he ceased to be its editor.²

3. *The Black Cat* was reprinted in the Boston *Pictorial National Library*, November 1848.³ Thus far no proof of Poe's authorizing this publication has been found, but it seems worthy of some notice, as *perhaps* the final publication of the tale.

4. At Poe's request N. P. Willis usually reprinted in the *Home Journal* the more important poems of Poe's last years, with an introduction. After Poe's death, Willis kept up the custom, and printed *The Bells* on October 27, 1849, with the following note:—

Poe's Last Poem

The *Union Magazine*, for November, contains the following remarkable poem, by the late EDGAR A. POE. We do not know of a piece of fugitive poetry in the English language that will be likely to be more generally read. Its rhythmical harmony is perfect, and its tone throughout, fit and sustained. "The Raven," "The Bells," "Ulalume," "The Haunted Palace," are unquestionably titles to an enduring reputation.

5. Poe's connection with the Philadelphia *Saturday Museum* has always been a subject of speculation, but continued failure to discover a file of the paper has prevented students from arriving at definite conclusions. It would seem, however, from advertisements in the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, that the famous attack on Griswold's *Poets and Poetry of America*, which Gill reprinted from clippings,⁴ appeared in the *Museum* for January 28, 1843. The review was probably one of a series, a review of *Graham's Magazine* for March, has been found in clippings from the *Museum* for March 4, 1843.⁵ This review Poe told Lowell⁶ was the work of H. B. Hirst, but the style of the attack, the fact that Poe was on better terms with Griswold when he wrote Lowell, the ascription of this very review, which calls Griswold "Mr. Driswold," to Poe by F. W. Thomas⁷ and Poe's intimacy with Hirst at the time all make it probable that Poe had more to do with the review than he later cared to admit.⁸

A review of the January number of the *Pioneer*, from the *Saturday Museum* was reprinted by Lowell on the cover of the February *Pioneer*. Poe's title to this is not certain, but the fact Poe acknowledged a later review of a number of the *Pioneer*,⁹ the style,

² Woodberry, *Life of Edgar Allan Poe*, I, 236.

³ I, 255-259.

⁴ Reprinted by Harrison, XI, 220 ff.

⁵ This review was alluded to in a recent article by Mr. Whitty, in the *Nation*.

⁶ Woodberry, *Life*, II, 47; cf. Letter to Fields, Harrison, XVII, 149.

⁷ J. H. Whitty, *Complete Poems of Edgar Allan Poe*, page xlv.

⁸ In an article on Poe, published in the *Saturday Courier*, October 20, 1849, Hirst states that he saw Poe two or three times a day for a considerable period.

⁹ Woodberry, II, 21.

and the fact Lowell thought it worth reprinting argue for Poe's authorship.

6. A notice of the ninth number of the *Southern Literary Messenger* in the *Baltimore American*, June 15, 1835 seems to be acknowledged in letters to T. W. White.¹⁰

II

An incident which cannot fail to interest Poe's biographers is the dramatization of the *Gold Bug* by Silas Steele, in 1843, the year of the first publication of the story. The only account as yet found of this production is an announcement, and a paid advertisement in the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*, August 8, 1843. From this paper it appears that there was to be given that night at the benefit of Mr. Steele, the dramatist, what was described as an "entirely new drama, founded on Edgar A. Poe's beautiful prize-tale entitled *THE GOLD BUG*." The author was Steele, and there were four characters, as follows: *Friendling*, Mr. Charles; *Legrand*, Mr. Thompson; *Jupiter*, Mr. J. H. White; *Old Martha of the Isle*, Mrs. Knight. There was only one performance, and the Walnut Street Theatre closed for the summer a few nights later.

III

The City in the Sea has given commentators much trouble to explain, yet it has never been suggested that the city referred to by Poe is none other than the Biblical Gomorrah. Mr. Whitty has pointed out that the poem is an expansion of a passage in *Al Aaraaf*,¹¹ and by examining the earliest version of this part of the poem¹² and Poe's own note to the passage one can see that Poe was deeply interested in the legend that one could see the ruins of "the cities of the plain" by gazing down into the waters of the Dead Sea. Contemporary American poets seems to have been interested in the same subject, and L. A. Wilmer at one time seems to have echoed Poe's lines in a description of the Deal Sea,¹³ and though Spencer Wallace Cone, in his poem *The Dead Sea* probably did not imitate Poe,¹⁴ yet he evidently used the same source as Poe.

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THOMAS OLLIVE MABBOTT.

¹⁰ Harrison, xvii, 6, 7. The tone of these letters suggests that Poe may have been connected with the paper at this time, and a search of its columns reveals several book reviews that are in Poe's manner, especially one of the *Italian Sketch Book*, in the issue for June 16, a note on "the extravagance of the present French Tragedy," (June 22), and one on Coleridge's *Table Talk* (July 16).

¹¹ Part II, especially lines 37-38.

¹² The cancelled passage from the *Yankee*, December, 1829, may be found in Professor Killis Campbell's *Poems of Edgar Allan Poe*, p. 41. The earlier title of the poem, *The City of Sin* applies to Gomorrah as well as to Babylon, while the passages that conflict with Professor Campbell's view (one of which he points out, *loc. cit.*, p. 209), fit harmoniously with the interpretation here proposed.

¹³ *Somnia* (Phila., 1848), page 11.

¹⁴ Cone, *The Proud Ladye* (N. Y., 1840), page 70.

KIPLING'S *Recessional*

It is interesting to speculate whether a certain passage in Kipling's *Recessional* goes directly to a biblical source, or whether it has echoed a part of a poem by Sir Walter Scott.

In the *Recessional* we have

The tumult and the shouting dies;
The captains and the kings depart;
Still stands Thine ancient sacrifice,
An humble and a contrite heart.

Compare the last two lines with two lines from Rebecca's hymn, in *Ivanhoe*, II, Chap. xvi:

But Thou hast said, the blood of goat,
The flesh of rams, I will not prize;
A contrite heart, an humble thought,
Are mine accepted sacrifice.

Kipling's meter and rime-scheme are identical with Scott's, and the verses quoted seem much closer to the author of *Ivanhoe* than to the biblical writers Kipling may have had in mind. Even a casual reading of the Old Testament originals will suggest the difference.

Psalm 34:18—The Lord is nigh unto them that are of a broken heart; and saveth such as be of a contrite spirit.

Psalm 51:17—The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit; a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.

Isaiah 57:15—I dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones.

Isaiah 66:2—But to this man will I look, even to him that is poor and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at my word.

It is not necessary to conclude that Kipling borrowed from Scott; but the student of parallel passages will find here some food for reflection if he has not noticed the similarity before.

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THE SOURCES OF ROUSSEAU'S *Edouard Bomston*

In *Modern Language Notes* for March ¹ Professor Albert Schinz makes a number of interesting comments on my article dealing with *The Sources of Rousseau's Edouard Bomston*.² He is undoubtedly right in his statement that reference to Colonel Morden, the "English gentleman" in Richardson's *Clarissa Harlowe*, should not have been omitted from my study. It is a detail perhaps worthy of special investigation. With some of Professor Schinz's other observations, I am somewhat less in accord. He

¹ xxxv, 184, 185.

² *Modern Philology*, July, 1919, pp. 125-39.

thinks that "more could be made of Muralt if one went deeper into the spirit of the *Lettres*, and did not allow himself to be so much limited by verbal resemblances, which are, after all, only external signs of a much deeper relation between the two authors." It is true that both Rousseau and Muralt, on account of their Swiss and Protestant origin, had much in common and that both quite naturally were inclined to admire at the expense of the French certain traits common alike to the English, to the Swiss, and to themselves personally. However, "verbal resemblances," while certainly to be used and interpreted with discretion, can hardly fail to be valuable, when they do thus constitute 'external signs of a much deeper relation between the two authors,' and especially so in this case when we know that Rousseau read Muralt at the very time he was writing the *Nouvelle Héloïse*. Professor Schinz thinks that the importance of Cléveland "appears somewhat diminished when one reflects that the 'English gentleman' was in the eighteenth century in France, a sort of *Type littéraire*, as the *Honnête homme* was in the seventeenth," but he does not speak of the influence a novel so widely read and admired as *Cléveland* must have had in helping to form this very *type littéraire*. Professor Schinz says that the passages quoted to prove that *Cléveland* was "specially present in Rousseau's mind while he was writing *la Nouvelle Héloïse* are not "altogether convincing." Aside from the fact that an impression of *Cléveland*, recalled vividly at even so late a date as the period when he composed the *Confessions*,³ could hardly have failed to be equally present in his mind at the earlier date of the *Nouvelle Héloïse*, Professor Schinz is somewhat overstating the conclusions of my article and seems to think that the passages in question are quoted to show direct and rather servile imitation of Prévost by Rousseau. That this is not the case readers of my previous article can readily see.⁴ I shall merely quote a few sentences from my former conclusions on this point.

"The correspondence in many of the traits of Cléveland and of Bomston is noteworthy, but, striking as it is, it does not necessarily warrant the conclusion that Rousseau consciously set out to imitate Prévost. On the contrary, the fact that the character of Cléveland is portrayed only by slight indications scattered through all the four volumes of the novel would make such servile imitation more difficult and less probable. Moreover, the points of correspondence are characteristics either possessed or admired by Rousseau himself. Some of them, such as *sensiblerie*, lie also in the general trend of the period contemporary with Jean-Jacques. . . . Each reader may determine for himself how much should be attributed to influence of Prévost upon Rousseau and how much to correspondence in the character and ideals of the two authors."⁵

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³ Rousseau. *Œuvres* (Hachette), v, 469. "La lecture des malheurs imaginaires de Cléveland, faite avec fureur et souvent interrompue, m'a fait faire, je crois, plus de mauvais sang que les miens."

⁴ *Modern Philology*, *op. cit.*, pp. 134, 138, 139.

⁵ *Id.*, p. 134.

NOTES ON SHAKESPEARE

The commonly accepted reading of *Macbeth* 5. 3. 55-6 is as follows:

What rhubarb, senna, or what purgative drug
Would scour these English hence?

This is based on the Fourth Folio, the first to read *senna* for *Cyme* of the First Folio. The Second Folio, followed by the Third, has *Cany*. The reading *senna* has, therefore, no authority whatever, being merely a conjectural emendation for the unknown word *Cyme*. Badham, as quoted by Furness, remarks rightly: 'The only pretension to probability [of *senna*] is, that the *Pharmacopœa* offers us no cathartic whose name is not still more remote from the corrupted word.' But, so far as I know, no plausible suggestion has been made as to the name of the 'purgative drug' Shakespeare had in mind. Perhaps it might be added that, to correspond with rhubarb, the name of some common plant would best solve the problem.

It seems to me that *Cyme*, a not unusual botanical term, is the right word and that any change is unnecessary. One may notice a passage from Philemon Holland's translation of Pliny's *Natural History* (1801), a work with which Shakespeare was, as is well known, acquainted. The following is from p. 26 of the second volume:

Moreover, like as Coleworts may be cut at all times of the yeere for our use, so may they be sown and set all the yeere long. . . . The tender crops called Cymæ, after the first cutting, they yeeld the Spring next following: now are these Cymæ nothing els but the delicat tops or daintier tendrils of the maine stem.

A few lines below, the word is Anglicized in a description of the different kinds of coleworts: 'And yet none put foorth their Cymes or tender buds more than they.'

Many uses of the colewort in medicine are given in the ninth chapter of the twentieth book; the following lines are from p. 48:

The Greeke writers of greatest antiquitie, have made three kinds of Coleworts: to wit, the erisped or ruffed Cole, which they called Selinas or Selinoides, for the resemblance that the leaves have to Parsley: These Coleworts bee good for the stomacke, and gently loosen the belly.

As the reading *Cyme* of the First Folio is perfectly intelligible, there is no reason why it should not be restored to the text, and understood as meaning the tops and tendrils of the colewort.

The explanation commonly given of the following lines from *King Lear* (2. 2. 33-6) seems far-fetched:

Kent. . . . Draw, you rogue; for, though it be night, yet the moon shines. I'll make a sop o' the moonshine of you, you whoreson cullionly barber-monger.

Unfortunately, the commentators have found a reference to a dish called 'eggs in moonshine,' and try to discover some possible connection of this with Kent's words. The real meaning would seem to be much simpler and more obvious. The ground is drenched in moonlight, and Kent, in blustering fashion, merely threatens to 'sop up' some of this moonlight with the body of the detested Oswald. The threat is in the same tone as, and not much different in meaning from, the common American colloquialism: 'I'll wipe up the ground with you.' The unlucky reference to 'eggs in moonshine' should be banished as having no connection whatever with the thought in Kent's mind.

The passage in which Macbeth rouses the murderers to kill Banquo (3. 1. 91-103) is probably taken from Erasmus' colloquy *Philodoxus*. In the latter, Symbulus urges Philodoxus to distinguish himself from the common herd. The similarity is so striking that it can hardly be accidental. The passage from Erasmus is transcribed from the Elzevir edition of 1643:

1. *Mur.* We are men, my liege.
Macb. Ay, in the catalogue ye go
 for men,
 As hounds and greyhounds, mongrels,
 spaniels, curs,
 Shoughs, water-rugs, and demi-wolves
 are clept
 All by the name of dogs; the valued
 file
 Distinguishes the swift, the slow,
 the subtle,
 The housekeeper, the hunter, every
 one
 According to the gift which bounteous
 nature
 Hath in him clos'd; whereby he does
 receive
 Particular addition, from the bill
 That writes them all alike; and so
 of men.
 Now, if you have a station in the
 file,
 Not i' the worst rank of manhood,
 say't.

SY. Omnes canes sub una specie continentur: sed hæc species quam in innumeras formas distrahitur? ut dicas illos genere distingui, non specie. Iam prorsus in eadem specie quam varii sunt canum mores, et ingenia? PH. Immensa varietas. SY. Quod de canibus dictum est, de singulis animantium generibus dictum puta: sed in nullo magis elucet discrimen, quam in equis. PH. Vera prædicas. Sed quorsum hæc? SY. Quidquid in animantium generibus, vel in formis, vel in singulis animantibus varietatis est, hoc omne puta esse in homine. Illic reperies lupos varios, canes inenarrabili varietate, elephantos, camelos, asinos, leones, oves, viperas, simios, dracones, aquilas, vultures, hircines, hirudines; et quid non? . . . SY. Scis autem virtutem circa difficilia versari. . . Proin da operam ut in bello dux esse malis quam miles.

Not only is the general wording similar, but the whole idea is the same; in both, the comparison of the different classes of men to animals is used to rouse the person or persons addressed to some act that may take him out of the mere 'catalogue,' and place himself where he will 'have a station in the file.' I believe that other passages in *Macbeth*, chiefly those dealing directly with his ideas of obtaining glory, are influenced by this dialogue of Erasmus.

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In Browning's "Parleyings with Certain People," the poem *With Bernard de Mandeville* (ll. 69-70) has these lines,

The correct interpretation of 'Addison's tye-wig preachment' seems to have escaped notice. The phrase refers to an anecdote about Mandeville found in Johnson's *Lives of the English Poets*, ed. Napier, II, 128; in Hawkins' *Life of Johnson* (1787), p. 235, note; and in Newman's *The Lounger's Commonplace Book* (1805), II, 308. Hawkins puts it that Lord Macclesfield "once got Mr. Addison to meet him [Mandeville], of whom being asked his opinion by his lordship, Mandeville answered, he thought him a parson in a tye-wig" [a layman's wig].

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The York play in which Jesus appears to Mary Magdalene (xxxix) seems at one point in its stanzaic division to be metrically unsound. Of the play Miss Smith says, "Stanzas 6 and 7 have twelve lines each, the rest have eight lines, of varying length though regular as to rime" (*York Mystery Plays*, p. 422, note). The meter is discussed by Davidson also in an effort to discover whether or not the play is to be included in the parent cycle which he distinguishes. Though rejecting the play, Davidson says, "The verse movement and alliteration agree well with those of viii and ix" (*English Mystery Plays*, p. 139). Y. ix differs from the regular septenar stanza of Davidson's parent cycle by the absence of the cauda. xxxix is likewise equivalent to the pedes of the septenar, although not to the early, regular form of the stanza. Variations occur in the two twelve-line stanzas noted by Miss Smith, one of which I wish to consider.

Of these stanzas, 7 is substantially the septenar with pedes and cauda rimed ababababcded. Stanza 6, however, has a peculiar rime-scheme which I do not recall elsewhere in the York plays and which cannot, I think, represent the intention of the poet; the stanza rimes ababcdedcded. It will be observed that after the first four lines we have the regular pedes of the septenar, and that the first four verses exhibit a rime-scheme suitable for the cauda of a stanza; this is precisely what I take them to be—the cauda of stanza 5, which constitutes the normal pedes. According to this

arrangement stanzas 5 and 7 would be twelve-line septenar stanzas with conventionally rimed pedes and cauda; the other stanzas would be composed of the double quatrain alone. The present division was obviously made to coincide with the speech of Mary, but correspondence of new speech and stanza is not maintained through the play (Cf. stanzas 2, 3, 10, 13, and 15) and is certainly not a valid reason for diverting the rime-scheme from its probable original form.

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BRIEF MENTION

Early Theories of Translation. By FLORA ROSS AMOS (New York, Columbia University Press, 1920). There should be a subtitle to show that the author has dealt with her subject in the domain of English literature, and that 'Early' signifies from King Alfred to Pope. In both artistic and practical aspects, theories of translation are involved in principles that protect them against finality of definition and consequent dismissal from the list of those subjects which retain a hold on the mind from generation to generation. The connotations of the word translation will always vary within the wide area extending from the halting rendering of a foreign text in the class-room, or the deciphering of a foreign letter or contract in the counting-room, to the reproduction of the substance and artistic qualities of a fragment from Sappho, of a Greek chorus, of a Pindaric ode, or of a lyric of Heine's. In whatever sphere of expression, a translation is judged according to avowed purpose. Subtle problems are encountered by the artistic translator. He must probe the possibilities of transference and equivalence of idiom and even of national consciousness; and the indefinable union of form and content will make demands upon his finest perceptions. He must understand, for example, the lesson inculcated by Coleridge's 'sensible' tho' 'very severe' master, that poetry has "a logic of its own, as severe as that of science, and more difficult, because more subtle, more complex, and dependent on more and more fugitive causes"; and that in great poetry, "there is a reason assignable not only for every word, but for the position of every word" (*Biog. Lit.* chap. 1). Obviously, to translate poetry in the supreme manner requires the double equipment of a true discernment of the qualities of the original and a vital, creative command of the artistic resources of the translator's own language.

The connotations of the word 'translation,' however wide in range, are generally accepted in a way that occasions neither practical nor artistic confusion in thought. Specific purpose and criti-

cal evaluation are satisfactorily indicated by descriptive and qualifying terms. These connotations imply a theory that is flexible in adaptation to a scale of great diversity of aim and method, from the glosses in a medieval psalter to the distinction of the most artistically meritorious version of a Greek play. Every translation taken separately represents, therefore, only one particular effort in the varied and extensive class of efforts provided for in the theory of translation as a comprehensive whole. There are, of course, formulated judgments of what a translation should be and of what they mostly are, but these fix the attention on the theory in one or another province of effort. For example, a literary translation is not *ipso facto* like the wrong side of a Dutch tapestry, on which the figures are obscured by the crossing of diagonal threads. Then too the employment of translation and imitation as interchangeable terms, which they are not, invalidates many a general statement of theory.

In the higher reaches of the translator's craft, there is, as in other creative activities, an inhibition upon impulse to expound theory of procedure (*cf.* p. 129). What can be clearly explained or cast into a simple formula pertains, for the most part, to externalities of method or obvious adaptation to purpose, leaving the subtle, inherent characteristics of the product to be disclosed by a critical application of the refined formula of what constitutes excellence. For example, the prose-translators in the Anglo-Saxon period, under the general formula to translate "hwilum word be worde, hwilum andgiet of angiete," are not thereby restrained from showing individuality of style and independence of judgment as to their function; and the poets of the same period convert their foreign 'sources' into national literature in a manner that has, for the most part, hardly a remote relation to the prose-formula. However, this "conventional rule" was kept in vogue as a general expression of the translator's theory, for poetry as well as for prose, thruout the medieval period. Lydgate announced it, and Bokenam in doing so declared it to be "after Jeromys decree" (p. 16); and it continued to be prominent in discussions of method during the following period.

Dr. Amos has restricted her investigation to what the translators "have put into words" concerning their methods in prefaces and by way of incidental comment, and has "avoided making use of deductions from practice other than a few obvious and generally accepted conclusions," thus leaving aside "the discrepancies between precept and practice, and the influence which practice has exerted upon theory." The advantage gained is the confining of "a subject, otherwise impossibly large, within measurable limits" (p. ix). But within these limits, the medieval 'translator,' the chief agent in the development of the national literature, contributed nothing in the way of a critical theory of translation. References to source, 'in story as we read,' 'so saith the French

talé,' etc., are so conventional as often to be weakened into mere tags for eking out the meter (p. 19); and so too the usual apologies for manner and style are seldom significant in a critical sense. Mere conventionality must therefore often be read into what has the form and color of a personal statement. This led to an irresponsible use of personal expressions on the part of the translator which does not comport with strict notions of proprietary rights. Comment on the context could be carried over from the 'source' and appropriated by the translator as his own. "What at first seemed to be the English translator's comment on his own treatment of source is frequently only a literal rendering of a comment already present in his original" (p. 14). In this process the reference of the pronoun 'I' occasionally remains to be deciphered with concession to a fashion that would now be classed with moral obliquities. For example, in the *Romance of Partenay* "I found" translates "Je treuve" (p. 29). Because of critical importance something may be added here. Professor Mustard has shown that Alexander Barclay adopted Mantuan's youthful experience (*MLN.* xxiv, 9), and that James Thomson's lines in *Liberty* v, 81-5, exhibit something of the same fashion (*AJP.* xxix, 19); so too does Soothern in translating Ronsard (*MLN.* xxxiv, 253). Compare also Dr. Amos' comment on Whetstone (p. 102), and on Robert Tofte (p. 104).

The second chapter is devoted to "The Translation of the Bible." As in the preceding chapter, "The Medieval Period," the pertinent matter is here brought together with industry and discrimination. A summarizing statement may be quoted: "Between the translators of the Bible and the translators of other works there are few points of contact. Though similar problems confronted both groups, they presented themselves in different guises. The question of increasing the vocabulary, for example, is in the case of biblical translation so complicated by the theological connotation of words as to require a treatment peculiar to itself. Translators of the Bible were scarcely ever translators of secular works and vice versa. The chief link between the two kinds of translation is supplied by the metrical versions of the Psalms" (p. 74).

It is on the third chapter, "The Sixteenth Century" (pp. 81-132), that Dr. Amos would put the chief emphasis. The New Learning was then "offering new problems and new ideals," and the work of the translator "appealed to persons of varying ranks and of varying degrees of learning." For the cultural history of the period much is to be learned from what the translators say of their work. There was a conscious effort to match other nations in the patriotic duty of turning into the vernacular a large share of foreign literatures. Characteristic of the period was also a disputed distrust in the capabilities of the English language. But with ample discussion of technical details, such as the admission of ink-horn terms and the handling of the sentence, the theory of

translation remains for the most part casual and without definite formulation of principles, "much less clear and consecutive" than that of the translation of the Bible (p. 99). This, however, describes but one aspect of changing conditions. Apologies for the vernacular give place to complete acceptance of the language as being capable of rendering 'the best phrase' of any foreign tongue; and the school of 'academic correctness' discusses the rightful employment of the native and the derived resources of the vernacular, the observance of the proprieties of *genre* and of the inherent characteristics of the originals. A translation must be not only "profitable or entertaining, clear and easily understood" to meet the claims of the reader, but the claims of the original author must also be considered (p. 117). What the great translators of the period say of the technique of their art, and of the educational, cultural, and national value of translations has, with industry and skill in adjustment of interlocking details, been compiled in this central chapter. Taken together the translators touch all points of standard or theory, but there does not issue the organic unity of principles sought by the critic. Chapman's Homer is a link between this and the following periods both in chronology and in theory.

Chapman, then, brought the age "of suggestions, rather than of finished, definite results" (p. ix), to a forward looking conclusion. "He attacks both the overstrict and the overloose methods of translation," and lays down the critical principles of the true art. There follows the period of Dryden and Pope, which is "in many respects . . . the Golden Age of the English translator." This preëminence was, of course, made possible by the achievements of the preceding age. If the translators in the sixteenth century contribute little to completeness and precision in the expression of theory, their work laid the basis of that international relationship in literature upon which now rested the refinement and specialization of the translator's art both in practice and in critically expressed theory. The basal character of the sixteenth century has a deeper significance in the history of English culture than is implied in mere sequence. The foundations then laid were stronger and wider than in the next period they were understood to be. An undervaluation of native strength and advantages gave easy access to the principles of neo-classicism. This is at least a factor in the problem of conditions which favored a restriction of translation to classic poetry, and of translators to poets. And in this state of an artificially refined taste and a quickened rivalry in achievement it was inevitable that translation and imitation should become blended in theory. This period is therefore one of "growing dignity of this department of literature" and, Dr. Amos adds, "the Augustan fondness for literary criticism combined to produce a large body of comment on methods of translation." From Denham, Cowley, and Dryden down thru Pope to Cowper's discussion of the

"suitable vehicle for a translation of Homer," long prefaces abound and abundant scholarly and "detailed discussion of the best rules for putting a foreign classic into English." At the end of the period, "there appeared the first attempt in English at a complete and detailed treatment of the theory of translation as such, [Alexander Fraser] Tytler's *Essay on the Principles of Translation* [1791, 3d ed. 1813]." The scarcity of Tytler's treatise and especially the report that he did not regard "the elaborate prefaces that accompanied the translations of his own century" constitute a justification of Dr. Amos's book.

With an essentially complete exhibition of the subject from the point of view taken by Dr. Amos, the student of this last period as well as of the preceding periods will be greatly assisted in the more precise detection of theory in the actual practice of the translators. He will, moreover, be assisted in the philosophic determination of the distinctive features of the cultural standards that were dominant in the national literature at the several periods.

J. W. B.

The Infernal Masculine and Other Comedies (Boston, The Cornhill Company, 1918) is a collection of plays by Arthur Brand that depend for their comic effect upon a sudden turn in events that bring about as sudden a turn in situation and relationship. In *The Infernal Masculine* the turn comes in the unexpected revelation of deeper designs in a supposedly callow youth than any one on or off the stage suspects him of. It is a sort of burlesque of *Candida*, with the "poet" a cheerful scamp who plays fast and loose with a languid and flirtatious middle-aged woman of wealth and infinite leisure. In *Three Is Company* the turn is not unexpected, for the young wife, who thinks she wants a divorce, does not understand herself and her position as well as her indulgent and wise husband. It is a variation on the familiar triangle motive. The undesirable angle is eliminated by the husband's dexterous playing upon the sensibilities of his wife and her impossible friendship for an unreformed gay Lord Quex and his "influential" wife. In *Did It Really Happen?* the turn is frankly impossible and the author as frankly invents a "miracle" to bring it about. It involves the transformation of a bullying husband, whose faults are pretty well fixed after twenty-five years of practice, into the playful lover-husband of bygone days. The "miracle" somewhat suggests Barrie in *Dear Brutus*, but Brand has not the charm of the inimitable Scotchman. The dialogue is clever and witty and the characterization is everywhere lifelike. The leading persons in the plays stand out distinctly so that they keep the action in their own hands. The minor characters are never in the way. Particularly well drawn and charming are the husband and wife in *Three Is Company*.

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THE SOURCES OF THE *FATES OF THE APOSTLES* AND *ANDREAS*

Professor G. P. Krapp in his edition, the most recent and complete, of the *Fates of the Apostles* of Cynewulf, in reviewing the work of his predecessors¹ in tracing its sources, comes to the conclusion:

It seems extremely probable . . . that the author of the *Fates of the Apostles* had before him, not, presumably, Bede's *Martyrologium*, but the list or lists which Bede used in the preparation of his *Martyrologium*. The items of these lists were probably arranged not as they are in Bede, according to the calendar, but somewhat as they are presented in the poem and the *Breviarium*.²

We can, in the light of recent investigations upon medieval martyrologies, be quite assured that the author did not have before him Bede's work, because the genuine text would not have helped him much, as it does not mention the places of the apostles' deaths except in the case of Philip: "KL. MAI. Hieremiae Prophetæ. Et in Heropoli, Philippi apostoli," and of Thomas: "V NON. IUL. translatio Thomæ apostoli in Edesa, passus vero in India."³ The only list which Bede, could, and did, use in these instances was

¹G. Sarrazin, "Die Fata Apostolorum und der Dichter Kynnewulf," *Anglia*, xii (1889) 379-382; J. J. Bourauel, "Zur Quellen- und Verfasserfrage von Andreas, Crist und Fata." (*Bonner Beitr. zur Anglistik*, xi) 1901, 101-7.

²*Andreas and the Fates of the Apostles*. Boston, 1906, xxxii.

³H. Quentin, *Les Martyrologies historiques du Moyen Age*, 1908, 50, 52, 585, citing from Sangallensis 451. The later family of manuscripts has also "VIII Kl. Sep. In India, natale sancti Bartholomei apostoli" (*Ib.* 54).

the *Notitia de locis SS. Apostolorum*,^{3a} which is found regularly before the *Martyrologium* of the Pseudo-Jerome⁴ for the reason stated by the compiler:

Sane in prima parte libelli omnium apostolorum festa conscripsimus, ut dies varii non videantur dividere, quos una dignitas apostolica in caelesti gloria fecit esse sublimes.⁵

In this list in which the names are arranged: 1. Peter; 2. Paul; 3. Andrew; 4. Jacob; 5. John; 6. Thomas; 7. Jacob; 8. Philip; 9. Bartholomew; 10. Matthew; 11. Simon Cannanei and 12 Simon Zelotes, Bede found the entries:

XII kl. ian. Nat. s. Tome apostoli in India et translatio corporis eius in Edesa, and kl. mai. Nat. s. Philippi apostoli in civitate Hieropoli provincia Assie,⁶ for which he was indebted to his own meagre notices of the same saints, nor could he find more detailed information in the body of the *Martyrologium*,⁷ to which he refers elsewhere,⁸ and to which he was largely indebted in his own work. The *Notitia de locis SS. Apostolorum*, true to its title, only notes

^{3a} H. Quentin, s. v. Bede, *Dict. d'Arch. Chrét. et de la Liturgie*, II, 1 (1910), 640.

⁴ *Martyrologium hieronymianum*, ed. G. B. de Rossi et L. Duchesne, in *Acta Sanct. Nov. II* (1894) [lxxv]; T. Schermann, *Propheten- und Apostellegenden nebst Jüngerkatalogen des Dorotheus und verwandter Texte* (T. u. U., Ser. 3, vol. I, Part 3) 1907, 170, 225 ff.

⁵ *Ib.*, [lxxxii].

⁶ *Ib.*, [lxxvi]; according to the reading of *Cod. Epternacensis*, written in England in the first years of the eighth century: *ib.*, [viii]. H. M. Banister, "Liturgical Fragments: A. S. Sacramentaries," *Journ. Theol. St.*, IX (1908) 401. The entry of the *Notitia*: "V kl. novemb. Nat. Apos(tolorum) Simonis Cannanei et Simonis Zelotis qui a templorum pontificibus occisi sunt in Zuanis civitate Persarum," Bede rejected (Quentin, *op. cit.*, 55), probably because he found the same statement in apocryphal gospels: "Hos referunt historiae, in quibus apostolorum passionibus continentur, et a plurimis deputantur apocryphae, praedicasse in Perside, ibique a templorum pontificibus in civitate Suanir (*sic*) occisos, gloriosum subiisse martyrium. Quibus astipulatur et liber Martyrologii qui beati Hieronymi nomine ac praefatione attituitur" (*Liber retract. in Actus Apostolorum*, cap. I, *Patr. Lat.*, XCII, 997). Later revisers of Bede added this detail from his tractate; cf. Quentin, *op. cit.*, 55, n. 7, 601, 631.

⁷ Cf. De Rossi et Duchesne, *op. cit.*, lxxv.

⁸ For reference cf. above n. 6, and for use Quentin, *Les Martyrol.*, 56 ff., 109-111, 117; *Dict. d'Arch. Chr.*, II, 1, 636-41.

the missions, and not the manner of death of the apostles, has a different order for their names from the English poem, is only a separate grouping of the dates of their feasts, made for practical purposes; so many proofs that it would not have been the source of the English work. The passages cited by Professor Krapp and his predecessors as from the *Martyrologium* of Bede, are taken from an enlarged text of the *Martyrologium* of Usuardus, whose work, written about 875, is an abridgment of Ado's developed text of the *Martyrologium* of Florus of Lyons, itself an expansion of Bede's original work.⁹

Having shown what was not the source of the English poem, the next step is to point out, if not a single text, at least where one can find in various texts, coming from one source, the elements of the account of the fates of the apostles, given by the English writer. The clue to such an investigation is the order in which the apostles are named. The order found in the *Notitia* is—with the exception of substituting Thaddeus for Simon Zelotes, due to the list given in Matthew x, 2-4¹⁰—the same as is found in early occidental liturgical texts, belonging to the Gelasian and Gregorian usages, found in Gaul, Ireland, England, and Milan.¹¹ But another order is found in a liturgical text, one of a series which presents certain non-Roman Western rites. The Irish *Stowe Missal*, compiled at the end of the ninth, and the beginning of the tenth century,¹² in accepting the Roman canon of the Mass, has the Roman order of the apostles in the diptychs of the dead in the prayer "Communicantes."¹³ But in the middle of a later clause "Memento etiam," which is found only in manuscripts which preserve in part the

⁹ Published at Bâle before 1500, reproduced in Cologne edition of Bede, 1612, and thence *Patr. Lat.* xciv, 799 ff., the latter place being the source of Krapp and his predecessors. Cf. Quentin, 4, 468, n., *Dict. d'Arch. Chr.*, II, 1, 636. J. B. Du Sollier pointed out the relationship of these versions in the preface to his edition of the *Martyrologium* of Usuardus (1714) *Patr. Lat.* cxxiii, 536-7; cf. Quentin, 403-5.

¹⁰ Schermann, *op. cit.*, 201, 218.

¹¹ Schermann, *op. cit.*, 218-19, 229.

¹² On the date, which has been sometimes put as early as the first years of seventh century cf. A. Wilmart, s. v. Bobbio, *Missel de, Dict. d'Archéolog. chrét. et de la Doctrine*, II, 1 (1909) 952.

¹³ F. E. Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, 1881, 236; B. MacCarthy, "On the *Stowe Missal*," *Trans. of the Irish Royal Academy*, xxvii (1877-86, No. 6, 1886) 212.

canon of the Gallican liturgy,¹⁴ the Bobbio,¹⁵ the *Missale Francorum*¹⁶ and Ms. Vatican. Ottonbon. 313¹⁷—although at a later date this clause passed into the Roman canon¹⁸—we find the names of some one hundred and twenty personages of the Old Testament, and of the first Christian centuries, including St. Martin, Gregory the Great, the first three successors of St. Augustine of Canterbury, Lawrence, Mellitus and Justus,¹⁹ and forty Irish saints and in this list the apostles are found in the order: 1. Peter; 2. Paul; 3. Andrew; 4. James; 5. John; 6. Philip; 7. Bartholomew; 8. Thomas; 9. Matthew; 10. James; 11. Simon and 12. Thaddeus, followed by Matthias, Mark, Luke and Stephen.²⁰ This same order which is based on Matthew x, 2-4, is found in an incomplete form in a litany in the same work:²¹ 1. Peter; 2. Paul; 3. Andrew; 4. James; 5. Bartholomew; 6. Thomas; 7. Matthew; 8. James; 9. Thaddeus, and Matthias, Mark and Luke, and in a complete form with the same additions in a litany,²² which is found on a separate leaf in Irish script of the ninth or tenth century in a St. Gall manuscript, and with the variant: 11. Thaddeus; 12. Simon, as in Matthew, x, 4, in a hymn, attributed to St. Cummain the Tall (d. 662), since the

¹⁴ E. Bishop, "On the Early Texts of the Roman Canon," *Journ. of Theol. Studies*, iv (1903) 571-6; F. Cabrol, s. v. Canon, *Dict. d'Arch. Chr.*, II, 2 (1910) 1865-8. ⁵⁵⁵⁻⁷

¹⁵ Now Ms. Paris, Bibl. Nat. f. l., 13, 246; *Patr. Lat.* LXXII, 454-5; *Facsimile of the Bobbio Missal* (Henry Bradshaw Soc.), 1917, Fol. 15. E. Bishop, p. 578, n., notes variants of Bobbio, Ott., Stowe, Miss. Fr., and the Rheinau Ms. Zürich 30.

¹⁶ Ms. Vat. regin. 257; *Patr. Lat.*, LXXII, 339.

¹⁷ Cf. Bishop, *op. cit.*, 557, 569-70; *The Gregorian Sacramentary*, ed. H. A. Wilson (Henry Bradshaw Soc.), 1915, 3, where the editor cites as variants Rheinau Ms., Ott., and Cambrai, 167. Cf. *ib.*, 142.

¹⁸ Cf. H. Jenner, s. v. *Celtic Liturgy*, *Catholic Encycl.* III (1908) 500b, and E. Gougaud, s. v. *Celtique liturgie*, *Dict. d'Arch. chr.*, II, 2, 2971, for an analysis of the *Stowe Missal*, and its place in the history of the canon of the ritual.

¹⁹ Mellitus and Justus are mentioned as men "venerandae memoriae" in the *Vita S. Gregorii antiquissima*, ed. Gasquet, 1904, 45, a work of the first quarter of the eighth century, Bishop, "The Litany of Saints in the *Stowe Missal*," *J. Th. St.* VII (1906) 130; H. Moretus, "Les deux anciennes Vies de S. Grégoire le Grand," *Anal. Boll.*, XXVI (1907) 72.

²⁰ Warren, *op. cit.*, 239-40; MacCarthy, *op. cit.*, 216.

²¹ Warren, *op. cit.*, 226; MacCarthy, *op. cit.*, 192; cf. Bishop, *ib.*, 130.

²² Ms. 1395; Warren, *op. cit.*, 179-180.

ninth century,²³ which leaves no doubt of its place of origin by the addition of Patrick between Luke and Stephen.²⁴ It is found also in a number of prayers and litanies in the *Libelli precum*, collections made for the benefit of individuals or communities in Northumbrian or Mercian monasteries, or based upon such collections. Such are the *Book of Cerne*, written in Mercia in the first half of the ninth century, written perhaps during the episcopate of Aethelwold, bishop of Lichfield, 818-830, if this manuscript may not be considered as a copy of an earlier compilation, made under the direction of Aethelwold, bishop of Lindisfarne, 721-740,²⁵ and a manuscript in the British Museum, Reg. 2. A. XX,²⁶ written in the eighth century,²⁷ which no doubt came from Lindisfarne, as it contains a prayer²⁸ written by Higbald, bishop of that see (d. 803), the constant correspondent of Alcuin,²⁹ and a poem by a certain Cvð,³⁰ who has been conjectured³¹ to be either St. Cuthbert, bishop of the same see, 685-7, or Cudradus, a presbyter of the famous monastery, to whom Alcuin wrote in 793, congratulating him on his escaping alive from the ravages of the Northmen, who almost destroyed Lindisfarne in that year.³² Then there are the *Officia per ferias*³³ of Alcuin (d. 804), and the *Libellus precum* found

²³ *The Irish Liber Hymnorum*, ed. Bernard and Atkinson (Henry Bradshaw Soc.) 1898, II, 108.

²⁴ *Ib.*, I, 18-20.

²⁵ *The Prayer Book of Aedelwald the Bishop Commonly called the Book of Cerne*, 1902, ed. A. B. Kuypers, xi-xiv. If the collection is attributed without question to the bishop of Lichfield by Cabrol; "Le Book of Cerne et les lit. celtiques," *Rev. d. Quest hist.*, LXXVI (1904) 210, *Dict. d'Arch. chr.*, II, 2, 3308; E. Bishop still has his doubts; "Spanish Symptoms," *J. Th. St.* VIII (1907) 286-7.

²⁶ *Ib.*, 201-225.

²⁷ Kuypers, *op. cit.*, xii.

²⁸ Fol. 17a-b; *ib.*, 207-8. It is given without author in *Book of Cerne*, 133-4.

²⁹ *M. G. H. Epistolarum*, IV (1895) ed. E. Duemmler, 10-11.

³⁰ Fol. 40a; *op. cit.*, 218.

³¹ Warren, *Antiphonary of Bangor* (Henry Bradshaw Soc.) II, 1895, 90.

³² *M. G. H. Epist.* IV, 59-60. On this attack cf. J. C. H. R. Steenstrup, *Vikingetogene mod Vest i det 9de Aarhundrede* (Normannerne, II) 1878, 9-11; C. F. Keary, *The Vikings in Western Christendom*, A. D. 789 to 888, 127-9. On the date cf. L. Traube, *Karolingische Dichtungen*, 1888, 38-40.

³³ *Patr. Lat.*, CI, 510-612. F. Cabrol recognizes it as Alcuin's work; *s. v.* Alcuin, *Dict. d'Arch. chr.*, I, 1, 1181-4.

in a tenth century manuscript,³⁴ formerly in the monastery of Fleury-sur-Loire,³⁵ and a *Libellus precum* of which extracts were printed from a Fulda manuscript in 1555, by Georg Witzel.³⁶ In one prayer,³⁷ Matthias and Barnabas are added to the original list, while another prayer,³⁸ with the variant 11. Thaddeus; 12. Simon, only adds Matthias, as is the case with a prayer attributed to St. Augustine,³⁹ which also places Thomas after, instead of before, James. One litany⁴⁰ adds to the original number Matthias, Barnabas, Luke and Stephen, while in another,⁴¹ Luke is followed by Patrick and Secundinus, and twenty-three other Irish names "nostri temporibus ignotissima." In a prayer,⁴² which may be considered as falsely attributed to Gregory the Great,⁴³ for more than one reason, the list contains more than variant readings; it is a contamination of the Irish with another list, that of the *Notitia de locis apostolorum*, in which James the brother of Jesus, has the fourth place, instead of James son of Zebedee, so that as a result we have the list 4. John, 5. 6. 7. tres Jacobi, as well as the variant: 12. Thaddeus, 13. Simon, and the additions of Barnabas, Matthias, Mark, Luke and Stephen. The usual order is found with the additions of Matthias, Mark, Luke and Barnabas in the litany of saints in the sacramentary of the Benedictine monastery of Wynchcombe, written at the end of the tenth century, once at Fleury-sur-Loire,⁴⁴

³⁴ Ch. Cuissard, *Cat. Gén. des mss. des Bibl. publ., Départements*, XII (1889) 86.

³⁵ First published by D. Martène, *De antiqua Ecclesiae disciplina*, 1706, 619 ff., reprinted in *Patr. Lat.*, CI, 1383-1415. A number of Irish saints are cited in a litany, in which the list of apostles is given in the Roman order, 1393-4.

³⁶ *Exercitamenta sincerae pietatis . . . per G. Vuicelium seniore, Bale*, P, P ij, P iij, cited by E. Bishop, *J. Th. St.*, VII, 130; cf. Bishop, *Book of Cerne*, 235-6.

³⁷ *Book of Cerne*, 81; Ms. Reg. 2. A. XX, Fol. 18b., *ib.*, 208.

³⁸ Ms. Reg. 2. A. XX, Fol. 41a., *ib.*, 218.

³⁹ *Patr. Lat.*, CI, 1393.

⁴⁰ Reg. 2. A. XX., Fol. 26a.; *Book of Cerne*, 211-12.

⁴¹ Bishop, *J. Th. St.*, VII, 130.

⁴² *Patr. Lat.*, CI, 590.

⁴³ It is attributed to him in five prayer books, although something very similar, and in parts verbally the same is found among the spurious *Meditationes* of St. Augustine (*P. L.* XL, 938). Cf. *Book of Cerne*, xxxii-iii, 232.

⁴⁴ L. Delisle, "Mémoires sur d'anciens sacramentaires," *Mém. de l'Institut. de France* XXXII, 1 (1886) 367.

which had such close relations in that century with the English diocese, in which Wynchcombe was located, through the family of prominent churchmen, of which St. Oswald was the best known.⁴⁵

It is not surprising to find these lists in litanies of Anglo-Irish origin, if one accepts the theory of one of the most learned and acute of liturgical scholars, Mr. Edward Bishop, that the litany of the saints is an English development, for which the frame-work was furnished by a litany derived from the Byzantine rite. Such a frame-work is found in a Greek version in the well-known Athelstan Psalter, a manuscript of the ninth century, of which one finds a Latin version in another tenth century Cottonian manuscript. According to Bishop, this litany came to England in the last decade of the seventh century through the agency of Pope Sergius, who was of Greek parentage.⁴⁶ As for the order of the names, differing as it does, from the other orders of names found in Western liturgical, and other texts, from the Mozarabic, which is based upon the lists in Acts i, 13, and Luke vi, 14-16⁴⁷ and the Roman, which is not based on any Biblical list,⁴⁸ it agrees with the order in the diptychs of the Greek liturgy of "St. James," of which the oldest manuscript (Vaticanus 2282) is of the eighth century. Based, as this is, upon the Syriac translation of Matthew x, 4, it gives Simon the epithet Cananaeus, and substitutes Judas Jacobi—as is done in Luke vi, 16 and Acts i, 13—for Thaddeus as the twelfth apostle. Further, five of the manuscripts agree in adding Matthias, Mark and Luke, who in one manuscript are preceded by Thaddeus and Barnabas.⁴⁹ The addition of the epithet Cananaeus to Simon's names, and the substitution of Judas Jacobi for Thaddeus are found in a Litany in Ms. Reg. 2. A XX.,⁵⁰ with

⁴⁵ *Ib.*, 215-17; E. Sackur, *Die Cluniacenser*, 1892, I, 274, 277; II, 319, 345-7; *Chron. abb. Ramesiensis*, ed. W. B. Macray, 1886, xxvii-iii, xxviii, xxxiii, n., xci, 15, 23-5, 29, 42, 160, 359. The "liber versificus" a book of prayers, partly in verse partly in prose, compiled by Oswald, the nephew of St. Oswald, while he was a monk at Fleury, according to John Leland, of which the great antiquarian had only seen two copies, one at Glastonbury and one at Ramsey (*Commentarii de script. Britanniae*, ed. A. Hall, 1707, 172) is still to be found, and identified.

⁴⁶ *Art. cit.*, *J. T. St.*, VII, 125-131; cf. A. E. Brightman, *J. T. St.*, XVIII (1916) 309.

⁴⁷ Cf. E. Bishop, *J. Th. St.*, VII, 135; Schermann, *op. cit.*, 221.

⁴⁸ Bishop, 136; Schermann, 220.

⁴⁹ Bishop, 136; Schermann, 207-10.

⁵⁰ Fol. 47a; *ed. cit.*, 222. It omits James Alpei.

the additions of Mark, Luke, and Stephen, and in the spurious work of Isidore,⁵¹ *De ortu et obitu patrum*,⁵² where the additions are Matthias and Simon Zelotes, while in a prayer in the *Collectaneum*⁵³ attributed to Bede but probably of Irish origin,⁵⁴ which cites from the Pseudo-Isidore, by omitting Matthew, ends with 10. Simon Zelotes, 11. Judas. In a "Ymnium de apostolis sanctis domini nostri iesu christi" in the *Book of Cerne*⁵⁵ the list ends 10. Simon; 11. Matthias; 12. Judas; the last interpreted by the composer of the hymn as Judas Iscariot, although on this point he is in agreement with other Syriac lists, which there will be occasion to discuss.

There is plenty of other evidence which shows an affinity and in all probability a case of indebtedness between Syro-Greek and Anglo-Irish literary tradition.⁵⁶ Such is the list of the seventy disciples, so often forming a continuation of the list of the apostles—which are found in Latin manuscripts of the ninth and tenth century, similar to those in the Oriental lists,⁵⁷ the vision of hell vouchsafed to the apostles in the Syriac *Transitus Mariae*,⁵⁸ for

⁵¹ L. Duchesne, "Saint Jacques en Galice," *Annales du Midi*, XII (1900) 151, 155-7. There was evidently a common source for this Latin work, and the Coptic work of which the only surviving fragments have been published by E. O. Winstedt, "Some Coptic Apocryphal Legends," *Journ. of Th. St.* IX (1908) 372-86, in which the order of the apostles as well as the Jewish patriarchs is similar.

⁵² *Patr. Lat.*, LXXXIII, 147 ff.; cc. 68-80.

⁵³ *Patr. Lat.*, XCIV, 559.

⁵⁴ S. Hellman, *Sedulius Scottus (Quellen und Unters. z. Latein. Philol. des Mittelalters, I)* 1906, 99.

⁵⁵ *Ed. cit.*, 170-1.

⁵⁶ Cf. Bishop, "Spanish Symptoms," *J. Th. St.*, VIII, 293, n. 1; "Liturgical Comments and Memoranda," *ib.*, X (1909), 409. M. R. James, "Syriac Apocrypha in Ireland," *ib.*, XI (1910), 291.

⁵⁷ M. R. James, "An English List of the Seventy Disciples," *J. Th. St.*, XI, 459-62.

⁵⁸ This episode is not found in the French versions of the *Transitus Mariae*, as far as they have been published. Cf. *Roman de Fanuel*, ed. C. Chabaneau, *Rev. d. Langues rom.*, XXVIII (1885) 250-8; P. Meyer, *Hist. litt. de la France*, XXXIII, 366-7; Petit de Julleville, *Les Mystères*, II, 470, in the English or German: cf. Haenisch, *Inquiry into the Sources of the Cursor Mundi*, E. E. T. Publ. 1893, 42; G. Piper, *Die geistliche Dichtung des Mittelalters*, I (1888) 277, 280-3; R. Heym, *Zeitsch. f. deutsch. Altertum*, LII (1910) 1-56. As for the connection between the *Saltair na Rann* and Oriental work *Vita Adae et Evae* suggested by James, the use in the Irish work of

which there is a parallel in the Irish *Fís Adamnáin*, and in Syriac versions of the heretical commentary of the psalms of Theodore of Mopsuestia we find a parallel preservation and development of the original Greek text, such as we find it in the Latin versions of Irish origin.⁵⁹

Can there be any doubt that the source of the Old-English poem was a version of the mission, manners, and places of the deaths of the apostles, of Anglo-Irish origin, when we find its order of names: 1. Peter; 2. Paul; 3. Andrew; 4. John; 5. James; 6. Philip; 7. Bartholomew; 8. Thomas; 9. Matthew; 10. James; 11. Simon, and 12. Thaddeus? The interchange of the places of John and James in that source is easily explained when we find it in the prayer attributed to St. Gregory, whose popularity is attested by its appearance in so many prayer books of Anglo-Irish origin, and in the *Collectaneum*,⁶⁰ and the same order is found in the *Book of the Bee*, of the Nestorian Solomon of Basrah (1222), a Syrian text of a late date, which, however, presents an early form of the list of the apostles,⁶¹ as well as some information, for which the only analogue is to be found in Middle-Irish texts, which I shall have occasion to discuss. The existence of this peculiar order of names in Latin ecclesiastical literature of Irish origin suggests that Irish clerics were acquainted with summarized accounts of the apostles' lives, which contained details found in the English poem, and in the *Breviarium apostolorum ex nomine vel locis, ubi praedicaverunt, orti vel obiti, sunt*,⁶² which is found in eighth and ninth century

a text combining the *Vita* with the *Apocalypsis Moysis* such as is not found in any known manuscript, has been noted by R. Thurneysen, *Rev. celt.*, VI (1883) 104. Cf. Louise Dudley, *The Egyptian Elements in the Legend of the Body and Soul* (Bryn Mawr College Monographs, VIII) 1911, 143-4. In another study upon representations of the crucifixion, I shall point out some new evidence on the connection between Syrian and Celtic art.

⁵⁹ R. L. Ramsay, "Theodore of Mopsuestia and St. Columban on the Psalms," *Zeitschr. f. celt. Philol.*, VIII (1912) 438-451, cf. 436.

⁶⁰ *Patr. Lat.*, xciv, 559-60.

⁶¹ A. W. E. Budge, *The Book of the Bee*, 1886, 103, Schermann, 213.

⁶² For manuscripts and editions, Schermann, 169-170, to which are to be added Ms. Bernensis 289, ed. W. F. Arndt, *Acta Sanct.*, Oct. XIII (1883) ii-iii, Ms. Trevirensis 1245, ed. *Analecta Bollandiana*, II (1883) 9-10, and Ms. Coll. Trinitatis Dublinensis, A. 4. 20, ed. H. Delahaye, *Ib.*, xxxiii (1913) 380-1. It is not found in the Codex Epternacensis, which is of Anglo-Irish origin, nor does it, indeed, belong there, as unlike the *Notitia*,

manuscripts. The order of the names in this work: 1. Peter; 2. Paul; 3. Andrew; 4. James son of Zebedee; 5. John; 6. Thomas; 7. Philip; 8. James the brother of Christ; 9. Bartholomew; 10. Matthew; 11. Simon Zelotes or Cananaeus; 12. Judas, brother of James; 13. Matthias, a list based on Luke vi, 14-16, discredits it as the source. One does find plenty of evidence of such an acquaintance in the Middle-Irish literature.

Irish clerics showed their interest in the apostles in various ways. It pleased their national vanity to set up their own saints as rivals and equals of the founders of the Christian church. The most formidable of these deadly parallel lists is found in the *Book of Leinster*, compiled towards the end of the twelfth century,⁶³ in which are brought forward⁶⁴ among the thirty-six members of the losing side, along with Job, the great hermits, popes and doctors of the church, the apostles in the order of interest to us, followed by Matthias, and the Virgin Mary, to whom St. Bridgit serves as a foil.⁶⁵ The list of the apostles given in the account of Christ and

in its original form, it had nothing to do with the feasts of the apostles, as noted in the *Martyrologium*, although in some redactions of it the dates of the feasts have been added. Cf. Rossi et Duchesne, *op. cit.* [lxxxv].

⁶³ *Fac-simile of the Book of Leinster*, ed. R. Atkinson, 1880, 7. The list found in Ms. Brussels, Bibl. roy., 5100-4, Fol. 206ab, written in, or about 1630, and printed in *Liber Hymnorum*, ed. J. H. Todd, 1855, 69-70, is probably transcribed from the *Book of Leinster*; cf. W. Stokes, *The Martyrology of Gorman* (Henry Bradshaw Soc. ix), 1895, vi, xvii. Only the ".xii. apostoli Hibernie" are found in the parallel lists given in the *Martyrology of Oengus*, and in Ms. Dublin, Trinity College, 23, N. 10, cited above n. 64. On source of latter manuscript cf. R. Thurneysen, "Zu irischen Handschriften und Litteraturdenkmälern," *Abhandl. K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Philol.-Hist. Kl.*, xiv, Nro. 2 (1912), 25-30, 32.

⁶⁴ *Ib.*, 370. The order of the apostles in the poetical version given in the *Irish Liber Hymnorum*, *ed. cit.*, i, 151; ii, 110, 222, the *Felire Oengusso*, ed. W. Stokes (Henry Bradshaw Soc. xxix) 1905, 168, and in Ms. Dublin, Trinity College, 23, N. 10; K. Meyer, *Zeitschr. f. celt. Philol.*, vii, 299, is a confusion of several lists, as is the list in the invocation of saints in the poem *Imchlad Aingel*; T. P. O'Nolan, *Miscellany presented to K. Meyer*, 1912, 256, cf. 253. Cf. Schermann, *op. cit.*, 228-9.

⁶⁵ In the hymn of Brocan St. Bridgit is called "the mother of my Heavenly king," and in the hymn of Bithmaith, "the mother of Jesus": *I. B. H.*, 39-40, 107, while in a later Irish poem she is called "the sister of the Heavenly King"; K. Meyer, "Miscellanea Hibernica," *University of Illinois Studies in Lang. and Lit.*, ii (1916) 595; cf. J. H. Todd, *Liber Hymnorum*, 64-70.

his work in the *Saltair na Rann*, a work of the latter part of the tenth century,⁶⁶ is identical with that given by the *Stowe Missal*, with the omission of Stephen.⁶⁷

(To be continued.) NO

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WAS SECCHI'S *GL'INGANNI* PERFORMED BEFORE PHILIP OF SPAIN?

The notice appearing on apparently all editions of Niccolò Secchi's comedy *Gl'Inganni*: "Recitata in Milano l'anno 1547 dinanzi alla Maestà del Re Filippo," has been copied in good faith in every history of Italian literature, Quadrio only excepted.¹ In the eighteenth century Argelati had already noticed that this play, if produced in 1547, could hardly have been for the first time performed in honor of the Spanish prince who was to become Philip II, since Philip visited Milan only in 1549.² Whether following Argelati or not, Stiefel has more recently made the same remark,³ and on the added strength of internal evidence concluded that this claim for Secchi's comedy was probably a hoax.

Now it is true that from the description by Calvete de Estrella,⁴ interesting as it is, only the vaguest idea may be derived as to the contents of the two plays performed. The chronicler's attention was wholly centered on the novelties in the way of stage scenery, and these had little or no connection with the plays since they were shown before and after the comedy and between the acts.

⁶⁶ R. Thurneysen "Saltair na Rann," *Revue celtique*, vi (1883) 98-9.

⁶⁷ *Ed.* W. Stokes, 1883, p. 111, vv. 7585-92.

¹ Tiraboschi, vii, 147; Quadrio, v, 84. Of the play I have seen the editions of Florence, I Giunti, 1562, and Venice, Andrea Rauenoldo, 1566.

² Really 1548-49. "In prima . . . junctarum editione anni 1562 sphalma cubat; ibi enim notatur annus 1547 cum Philippus II, tunc adhuc Hispaniarum princeps, anno tantum 1549 Mediolanum venerit." *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Mediolanensium*, Mediol., 1745, ii, col. 2159.

³ *Lope de Rueda und das italienische Lustspiel*, in *Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.*, xv, 319, n. 2.

⁴ *El Felicissimo viaje d'el muy alto y muy Poderoso Principe Don Philippe Hijo d'el Emperador Don Carlos Quinto Maximo . . .*, Anvers, Martin Nucius, M.D.LII.

Besides, Calvete remarked: "la sustancia y argumento . . . déxo dedezir aqui por estar impresas." It is also true, as Stiefel has been the first to observe, that in III, 9,⁵ Alessandro reads the scandalous contract of sale which figures in the play as follows: "In Christi nomine amen. Millesimo quingentesimo quinquagesimo primo." The other objections presented by Stiefel do not appear as convincing, being "spöttische Bemerkungen über Fürsten (I, 8) und Spanier (II, 5)." These remarks, on examination prove to be hackneyed jokes or traditional oratory, which seem hardly likely to have shocked a sixteenth-century audience. Yet, for all that, the date 1547 on the printed editions is hard to explain away, since Philip entered Milan only on December 19, 1548, to stay until January 7, 1549.⁶

To all uncertainty as to the authorship of the first play performed in those festivities a hitherto neglected testimony now puts an end. Nobody less than the mathematician Cardanus, in the celebrated treatise *De subtilitate*, dedicated to the Prince Gonzaga, who organized the festivities in honor of Philip of Spain, speaking as from experience, described the Milanese entertainments as follows:

Illinc scenarum ornamenta magnifica, tonitrua, pluuiæ, niues, constant hæc cotti pappis alternantibus foliis. Hinc Soles, astra Lunaque ementito coelo, quæ Nicolaus Siccus uir tum optimus tum splendidissimus, omnique scientiarum nobiliorumque artium genere eruditissimus, repræsentauit in ea comedia quam te iubente coram Philippo Hispaniarum principe Caesarisque nostri filio composuit, edidit, ornauit. Quis non miretur ibi Solem syderaque in sereno colluentia, latentia atris nubibus, hebetata candidis, motum cum sydere ac cum tempore repræsentationis fabulæ congruentem? ibi sapphiros, chrysolitos, uerasque pyropos, lumina uitreis abscondita, dodecaedris icosaedrisque natiuo uitri colore mentiebantur. Defuerunt adamantes smaragdique, ut fingendo finxisse non uideretur. Edidit scena tonitrua, quid iam plus potest Iupiter, aut Neptunus ipse? cum etiam naues uelut in mare ferri ac fluctuare uideres?⁷

⁵ Stiefel writes II, 9, because he used the 1562 edition, which has an error in the page title at that place.

⁶ Cf. *La Triumphale entrata del Serenissimo Principe di Spagna nell'inclita città di Milano, al XIX di decembre MDXLVIIJ*. In Milano . . . 1548.

⁷ Hieronymi Cardani Medici Mediolanensis *De Subtilitate Libri XXI* . . . Norimbergæ apud Ioh. Petreium, iam primo impressum. . . Anno M. D. L. p. 228. In the copy I have seen the colophon repeats the date of the title-page, but below it, is printed a medallion with a hand holding a

During these festivities Cardanus, whose great journey to Scotland did not begin until March, 1552, must have been living at Milan, where since 1534 he occupied the chair of mathematics. Even if precision of names and circumstances were missing, it would be clear to any reader of Calvete's relation that here the same festivities are referred to, and that hardly any but an eyewitness could have described them so faithfully.

But, after all, this establishes only the authorship of the play and not its identity; that a comedy of Secchi was produced is certain, but it is not certain that it was *Gl'Inganni*. In fact, besides the objections given above, we find that the scene of *Gl'Inganni* is laid in Naples, whereas the elaborate scenery described by Calvete and Cardanus refers to Venice. The library of the Escorial has certain manuscripts and pamphlets relating to Philip's sojourn in Milan,⁸ but these contain no specific information on the identity of the plays performed.⁹ It happened, however, that among the retainers of the prince also went a certain Vicente Alvarez, "Sumiller de la paneteria del Principe," and this sublimated baker, "con ribetes de historiador," began the journey by diligently noting all that might interest posterity. On arriving in Genoa he heard that "el maestro Estrella" had forestalled him, and so gave up his plan. Three years later, in February, 1551, at Augsburg, Alvarez, finding Calvete too slow in publishing, decided not to wait until the news was altogether stale, and to print, if not his fragmentary notes, at least the letters which he had written in

flaming sword and underneath the words: "M. Iodocus Nasz. Anno MDLXIII." The X looks as if it were printed, but the III have been added in ink. However, it matters little since the first edition of the treatise is known to be Norimb., 1550, fol.

⁸ Cf. P. Miguélez, *Catálogo de los códices españoles de la Biblioteca del Escorial. I. Relaciones históricas*, Madrid, 1917. See Ms. II, v. 4, fols. 347-352.

⁹ The brief *relación* on fol. 347 says about the comedies: "El domingo que fué a los XXX se hizo una comedia en el pal.^o de las ecelentes que se aya visto y oydo decir ansi por el aparato como de muy lindas invenciones, de la qual su Al.^a y toda su corte quedó tan satisfecha quanto pudo ser"; and further: "A los VI hicieron juego de cañas . . . despues á la noche se hizo otra comedia no menos linda que la primera y duró hasta las siete de la noche de que se holgó mucho su al.^a y toda su corte." I am obliged for this information to the kindness of the Rev. Guillermo Antolín, director of the Library of the Escorial.

1548 to Doña María of Aragón. Hence a curious relation, in which we have the good fortune to find, together with a description of the scenery, a detailed summary of the first play:

El Domingo siguiente se hizo en palacio vna comedia de muy buenas inuenciones y ricos adereços. Y fue desta manera. En vna sala apartada que entonces no seruia, sino para aquel efecto estaua hecho vn tablado lleno de bancos atrauesados, donde se sentaron todas las señoras, y damas y mugeres de ciudadanos, y algunos caualleros y otros hombres de la tierra, y criados de su Alteza, y las paredes a la redonda llenas hasta arriba de hombres puestos en vnos escalones que para ello auian hecho. La tercia parte de la sala estaua atajada con vn lienzo pintado, y detras la ciudad de Venecia hecha al propio, en la qual auia muchas casas y torres señaladamente conocidas, y la yglesia mayor de s. Marcos, con su plaça delante, donde se represento la comedia, y por todas las ventanas y almenas della, estauan encendidas velas que parecian muy bien, y por lo alto vn cielo con sus nuues y estrellas muy al natural, y la Luna andando por su curso, y en la yglesia vn relox que daua sus horas, y defuera del cielo en lo alto de la sala estaua vna puerta que no se veyá, sino quando se abria, y lo mismo estaua en aquel derecho en el suelo della, por donde baxaron y subieron algunas de las inuenciones y figuras que entraron en la comedia. Entrado su Alteza se sento en vn estrado alto que para ello estaua hecho, luego se derroco el lienço, y supitamente (*sic*) parescio la ciudad con sus luminarias como tengo dicho y començose la comedia en Italiano, y los que la entendian dixerón que eran muy buenos representantes, y assi me lo parescio en la gracia de sus meneos. Trataron de diuersas cosas prosiguiendo siempre vna que puede seruir de conseja, y por esso determine de escreuilla, aun que sea prolixidad: el cuento della segun me dixerón era que vn mercader Pandolfo que deuia de ser tan codicioso como rico estando su muger preñada, aposto que auia de parir hijo, y pario hija, y la apuesta era de tanta cantidad que el por no perdella, estauo (*sic*) preuenido, de manera que hizo entender que era hijo [I, 1] y ansi la crio en habito de hombre, hasta que la sensualidad la hizo dessear, y descubrir su natural. Acontescio que vn gentil hombre [Fabio] se enamoro de vna hermana suya [Virginia]: la qual tenia su coraçon y voluntad puesta en otro que tam bien la seruia [Flaminio], y la que andaua en habitos de hombre, determino de remediar al desfavorecido, y aprouecharse del desechado, y metiole de noche en casa y dandole a entender que era la que el buscava lo engaño, de manera que do preñada del vinose a saber como el entraua de noche en aquella casa, y pensando que era con la otra hermana la reprehendian y castigauan por ello: la qual como estuiesse innocente queria se matar con sus manos, y pensando quel galan adrede la deshonorraua, lo embio a llamar secretamente y con muchas lagrimas y lastimeras palabras le rogaua que no la deshonrrasse: delo qual el espantado no sabia que dezia que pensaua ser ella la que de noche le abria, y entrambos quedaron atonitos [IV, 6] sin se hazer vno a otro; a la platica se hallaron vn criado del, y vna criada

della que passaron muchos donaires ella llorando y riñendo, y el muerto de risa diziendo mil disparates por que le parecia que las dos se querian encubrir del. La otra hermana estaua desesperada de uer se preñada, y por ella disfamada la que no tenia culpa sin podello remediar ni osar manifestar su pena: y aunque no lo dezia, es cosa de creer que lo que mas le penaua era uer que le auian quitado el aparejo que solia tener para uer se de noche con el galan, y forçada del desseo, determino derromper el uelo dela uerguença y descubrirse a vn factor de su padre [Tebaldo], el qual tuuo manera descubriendo la uerdad al que auia sido la causa principal de todo el daño, el qual como padre y culpado lo remedio, dando orden como la preñada se caso con el engañado, y la otra con el otro que queria bien, que muy raras vezes acontece faltar remedio a semejantes hierros. Duro la comedia siete horas, y a su alteza le parescio tan bien que la oyo sin enfadarse.¹⁰

From this summary may be drawn a variety of conclusions. First, that the play performed before Philip was not *Gl'Inganni*. Secondly, that it was another play of Secchi's, entitled *L'Interesse*.¹¹ In brackets we have inserted some names and indications of places corresponding to *L'Interesse*, enough probably to make another summary of the play superfluous. It is undoubtedly the same comedy. The action is situated at Venice, as appears from internal evidence.¹² There are certain differences between

¹⁰ Relacion del camino y buen viaje que hizo el Principe de Espana Don Phelipe nuestro senor, ano del nascimiento de nuestro Saluador, y Redemptor IESV CHRISTO de 1548 anos: que passo de Espana en Italia, y fue por Alemania hasta Flandres donde su padre el Emperador y Rey don Carlos nuestro senor estaua en la villa de Bruselas. Con [vignette] priuilegio 1551. [Madrid, Bib. Nac., from Salvá.] Cf. Alenda y Mira, *Relaciones de solemnidades y fiestas de España*, I, n. 132, Madrid, 1903.

About the second comedy Alvarez reported: "Aquel mismo dia [i. e., aquel dia de los Reyes] vuo en palacio otra comedia en la misma sala, donde se hizo la otra, y la ciudad que estaua hecha al propio de Venecia, mudaron al de Pisa, y todos la alabaron, y su Alteza la estuuu oyendo desde primera noche hasta las de las diez: y parecio le bien que no se suele contentar de todas cosas."

¹¹ *L'INTERESSE COMEDIA DEL SIG. NICOLO SECCHI. Nuouamente posta in luce. CON PRIVILEGIO. (Vignette.) IN VENETIA, . . . Appresso Fabio, & Agostino Zoppini Fratelli. MDLXXXVII. First edition Venezia, Francesco Ziletti, 1581. Also 1628.*

¹² The Piazza di San Marco is frequently mentioned, in I, 4; IV, 6, etc. In the latter passage Zucca asks Pandolfo if he knows Flaminio's friend Achille, "che stà su'l campo delle Gatte, & il Testa seruo di Messer Flaminio." Pandolfo answers: "Conosci tu la forca, che si fa tra le due colonne di San Marco, & il Boia che ti farrà campeggiarvi sopra?"

the printed play and the summary as given by Alvarez. Thus, Virginia in the play does not show such despair as to attempt suicide, nor does she send for Fabio. Instead of having Lelio (the supposed boy) untie the knot by discovering the truth to her father's confidant, Tebaldo, the latter is informed from the first by the father himself, and has a more active part. Of course, some allowance may be made for the fact that Alvarez gives the summary at second hand; but even so, it seems likely that the play, as performed, was somewhat different from its present printed form. If the acting version were found, it would probably show two or three additional scenes, and we venture to suggest it would be entitled *Gl'Inganni*. Indeed, this title fits the comedy much better than its present one, *L'Interesse*, which can be based only on an unimportant passage in 1, 2.¹³ The mistake can be quite naturally explained. The first edition of *L'Interesse* was published in 1581, that is, quite a few years after the author's death. For, although the exact date of Secchi's death is unknown, it appears probable that he died some years after Philip's visit to Milan, perhaps about 1560.¹⁴ It seems then reasonably certain that none of Secchi's plays was published in his lifetime,¹⁵ and it is quite natural to suppose that a favorite of Granvelle, himself with a red hat almost within his reach, would not have been much troubled about such trifles. None of the plays shows any evidence of having been published by the author. In the case of *Gl'Inganni*, if performed before the Prince, there would no doubt have been something more than the gratuitous note on the title-page; there would have been a festive prologue, a dedication, some reference at least to the notable event. But, fortunately, with regard to *L'Interesse* the matter is quite clear. In the dedication, dated Venice, April

¹³ Tebaldo fears that if he reveals the truth the cheated one will not only claim his money back, but also Tebaldo's stake and the accrued interest: "non vorrà egli l'interesse di tanti anni scorsi?"

¹⁴ Argelati, *l. c.*, says only that from Milan "Romam Pontifice vocante contendit, qua in Urbe tanti habitus est ut nisi mors intercessisset, sacra purpurâ decorandus crederetur. Ibi obiit, quo anno incertum, nullus enim scriptorum, quos vidimus, hunc indicavit."

¹⁵ *Gl'Inganni*, first 1562; *La Cameriera*, first 1583; *Il Beffa*, first 1584. Cf. Allacci, *Drammaturgia* (accresciuta), Venezia, 1755. Perhaps, Calvete's assurance, in 1552, that the plays were printed, need not be taken too seriously.

20, 1581, a certain Euangelista Ortense declares himself responsible for the prologue *and the title*: "questa Comedia (che nuda essendomi capitata alle mani) ho uestita del Prologo, & ornata del nome." The same thing must have happened to the original manuscript of what is now called *Gl'Inganni*; it had no title, the publishers had a vague remembrance that, about thirteen or fourteen years earlier, Secchi's *Gl'Inganni* had been performed before Philip of Spain, and as the title would fit the comedy (as it would almost any comedy), and as the historical advertisement would perhaps make it more popular, they decided, in good faith or bad, to call it *Gl'Inganni*. The publisher of the genuine *Gl'Inganni*, by dubbing it, out of sheer ignorance, *L'Interesse*, made the mistake still harder to detect, until after many centuries a fortunate conjunction of evidence made it possible to reestablish the facts.¹⁶

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¹⁶To confirm our remarks minimizing Stiefel's objections, it is interesting to find in the play which was actually performed (though perhaps not literally in this form) some remarks that might be thought offensive to Spaniards; *e. g.*, in III, 1, Flaminio says: "Vorrei più presto alloggiare Spagnuoli in casa a discretione. . . ." Obviously, the play was not written expressly for the visit of the *mozo viejo*, as the Italians called Philip, to Milan.

As to the second play, performed on January 6, 1549, there seems to be so far no clue to its identity. Perhaps, in spite of Calvete, it was not printed at all, any more than *Gl'Inganni* was printed before 1552. As Alvarez tells us, the scene was Pisa, and from Cardanus (*ea comedia*) we see that it was not Secchi's, while Calvete thought it much inferior to the first. There is an Italian play dedicated to Philip of Spain, by Giovanni Vendramini, entitled *Nice, Poemetto Drammatico . . .*, Milano, 1551. But this, as Allacci remarks, "è un componimento Drammatico di un'atto solo con dieci Personaggi," and could hardly have lasted "desde prima noche hasta las diez." Still, against this testimony of Alvarez, the Escorial ms. maintains that the play was over at seven.

MRS. BROWNING'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO AMERICAN PERIODICALS

So far as the present writer can ascertain there are only two bibliographies of Mrs. Browning's works: one, a chronological list which includes individual poems as well as volumes, is in *Poetical Works of Elizabeth Barrett Browning*, edited by Sir Frederic G. Kenyon; the other, in the Appendix of the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. XIII. The former notes only two contributions to American periodicals, one notation being in error; the latter, although it includes a list of poems "which first appeared in the periodicals mentioned," ignores all but English publications.

The following bibliography includes, with a few exceptions which have been noted, poems actually contributed to the periodicals named, not those merely reprinted from the various editions of Mrs. Browning's works; and except when otherwise stated, the poems listed had not been previously published. Only the more important variants are noted.

1. *The Cry of the Human*. In the *Boston Miscellany of Literature and Fashion* for Nov., 1842 (not in *Graham's Magazine* as is stated incorrectly in the "Chronological List of Elizabeth Barrett Browning's Works," pp. 653-658, of Sir F. G. Kenyon's edition of her poems.) In this version of the poem the refrain is

Be pitiful—
Be pitiful, O God!

Stanzas v-viii of the final version do not appear in the *Miscellany*.

2. *Four Sonnets*. *Graham's Magazine* for Dec. 1842. These sonnets, here published without individual titles, were those subsequently called *Grief*, *Substitution*, *Work*, and *Work and Contemplation* respectively. *Work* was published also in the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* for July, 1844, and again in the same periodical for Sept., 1844.

3. *The Maiden's Death*. The *Pioneer* for March, 1843. Dated London, Jan. 4, 1843. This poem has never been included in any edition of Mrs. Browning's works, but at the sale of the Browning manuscripts in 1913, a copy was discovered which was published in the *Cornhill Magazine* for Dec., 1913, with the following note:

"This poem is one of a number of early poems by Elizabeth Barrett Barrett, as she then was, which are contained in a quarto ms. volume disposed of at the sale of Browning mss. in 1913. '*The Maiden's Death*' is undated, but stands among others, one of which bears the date 1839." In 1914 the poem appeared in *New Poems by Robert and Mrs. Browning*, edited by Sir Frederic G. Kenyon. The note quoted above was reprinted with the additional statement: "It was first printed in the *Cornhill Magazine*, December, 1913." As printed in the *Pioneer* the poem shows a number of variants from the ms. version, all of which indicate that it was revised and improved before its original publication.

4. *The Soul's Expression*. *Graham's Magazine* for July, 1843.

5. *Seraph and Poet*. *Ibid.*, August, 1843.

6. *The Child and the Watcher*. *Ibid.*, September, 1843. Previously published in *Finden's Tableaux* for 1840 as *The Dream*. Appears in collected works as *Sleeping and Watching*.

7. *Caterina to Camoens*. *Ibid.*, October, 1843.

8. *The Lady's Yes: A Song*. *Graham's* for January, 1844. Subsequently called *The Lady's Yes*.

9. *Loved Once*. *Ibid.*, for March, 1844.

10. *The Legend of the Brown Rosarie*. In *The Ladies' Companion and Literary Expositor* for May, 1844. Dated England, 1843. Previously published in *Finden's Tableaux* in 1840. Subsequently entitled *The Lay of the Brown Rosary*. As it appears in the *Ladies' Companion* the poem is shorter than it is in its final form, and various parts were later revised. The name Onora of the final version was substituted for Lenora of the earlier versions. A study of the early versions of the *Lay* may be found in *Kritische Studien zu E. B. Browning*, von Dr. Wilhelm Pöling. Munich, 1909. No mention is there made of the publication of the poem in the United States.

11. *A Drama of Exile*. *The United States Magazine and Democratic Review* for July and August, 1844. Lines 1-1317 in July; the remainder in August. The following extract from a note prefatory to the poem explains the circumstances of its publication: "A couple of volumes of her [Miss Barrett's] poems (most of them now for the first time given to the world) are at the present moment passing through the press of Moxon, in London, under the title of 'A Drama of Life, and other poems'; [The English

edition of 1844 was actually entitled simply *Poems*] and will be published here by Langley on the reception of the remainder of the sheets, a part of which, containing the principal poem of the collection, we have been favored with permission to peruse; with the further privilege of inserting it, some time in advance of the publication on either side of the ocean, in this review." Lines 1-28 of the final version do not appear in the *Democratic Review*. From letters it is evident that the English edition appeared between the first and sixth of August, 1844; the American edition about October 5.¹ No references to the publication of the *Drama of Exile* in the *Democratic Review* are to be found in Mrs. Browning's published letters.

12. *Insufficiency*. *Democratic Review* for August, 1844. This sonnet and the sonnet *Work* (Cf. *supra* 2) were evidently contained in the proof sheets already referred to (Cf. *supra* 11). *Insufficiency* and the poem next listed must have appeared at approximately the same time as the English edition of 1844.

13. *Pain in Pleasure*. *Graham's Magazine* for August, 1844.

14. *The Runaway Slave at Pilgrim's Point*. Contributed not to a periodical but to a volume entitled *The Liberty Bell*, published in Boston, 1848, for sale at the Boston Anti-Slavery Bazaar held that year.

The following poems were contributed to the New York *Independent* ² in 1860 and 1861, and were included in the volume *Last Poems* published after Mrs. Browning's death.

15. *First News from Villafranca*. June 7.

16. *King Victor Emmanuel entering Florence*, April, 1860. August 16.

17. *The Sword of Castruccio Castrocani*. August 30.

18. *Summing up in Italy*. September 27.

19. *Garibaldi*. October 11.

20. *De Profundis*. December 6.

21. *Parting Lovers*. March 21.

¹ *Letters of Elizabeth Barrett Browning*. Ed. F. G. Kenyon, I, 176-180, 206. The Bibliography in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, XIII, 533, dates the American edition 1845. Although this date appears on the title page, it is evident both from the letters cited and also from the fact that reviews appeared during the last months of 1844, that it was actually published before January, 1845.

² Elizabeth Porter Gould, *The Brownings and America*, 1904, p. 31.

22. *Italy and America*. March 21. (A prose article.)³
23. *Mother and Poet*. May 2.
24. *Only a Curl*. May 16.
25. *The King's Gift*. July 18.
26. *View across the Roman Campagna*. July 25.

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GERMAN LEXICOGRAPHY

PART III

24. HOLUNKE, HALUNKE

The accepted history of this word is outlined as follows by Kluge (*Etym. Wbch.* 1915):

HALUNKE M. ältere Nebenform (noch häufig durch das ganze 18. Jahrh.) *Holunke*, *Hollunke*; in der ersten Hälfte des 16. Jahrh. (bei Luther unbelegt) aufkommend und zuerst bei Burk. Waldis 1527 *Der verlorene Sohn* v. 879 (als *Holuncke*) in der dem 16. Jahrh. geläufigen Bedeutung 'nackter Bettler verwildert aussehender Mensch' als ndd. bezeugt; als *Halluck* auch bei Er. Alberus 1542 *Der Barfuser Münche Alkoran* Nr. 94. In der 2. Hälfte des 16. Jahrh. tritt *Holunke* in schles. Quellen (vgl. Kern, *Zeitschr.* VII, 307) als Dialektwort für 'Ausläufer' auf, wie es später in Schlesien auch für 'Schlossdiener' oder 'Nachtwächter' vorkommt. Das Wort stammt aus böhm. *holomek* 'nackter Bettler, Häscher' (zu *holy* nackt).

On the other hand, Heinrich Schröder,¹ in a lengthy discussion, tries to show that the word is not of Slavic origin at all, but a mere *Streckform* of *Bunke* 'Knochen.' This rather fantastic attempt does not seem to have been convincing—Kluge does not so much as mention it. The present article, therefore, will not attempt a rebuttal of Schröder's arguments, but will propose a slight modification of the accepted history of the word, based on newly discovered instances, which antedate all those hitherto cited.

In Mag. Johannes Hasse's *Görlitzer Rathsannalen*,² contemporary with the events described, there is an account of the pun-

³ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

¹ *Streckformen*, Heidelberg, 1906, pp. 11-19.

² In *Scriptores rerum Lusaticarum*, Neue Folge, III, 207, Görlitz, 1852.

ishment meted out to certain city officials, accused of surreptitiously drinking some of the City Council's wine:

. . . sein sie freitags noch der aschermithwoch alle fur den rath gefordert, ist einem itzlichen sein gebrechen vnd vorseumlikeit vortzalt wurden, Vrban der einer thurstehr, Hans der czirkelmeister sein geurlawbet, vnd Pauln dem holuncken sein die XII gl, die man jme wochlich gegeben, abesaget, vnd so ers begeret, ein thur zugesaget wurden. Den andern ist ein ernste rede in der gemeyne gesaget, wolden sie diener sein, so solden sie thun, das einem itzlichen noch seinem dinste zuthun zustuhnde, ader ein rat wurde isz furder nicht erleyden können.

The word *Holunke* could not have been applied to a menial, for Paul, by way of punishment, is degraded from *Holunke* to *Thürsteher*. A footnote of the editor defines *czirkelmeister* as 'aufseher der stadtknechte,' and *holuncke* as 'salzaufseher,' both of which were, of course, positions of some responsibility. The date of this event is 1511. Three years later, in a description of the castle of Pentzig, the word again appears, this time presumably in the sense of 'guard,' 'watchman':

vnd sein die mawern also breit gewest, das die holuncken, der man den stets vier gehalten vmb vnd vmb haben gehn mogen (p. 350).

In connection with these earliest instances it is to be noted, firstly, that they are found in a territory bordering on Bohemia, and secondly, that there is absolutely no connotation of 'nackter Bettler.' This meaning, handed down by successive lexicographers, seems to be derived from the Low German text of Burkard Waldis:

Mochte he eyne ander mael dencken dar ann,
 Dat he wer blodt van hir gegann
 Vnd hadde dat syne szo gar vortert,
 Dat he nicht clouwen mocht den sterth:
 Szo wer he eyne holuncken gelick.

In this scene, to be sure, the prodigal son, stripped by his evil associates, is represented as being naked and forlorn, but it does not of necessity follow that his resemblance to a *Holunke* is based particularly or entirely on this quality. In any case, the definition of 'nackter Bettler' is certainly without foundation in two other instances, cited under this heading in Moriz Heyne's *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (II, 31), and taken from an article by Crecelius in

Germania, xx, 68. The ultimate source is an Augsburg *Flugblatt* of the year 1541, in which a conflagration "inn der klaynern statt Prag auff dem Küncklichenn schlosz" is described: "Mer ij Kinder die sind eines Holuncken geweszt, auch verbrannt worden. Mer ist ein Holunck genant Vicentz der ist verbrant gefunden worden." "Mer einer Jacob Holumeck, dem seind seine fingere seer verbrant worden." No further context is given, and there is nothing to warrant the definition of 'Bettler,' posited also by Crecelius. On the other hand, in the light of the second Görlitz passage ('guard,' 'watchman'), and particularly as this fire was at the castle of Prague, it is more than likely that *Holunke* here has the same meaning. In the same way, many of the passages quoted in Grimm's *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, e. g. those from Fischart and Philander, would seem to admit of the interpretation 'attendant,' 'servant,' 'lackey,' instead of 'scoundrel.'

In conclusion I should like to point out that the meaning of the Bohemian *holomek* is not primarily 'nackter Bettler,' as the German lexicographers assume. For example, in Jungmann's *Slownjč Česko-Německý*, Prague, 1835, we find the meanings of the word developed in the following sequence: 1. lediger Mensch, Bursche; 2. Gerichtsdienner, Marktknecht, Stadtknecht, executor; 3. cliens, serviens nobilibus; 4. Häscher, Henkersknecht, Schergdiener, Schinderknecht, Trossbube; 5. nackter Bettler, Wicht, Halunke; 6. Schnapphahn. We see that the meanings under (2) are in complete accord with those of the early German instances discussed above. Furthermore, the transfer in meaning from 'Henkersknecht' or 'Schinderknecht' to the modern 'Halunke' is also logical enough, so that the idea of 'nackter Bettler' becomes superfluous.

25. DISPOT, DESPOT

Kluge cites the first instance of this word from a text of the year 1584. It is to be found much earlier, however, as the following instances from dated documents show:

wir horen sagen, das unser gnediger herre der konig geczogen seyn zu dem dispot und mit den Torken eynen tag halden sal . . . also ferre als her yn der Torkey nicht sey bey dem dispot, do sal en Hannos nicht suchen (*Scriptores rerum Siles.*, vi, 36: Breslau, 1423).

Do der herre Romissche konig czoeh kein Turken wart, do starb Disput indes, der sein diner was (*Monumenta*,³ VI, 802: 1428).

der Türkisch kayser soll gestorben sein und die in des dispotz land und in Bossen sollen dem kung geschriben haben (*Publ.*,⁴ LXXI, 73: 1481).

The acc. sing. "dispotten" is quoted in *Publ.*, LXVII, 496, from a document dated 1479.

26. HORDE

This word, dated 1534 by Kluge, and still later by Heyne, occurs in a letter of the year 1429, written by Witold of Lithuania to the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order:

Vordan von (*sic*) vor die nuwe czeitunge wellet wissen, als wir bei euwirn sendeboten haben euch entpotten, das der keiser Machmeth unser frunth hat uns geschreiben, wie das her iczunt ganz keiserthum und die Horde hinne hette (*Monumenta*, VI, 866).

27. DEGEN

The origin of this term for 'sword,' which appears in most of the European languages with the stem-vowel *a* (Fr. *dague*, Eng. *dagger*), is still obscure. It is noteworthy that the earliest instances of *Degen*, in both Middle and Low German, are from outlying eastern districts, where Slavic influence might *a priori* be expected. The following example is from the statutes of the *Schwarzenhäupter* at Goldingen, Kurland, dated 1400:

Is dat ener enen degen edder were blotet under der nonen edder collation sündler verleef, und ener wapen repe, dat is I daler (Bunge,⁵ IV, 303).

The next instance is found in the statutes of the Bakers' Guild of Cracow, dated 1458:

§ 16. Wer in dy Czeche mit Im tret gewere, messir, beyel, kewlen, degen adir welchirley das were, heymlich adir offinbar, der vorbussit von iczlichem gewere der Czechen eynen groschen (*Monumenta*, VII, 447).

³ *Monumenta medii aevi historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*, Cracoviae, 1882.

⁴ *Publikationen aus den Preussischen Staatsarchiven*, Leipzig, 1878 ff.

⁵ *Liv-, Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch*, hrsg. von F. G. v. Bunge, Riga.

The usual Low German form, *dagge*, is abundantly cited by Schiller-Lübben, for the most part, however, in undated or late instances. I may therefore add what is probably the earliest instance, from a letter dated Dorpat, 1459:

. . . jamerlichen slogen in sin hovet unde wunden em myt
eyneme daggen in sin liff (Bunge, XI, 662).

Other instances may be found in Bunge, 2. Abt. I, 617 (Windau, 1499); p. 705 (Reval, 1500); 2. Abt. II, 18, 19 (Narva, 1501).

Another set of instances, of a presumably older form of the word, occurs as early as 1428, in a letter enumerating the presents made to the Grand-duke of Moscow by various Russian potentates:

Do her quam czu herczoge Zegemunt . . . do gaff her im II^e
pferde, suben unde sabel unde tatersche dangen vil . . . Zwytergal
der gaff im LXXXX pferde, suben unde sabel unde dangen ouch vil
. . . dar quamen Tateran vil de under mime hern gesesen sint in
dem gebite . . . unde brechten im pferde, cameil, bogen vunde
sus vil gift . . . gaff im II^e pferde unde suben und vil dangen
. . . vil gift unde gabe gebracht; czu dem ersten van pferden,
suben unde sabel unde tatersche dangen. Unde vortan habin im
geben herczogen, forsten unde hern sin' undersasen, de fertzich, de
XXX, de XX, de XII, de X, V, VI, VIII pferde, suben, unde
sabel unde dangen vil, di ich alczemale nicht gescriben en kan
(*Monumenta*, VI, 798 f.).

As this new form *dangen* is in all but one of the instances coupled with *sabel*, and particularly as we have to do with princely gifts, it becomes reasonably certain that our word is the forerunner of *degen*. Of further interest, as indicating the ultimate origin of the word, is the adjective *tatersche*, added to the noun in two of the instances.

28. SÄBEL

Kluge dates this word "um 1500 aufkommend." The French and English word *sabre* is supposed to be derived from the German; the Russian form is *sablja*, the Polish, *szabla*. The oldest German instances are those given above, under *Degen* (1428). As the word *suben*, associated with *sabel* in all but one of the instances, is MHG. *schûbe*, NHG. *Schaube*, it is possible that the initial consonant of *sabel* likewise had the value of our *sch*. This is surely the case in the following instances, spelled *schebel*, which would thus point to the Polish as the immediate source of the German

word. This conjecture is further strengthened by the fact that all the texts concerned are from districts not far from Polish territory:

vnnnd wer forder sulche gewere, iss sey swert schebel Thelitz kewlen barten hamer ader ander gewere by em treyt dem sallen iss dy Stat dyner nehmen vnnnd nicht wider gebin (*Script. rer. Lusat.*, N. F. I, 403: Görlitz, 1476).

dy Swertfeger klaget, wy yn dy messerer yn ire hanttwergk griffen vnd swertphegeten dy schebeln vnd *tilecz*, das yn nicht czw gehörte . . . So denne hewte dy gewonheit ist, das man gewönlich lange messer ader schebeln gebraucht vnd wenigk Swerte, vnd das phegen der Swertfeger Hanttwergk belanget, So süllen dy messerer alles was sy schmiden vnd machen irer arbeit von messeren ausrichten vnd czw bereiten, sunder was dy schebeln vnd korden antrit, süllen sy czw den Swertphegeren lossen phegen vnd poleren (*Monumenta*, VII, 472: Cracow, 1503).

So süllen dy Swertpheger alle messer, *tilecz*, korden, multhan vnd schebeln aldt vnd newe phegen vnd poliren (p. 481: Cracow, 1505).

It is further to be noted that the word is consistently declined weak in these latter instances.

29. KORDE

This term for 'sword' appears in Grimm's *DWb.* (v, 2800) as *Kurde*. The conjecture that it is a loan-word is borne out by the instances given above under *Säbel*. The oldest examples are probably those found in Martin von Bolkenhain's account of the Hussite Wars in Silesia and Lusatia, in which events of about 1430 are recorded:

vnnnde czuntten an vil lichte vnde fackeln vnde lucernen vnde czogen aws ere Swerte, Corden vnnnde messer . . . do hatthe Sigmund von Czirnaw vnde alle seyne helffer vnde gesellen ere bare swerte vnde Corden yn eren henden (*Scriptores rerum Lusaticarum*, N. F. I, 368).

30. TELICZ, TILECZ

This word, concerning the etymology of which nothing definite seems to be known, is discussed in Grimm's *DWb.* under the headings *Digliz* and *Tilitz*. Two additional forms, *tilecz* and *thelitz*, have been cited above, under *Säbel*. The spelling *thelitz*, found in the statutes of Görlitz of the year 1476, is the oldest of those hitherto recorded. Two Low German instances, in the spellings *tillitiz* and *tylitze*, occur in a document written in 1494 at Reval: eynen rock, 1 swert, 1 par haszen, 1 tillitiz, steyt to hope in al 30

mc . . . eynen rock, eyn par hoszen, eyn swert eyn tilitze, steyt tohope 30 mc. (Bunge, 2. Abt. I, 24 f.). Geographically the instances are limited to texts from Austria, Nuremberg, Altdorf, Gera, Görlitz, Reval, and Cracow, where Slavic influence might be expected. The exact nature of the *tilecz* cannot be determined: it must have been a polished, edged weapon, from the fact that it came within the province of the *Swertpheger*.

31. MULTHAN

This word, which does not seem to be recorded in the dictionaries, is cited above, under *Säbel*, from a Cracow ordinance of the year 1505: *messer, tilecz, korden, multhan vnd schebeln*. The word is presumably of Slavic origin, and must have designated a cutting or thrusting weapon resembling those mentioned in the context.

32. JACKE

The German word *Jacke* is usually derived from the French *jacque*: the etymology of the latter, however, still seems to be obscure: Moriz Heyne, in his *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (II, 240), connects it with MHG. *shecke*, whereas Kluge prefers Arabic *šakk*. Romance etymologists tentatively derive it from the proper name *Jacob*. The earliest recorded instance of the German word seems to be in a Latin glossary of the year 1417. It may therefore be of interest to point out that the word, together with many other German (and Slavic) terms, occurs repeatedly, in latinized form, in the accounts of the expenditures of King Ladislaw and Queen Hedwig, during the years 1393-1395:

item pro beyngwanthi et armillis alias *scorky* . . . II $\frac{1}{2}$ marc. (*Monumenta*, xv, 159). item pro II tafftis albis ad yaccam dni Regis . . . quamlibet tafftam per V marc. recipiendo (p. 160). pro XII vlnis panni *brusselske* (p. 178). item pro calpetra dicta *clobuczek* cum *hunczcop* et pro pectorali dicto *bruszplath* (p. 199). item furmano, qui duxit XX balistas (p. 200). item pro II libris minus I quartali serici nigri ad iaccas, *francos* et ioppulas dni Regis (p. 211). pro . . . II vlnis tele ad iaccas predictas XIII sc. (*ib.*). item pro $\frac{1}{2}$ libra serici nigri ad complendos *francos* iaccarum dnorum Regis et Witoldi III marc. (p. 219).

To the compiler of these accounts certain of these words (*beingewant*, *brüsselsch*, *hundskopf*, *brustplatte*, *furman*) were evidently

German, but it is impossible to determine how certain others, such as *iacca*, *tafftam*, and *francos* were regarded, on account of the fact that they could readily be latinized, even if they were considered as German. At all events, these instances show conclusively that the word was current as early as the fourteenth century on the extreme eastern border of German-speaking territory, whereas certain lexicographers have assumed that it entered in the fifteenth century, and over the north-western border.

33. DAMASZTAT

The noun *Damast*, as the name of a material, is cited by Kluge from a text of 1524. An earlier form *damasztat*, found in a letter of the year 1483, seems to have escaped notice: ". . . des samats halben oder damasztats, das gilt uns alles gleich" (*Publ.*, LXXI, 278). It is of course evident that the ending *-at* of *damasztat* was caused by the analogy of *samat*.

34. DAMASKEN, DAMASKEIN

This adjective, supplanted in modern German by *damasten*, makes its appearance about the third quarter of the fifteenth century:

einen uberzug, rot damaszkein (*Publ.*, LIX, 767: 1474). ein rote damaszken schauben (*Publ.*, LXVII, 170: 1475). Sammethen, damaschken, atlas, koffter,⁶ tabin kleder zal keyn purger noch burgerynne nicht tragen (*Monumenta*, VII, 470: Cracow, 1495).

35. TAFFET

The *DWb.* states that this word was borrowed from the Italian in the sixteenth century. The following instance is from the

⁶ *Koffter* is presumably a corruption of *kofften*, *kafften*, the adjective derived from the noun *Kaft*. As a simple noun, this does not seem to be recorded, but the *DWb.* (v, 26) quotes *Kaftsammet* from a text of the year 1661. The following word, *tabin*, is likewise unrecorded; most likely it is the adjective form of *Taffet*: cf. an entry dated 1603 in the *DWb.* XI, 1, 26, s. v. *Taffet*: "sollen kein höhere seiden als tobin oder taffet zu ober-rücken gebrauchen." *Tobin*, by itself, is unintelligible, but if we regard it as a variant of *tabin*, which is perfectly plausible, we read *tabin oder taffet*, the one term serving merely to define the other.

statutes of Cracow, of about the year 1432, in which various articles of merchandise are enumerated as follows: Fir stein mandeln, Funff stein reysz, Czechen taffet, Czechen stucke heidneschen leymeth (*Monumenta*, VII, 418). *Taffet* is here used in the sense of 'piece,' 'bolt of taffeta'; the word occurs in the same meaning in the Latin accounts of the court of King Ladislaw and Queen Hedwig, of the years 1393-1395:

pro III tafftis albis pro iopula facienda dno Regi et consuendo more Gallico, quamlibet per V marc. recipiendo (*Monum.*, xv, 158). item pro II tafftis albis ad yaccam dni Regis, in qua solummodo taffte loco bombicis sunt posite, quamlibet tafftam per V marc. recipiendo (p. 160). item pro XIV vlnis thafte griseo pro ornatu predicto viali, recipiendo vlnam per XVII sc. (p. 164).

Other purchases of black, white, gray, and red taffeta are recorded, the black usually at much lower prices than the other colors. It is thus perfectly certain that the material, as well as the name, was well known at Cracow as early as 1393: whether it was brought there from Italy I am unable to determine.

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RICHARD CUMBERLAND'S *WEST INDIAN*

On January 19, 1771, *The West Indian*, a sentimental comedy by Richard Cumberland, was acted at Drury Lane Theatre. This play has been, on the whole, the most discussed eighteenth century comedy of the sentimental school. *The Whitehall Evening Post* of February 9, 1771, accepted the play as "a good representation of life," and the following anecdote attests its currency in everyday talk: Lady Blessington, at Genoa with Lord Byron, turned to him and said: "You remind me of Belcour in the '*West Indian*,' when he exclaimed, 'No one sins with more repentance, or repents with less amendment than I do.'" ¹ *The London Magazine* for January, 1771, commended its "variety of incidents" and *The Lady's Magazine*, for the same month, is delighted and amazed with the "benevolence breathing through it."

¹ *A Journal of the Conversations of Lord Byron with the Countess of Blessington*, p. 102. The passage in the play may be found in Act III, Scene 3.

The plot was attacked by the critics, especially on the score of minute matters of etiquette, and the jewel scene,² but the best proof of the popularity of Belcour as a stage character is the mass of criticism in the periodicals of the day. Belcour was at once one of the most censured and most popular of dramatic characters. Although both Davies and Murphy thought him a new figure, others declared him a copy.³ It was asserted that Belcour was Ranger, a favourite rôle of Garrick's in Hoadley's *Suspicious Husband*, Lovelace, and many other familiar stage characters. *The Lady's Magazine* for February, 1771, observes that "Belcour is one of those *every day* rakes whom we meet with in the *every day* novels. He is, says this reviewer, a "compound of several *youths of spirit* who have appeared in the British Theatre during the last fifty years. The author has judiciously borrowed a leg from this rake, and an eye from that—a grace from one, and an air from another—blended all together, and produced Belcour." *The Critical Review* for February, 1771, says: "He who would look for the true designation of the Creole will rather find him in the hasty outlines of Lovel in *High Life Below Stairs*⁴ than in the most laboured scenes of this finished comedy." "Though it had a good effect upon the stage," says Arthur Murphy, "it cannot be said to be a copy from life. The foibles, the humours, and the real manners, of a West India planter, are not delineated with truth and accuracy."⁵

The critics attacked not only Belcour's conventionality, but also his "immorality." *The Monthly Review* for February, 1771, declared that his "false lustre" was too dangerously attractive, and another critic noted with horror that Belcour considered his attack upon Miss Dudley not criminal but "meritorious."⁶

But Belcour continued to be a popular Drury Lane character. The reason for his success *The Monthly Review* for February, 1771, calls "the amiableness and splendor of the character." "The 'West Indian' himself," says Hazlitt, "is certainly the support of the piece. There is something interesting in seeing a young fellow

² See *The London Magazine*, January, 1771.

³ See *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick*, II, 267; II, 88.

⁴ *High Life Below Stairs*, a farce ascribed to Garrick, but actually written by Reverend James Townley, was successfully acted at Drury Lane Theatre in 1759.

⁵ *Life of David Garrick*, II, 88.

⁶ *The Monthly Review*, February, 1771.

of high animal spirits, a handsome fortune, and considerable generosity of feeling, launched from the other side of the world . . . to run the gauntlet of the follies and vices of the town.”⁷ In similar mood *The British Chronicle* of January 30, 1771, applauds “the frank and generous nature of the young West Indian, his volatile and gay spirit.”

During the period of *The West Indian's* greatest popularity, the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the star rôles of the play were acted by a great variety of capable actors and actresses.⁸ One successful actor of the part of Belcour was John Bannister, Junior. Charles Lamb, on one occasion speaking of Bannister and Suett, referred to them as greater personal favourites with the town than any other actors of the time. Bannister's most notable performances were as Anthony Absolute and Tony Lumpkin. Adolphus describes him as Belcour: “The brisk, blundering activity, the easy confidence, the rapid advance toward doubtful and dangerous adventures, suited well with Bannister's talents.”⁹

George Frederick Cooke played the part in 1773. Cooke, who had made a reputation in Elizabethan rôles, was famous for his portrayals of Iago, Richard III, and Shylock. He was a favourite, too, as Sir Pertinax McSycophant, and Sir Archy McSarcasm. Dunlap, in his *Life of Cooke*, says: “In October, 1773, he made his début at the Covent Garden Theatre, in the character of Belcour, in Mr. Cumberland's second and best comedy the ‘West Indian.’”¹⁰ Cooke on another occasion played the rôle of young Dudley.¹¹ Benjamin Wrench, a comedian of distinctly second rate powers, gave the character some popularity early in the nineteenth century. Wrench, whose most successful parts were Dr. Pangloss and Captain Absolute, succeeded Elliston at Bath in 1804, where he played the part of Belcour during the season of 1805-6. He again played Belcour at Drury Lane on October 7, 1809.

The other characters of the comedy were played by actors of note. Major O'Flaherty was, perhaps, more popular than Belcour. In 1785 Irish Johnstone was the most famous interpreter of the part.

⁷ *Lectures on the English Comic Writers*, p. 387.

⁸ A full description of the first night of *The West Indian*, and other facts in its stage history, is available in the present writer's *Richard Cumberland, His Life and Dramatic Works* (1917).

⁹ *Memoirs of John Bannister*, I, 208.

¹⁰ I, 148.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I, 49.

The London Chronicle of October 6, 1785, declares that Johnstone "manifested powers which will entitle him to a high rank in Comedy. His play was at once chaste and characteristic. He gave the part all the necessary brogue, without that offensive drawl and broad dialect." At the first Covent Garden performance Edward Shuter, admired for his *Scrub*, Master Stephen, and Launcelot, played Major O'Flaherty. Other actors of the part were Hamerton, Duncan, and Bland. *The London Courier* of December 24, 1807, commends the acting of Hamerton in the part, and *The General Magazine* for September, 1788, praises Duncan. The history of Bland as Major O'Flaherty, is, I believe, unknown. *The Memoirs of C. L. Lewis* contain various unimportant anecdotes concerning the history of the part.

The admirable if somewhat faint character of Charlotte Rusport was acted by Mrs. Abingdon. Fanny Barton, in turn a flower girl, a milliner's servant, and a cook-maid, had first become known on the stage as Mrs. Abingdon in 1759. After Garrick brought her from Dublin to London she was enormously successful as Beatrice, Lady Townley, Lady Betty Modish, and Millamant. Cumberland greatly admired her, and his *Memoirs* are filled with references to this actress, whom Garrick called "the worst of bad women," and Walpole "the very person!"¹² She achieved great success as Charlotte Rusport, and later acted the part of Letitia in Cumberland's play *The Cholerick Man*. Maria Theresa Kemble, wife of Charles Kemble, occasionally essayed the part of Charlotte Rusport. *The London Courier* of December 24, 1807, says she performed the part "respectably." Other actresses less known to fame who tried the rôle were Mrs. Duncan and Mrs. Day. *The General Magazine* for September, 1788, reviews Mrs. Duncan's performance. When the Theater Royal opened on November 21, 1772, with *The West Indian*, *The London Courant* of November 22 stated that "the actress who made her first appearance as Lady Rusport [Mrs. Day] received the loudest and most genuine marks of public favour." Miss Phillips, later Mrs. Crouch, "played the very interesting character of Louisa Dudley; and as she possessed in herself

¹² "The Cumberland Papers" in the British Museum contain several unpublished letters of Richard Cumberland and Mrs. Abingdon, written to each other.

every delicate charm which it required, she rendered it a highly finished portrait of polished nature."¹³

Genest in his *Some Account of the English Drama*, does not state the number of times *The West Indian* was performed at its first appearance, but, from accounts of Cumberland and the newspapers of the day, one may safely assume that the play enjoyed a run of approximately thirty nights. The other performances noted specifically by Genest occurred at Covent Garden on the following dates: October 15, 1773, February 22, 1786, October 21, 1797, and December 23, 1807. Besides these performances the Theatrical Register of *The Gentleman's Magazine* records between December 1, 1779, and January 29, 1805, a period of twenty-five years, about forty-eight performances. *The West Indian* was acted at least once in each of the years 1779, 1782, 1784, 1786, 1787, 1793, 1794, 1797; 1800 and 1803 saw the play performed twice each year; during 1774, 1785, and 1802 there were three performances each year; 1784 records four; 1786 five; 1789 six; and 1805 nine performances of the play. Such statistics indicate the unceasing popularity of the piece. Criticisms of later performances all show the favour of English, Scotch, Irish, and American¹⁴ audiences.¹⁵

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¹³ *Memoirs of Mrs. Crouch*, I, 166. Miss Farren acted the part of Charlotte Rusport in the same production. (*The London Chronicle* of October 1, 1772, describes Miss Masell as Louisa Dudley.) Miss Phillips, a capable actress, made her first appearance at Drury Lane Theatre in 1781 in the opera, *Artaxerxes*. Her *Memoirs* are an amusing but useful collection of old dramatic records, all touched by their author's sentimental viewpoint.

¹⁴ See Seilhamer, *History of the American Stage, 1792-1797*, III, 36, 80, 99, 198, 210, 220, 350. For a list of productions see *Ibid.*, III, 381.

¹⁵ *The Whitehall Evening Post* of January 26, 1771, contains a poem satirizing Cumberland and, in particular, *The Brothers* (1769) and *The West Indian*. Further significant comments concerning the stage history of *The West Indian* may be found in: *The Oxford Magazine* for January, 1771, and *The Universal Magazine* for February, 1771.

REVIEWS

Historical Outlines of English Phonology and Middle English Grammar. By SAMUEL MOORE. Ann Arbor, Michigan: George Wahr, 1919. vii + 83 pages.

Those who have been struggling for a long time with the problem of how to present to classes in the history of the language not only the theory but the facts of linguistic change are sure to welcome Professor Moore's book. The work is in a sense pioneer. For the material has been accessible hitherto only in scattered periodicals and treatises; and probably the teacher has been inclined to neglect problems of morphology, although, in the case of teaching undergraduates, not for this reason alone. A tabular view of this kind can be used so that the student is not swamped with the detail; and the various devices, such as the phonetic transcription of Chaucer's verse, the tables of sound changes with the analogical forms, and the analytical summaries, make it especially clear.

Three of the divisions are devoted to Middle English: the inflections, the dialects, and Chaucer; and one to the history of English sounds. There is a constant attempt to lead up to the development of modern English, but in this respect a question of proportion may be raised. It seems a pity that not more attention is given to the sound changes of the Renaissance and of later periods, to the later influence of French spelling (as in *gu* in *guess*, *quest*, *guild*, etc. and *ce* in *once*, *mice*, etc.) and the confusion of *ȝ* with *z* (as in *Dalziel*) and *þ* with *y*, and to the origin and nature of the Scottish dialect. It is also a question whether graduate students, for whom presumably the chapter on dialects is written, will not require more than the present introduction to Old English, and whether especially for them an ample bibliography, full documentation for the various theories which are represented in the text, and an index, will not be seriously needed. The work as a whole, however, is well done; and adverse criticism, so far as there is any, will occupy itself with questions where opinions may differ.

The arrangement of the subject-matter is logical and in general satisfactory. Part One, "Modern English Sounds," is well placed as a preparation for the contrast with the older fields and as an

exercise in phonetics in a familiar period. But without being too captious, we may discover some faults. Section 14 of the Introduction should come earlier to avoid such indirectness as that in § 13—the apparent distinction in quality between “heat” and “hit.” And it might be further expanded to include the matter in footnote 5 (which deserves more prominence), and possibly to touch on the effect in the scansion of modern English verse. Section 15 might well add material on the impurity of modern vowels and thus avoid the awkwardness of the frequent references to it in footnotes (10, 38, 39c, 40). In the discussion of Chaucer’s language, Part Two, the account of “weak *h*” belongs on page 15. In Part Four the terms “sound change” and “analogy” are hardly well chosen, for analogy is often the cause of certain varieties of sound change. How the account of sound change in § 48 is related to this part rather than to the preceding is not made quite obvious. And analogy itself needs a somewhat fuller discussion in § 49, where the real cause of its operation (*e. g.* having a majority of the forms in one type) is not brought out. It is debatable whether the list of analogical changes on page 54 (§ 62) is not of the sort that it is best for the student to make for himself (*cf.* also § 36). The moral to be derived from the analogical tables is not always clear: why, for instance, analogy did not work in the case of “oxen” as in that of “hundes” and “sunnes,” or why *gōd* (with a long radical syllable) is not given as the form for the neuter plural nominative and accusative and *gōde* as the analogical form. If the arrangement is intended to lead merely to the question as to why in certain cases analogy failed to work, it would have been better to give some evidence that the author is aware of the irregularity, perhaps by giving a column of modern forms. The present outline seems to suggest that the answer to such a question of irregularity is implicit. Page 61, and page 62, note 62, why not keep uniformity by adhering either to the Mercian or to the West Saxon forms in all cases? Again, for uniformity, why not give the key-words in phonetic notation (§ 17) directly after the words in § 16 (*cf.* § 20)? The exercise of trying the pronunciation without the key is gained in the later passage.

One cannot ask that in a work of this kind the style should be especially eloquent. In general the presentation in this respect is

entirely adequate, and only a few minor obscurities are to be noted. For example, analogy is not merely "the regularizing, simplifying tendency of the human mind manifesting itself in language," if indeed it is a "tendency" at all. Saying on page 26 that "adjectives like *swete* are invariable in form" fails to bring out the principle involved; as a matter of fact they are like "*swete*" only in that they are invariable, but why is "*swete*" entitled to a final *e*? On page 35 we read the interesting observation that Chaucer "always used the forms with final *e* in rime." On page 76, § 86, II, 2, b, the footnote should obviously be incorporated in the text to read: "The Northern dialect regularly employs *-es*" etc. with a reservation as to the occasional use in Midland. On page 77, n. 91, would it not be safe to generalize that the *i* is usually graphic and employed merely to indicate the length of the vowels? But these are unimportant details, and not much fault is to be found for matters of this kind.

If there is a serious objection to the present form of the book it will be on other grounds: the introduction of certain innovations in theory which so far have not gained wide currency, and the admission of which to a manual like this is a matter of doubtful prudence. One instance of such an innovation is the recognition of American English in the strong dialectal flavor ("south-eastern Pennsylvania") of the passage chosen in Part One to represent modern English, with such forms as *wəð*, *wɪf*, *u* (who), *əz*, *wən* (when), *ədʒəkətəd*, and in such quoted forms as *dū*, *nū*, *pēp*, *ēsk*, *glēd* (glad), *sēŋ* (sang). Whatever vividness is gained thereby is hardly worth the compromise thus necessitated; and such a norm as that in Professor Krapp's *Pronunciation of Standard English in America* (Oxford University Press, 1919) seems on the whole more inspiring. Another innovation is found in the study of Old English sounds: What evidence puts the change from *æ* to *ē* as early as this (or if this is Mercian, why are West Saxon forms cited on page 61)? What evidence proves such complete palatalization of *c* or *sc* in Old English (in the Midland *Bestiary* we have "kirkedure"; in the *Haveloc* "rike" rhymed with "sike": cf. Emerson, *Middle Eng. Reader*, p. lxiii, § 94)? The most striking innovation, however, is the omission of the French *û* (*studie*, *juste*, *juge*, *duchesse*) and the introduction of *iu* (in *reule*, *vertew*, pp. 13, 42, 45) in the study of Chaucer's language.

In regard to this latter point surely more than the explanation in note 45 (p. 42) is necessary. The evidence from spellings of *ü* as *ew* is rendered nugatory by the fact that the *eu* group is spelled *ew*, by the fact that we very rarely find *iw* or *iu* spellings and on the other hand we get such rhymes as "rewthe" and "trouthe," and by the fact that *ew* may well indicate an *eu* pronunciation (even for *Steward* and *Tewsday*).¹ The spelling *ew* is possibly to be explained even for an *ü* if it came in with the French borrowings in *ieu*, *eu*, or *iv*, which were real diphthongs but which by Chaucer's time had perhaps become *ü*.²

Real evidence is to be gained only from a study of Chaucer's rhymes. In most cases we find that Chaucer keeps *eu* < O. E. *ēow* distinct from French *ü* (whatever its development). He does, however, rhyme *muwe* and *truwe* (possibly from *tryw*—perhaps, therefore, we have here a southern *ü*); and *hewe*, *trewe*, *blewe*, *knewe*. On the other hand, he rhymes *hewe* (this time from O. E. *hīwa*) and *untrewe*. The difficulties of these rhymes are satisfied by *eu* or *ü* as well as by *iu*. The only question is whether it is more difficult to imagine that *īw* became *eu* or *ü* before it became *iu*; or that *ēu* became *iu* before *ē* became *ī*. The scarcity of such rhymes in Chaucer in contrast to the great abundance of rhymes where French words (like *commune*, or *aventure*)³ rhyme only with one another seems to indicate that the rhyme is not perfect in the cases I have cited. It must be remembered that in his court life Chaucer was constantly submitted to renewed French influence; and this point may explain why he (and others) felt free to pronounce "richesse" with the main stress on the last syllable, al-

¹ See Behrens, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der französischen Sprache in England*, Heilbronn, 1886, *Französische Studien*, v, 2, p. 121; Sweet, *Hist. Eng. Sounds*, §§ 691, 861; *New Eng. Gram.*, Oxford, 1900, §§ 805. Cf. ten Brink, *Chaucers Sprache und Verskunst*, § 74, β, "Der Me. ü-Laut dem ö-Laut nahe stand."

² Cf. Wild, *Die sprachlichen Eigentümlichkeiten der wichtigeren Chaucer-Handschriften*, Wien und Leipzig, 1915, pp. 221 ff. Chaucer rhymes various French sounds; *meue*, *stewe*; *suwe*, *muwe*; *remewed*, *glewcd*.

³ See the list in Kittredge's *Observations on the Lang. of Chaucer's Troilus*, p. 80, § 27; p. 68. Also see Cromie's *Rime-Index*, of which I have made considerable use. One rhyme, *mercurie* = *murie* (A 1385-6), may show French *ü* rhyming with southern *ü*. Cf. *myrie* = *pyrie* (O. E. *pyrige*, E 2217-8, 2325-6). See *Eng. Stud.*, XLVII, p. 55. On the other hand, cf. *coitu* = *eschu*. (E 1811-2).

though it had been introduced as early as Layamon and was certainly naturalized (cf. the *Cursor Mundi*, l. 8129; and the use in *Piers Plowman*). "Auntur" was an old word in the English of Chaucer's day and probably known to Chaucer, but he uses *aventure*. Since he felt free to use any of several legitimate pronunciations for a word (like *merie*, *myrie*; *seigh saugh*; *dyen*, *deyen*) it seems almost certain that he used the French *ü*, whatever other developments he found available or useful. Kaluza (*Chaucer Handbuch für Studierende*, Leipzig, 1919, pp. 218, 221) gives both *ü* and *eu*. In this connection it is proper to add that Chaucer probably said "tfambres" and "stablës" rather than "tfambërs" and "stabels" (cf. Moore, p. 17). And the discussion of consonant sounds (p. 15) should include the fact that in *-cion -tion*, the *c* and *t* were pronounced with the French clearness.

Aside from the question of innovations, some omissions may be noted. Page 2, § 4, might well include a distinction from the quality of modern foreign *d* and *t*. There seems to be something arbitrary in the list of sounds in § 16: why not include long *æ*? If half-long *i* is included, why not half-long *e* or *o*? Why not include the two sounds of *r* (initial and postvocalic)? Would it not be more logical to indicate the *u* in *urge* as Δ -long? Why give the long and short sounds of *ju* and not of the other diphthongs? The material in footnote 6, applicable to almost all short vowels, involves an important principle and does not belong in a footnote. On page 14, it would be a good plan to explain the character and source of *ø* "like *u* in full": it is really a graphical substitute for *u*. On page 24, include under (*ee* or *e*) the Old English source in *æ*. Include the romance genitive ("your heritage right") and the romance plural ("places delitables") in the discussion pp. 25 ff. In regard to *nones* (p. 27), Stratmann (Bradley) notes an appearance in the *Ormulum* (l. 7160). Page 28, "herd" is the form of the past-participle of "here" in Chaucer. Page 35, "harde" is a dative (cf. "of evene lengthe"). In § 40, p. 35, state that the first requisite for the pronunciation of final *e* is metrical necessity. Page 40, why not refer to the principle of the shortening of vowels in compounds, as in *thirteen*, *children*, *wisdom*? Note 41 is of doubtful value,—cf. *brëost*, *düst*, *föstor*; *Christmas* is a compound. Page 46, ¶ 7, exceptions here unexplained occur in *clensen*, *clennesse*, *amenden*, *wenden*. Page 47, § 45, what happens to the unstressed vowels after the Middle Eng-

lish period? Pp. 51 ff., why not give at least approximate dates for the Middle English periods; and why not regularly give the quantities of the Middle English vowels (see the distinction between the present and preterite plural of *riden*—cf. p. 30)?

The printing of the book is good, although the a, b, and c, footnotes should be eradicated in another editon, and perhaps a more consistent policy as to the use of Italic and heavy type might be attained. P. 1, n. 1. is "*those* that are not" correctly stated? P. 5, third line, read "quantity." P. 7, l. 14, read "out." P. 9 (notation, l. 5) read "ær rait"; (l. 16) read "kōld." P. 10 (l. 48), read "æv"? P. 23, l. 4, read "hōli." P. 26, § 27, read "Adjectives." Pp. 35-6, there are two sections numbered 40. P. 39, n. 39b, insert "r" at the end of the first line.

With attention to some of these details the finish of the book will be improved, which, however, is already a valuable contribution in its present form. Perhaps the chief originality consists in the review of the Middle English Dialects and the Appendix devoted to Middle English Spelling. But the work as a whole is competent and thorough.

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Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm. Neu bearbeitet VON JOHANNES BOLTE und GEORG POLÍVKA. Leipzig, Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1918. Dritter Band (Nr. 121-225), VIII + 624 pp.

In the preface to the second volume of this monumental work, issued in 1914, Dr. Bolte stated that it would not be continued until the war was concluded. Fortunately the editors were able to prosecute their labors and complete the third and last volume of the *Anmerkungen* proper, leaving for the final fourth volume a brief history of the collection, a survey of the *Märchen* of other peoples, and an index of the themes of the stories.

The notes of the third volume cover *Märchen* 121-200, the ten *Kinderlegenden* and the six *Bruchstücke* of the definitive edition of 1857. In my review of the first two volumes in *Modern Language Notes*, xxxi, p. 41, I called attention to the publication by Dr. Bolte in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, 1915, of

two stories contained in the papers left by the brothers Grimm. Four more were published in the same journal in 1916 and 1917, and these with four additional stories from the same source appear in the third volume of the *Anmerkungen* and constitute numbers 217-225 of the complete work. These nine *Märchen* (the two stories in the *Zs. d. V. f. Volkskunde*, 1913, are printed in the *Anmerkungen* as one story with variant) form the only additional new matter in the three volumes of Bolte and Polívka. I may mention here that six of the stories omitted by the Grimms in the later editions of the *Märchen* are reprinted in this third volume. In my article in *Modern Philology*, vols. XIV and XV, "The External History of the Kinder- und Hausmärchen of the Brothers Grimm," I was able to consult only the first and second volumes of the *Anmerkungen* and for these six omitted stories I could refer only to E. Tonnelat, *Les contes des Frères Grimm*. I believe this is the only addition to my article made necessary by the appearance of the third volume of the *Anmerkungen*.

I shall examine very briefly the nine new stories mentioned above which students of popular tales will want to know at once. No. 217, "Der dankbare Tote und die aus der Sklaverei erlöste Königstochter," and variant "Des Toten Dank," belong to the cycle of the "Grateful Dead" so thoroughly discussed by Professor G. H. Gerould (London, 1908). No. 218, "Die getreue Frau," the romantic story of the wife whose husband is captured by the Turks. He wears a magic shirt which remains white as long as his wife is faithful to him. The Sultan learns of this and dispatches an emissary to seduce her. He fails and the wife disguised as a pilgrim follows him and by her harp and voice wins the favor of the Sultan who presents her with three Christian slaves, among them her husband. When the husband reaches home and learns of the long absence of his wife he is suspicious, but she appears to him in her disguise and reveals herself as his deliverer.

No. 219, "Die Prinzessin im Sarge und die Schildwache," a princess through her parents' thoughtless wish falls into the power of the devil. After her death she leaves her grave in the church and strangles the soldiers on guard. She is finally delivered by a youth who on the counsel of an old man hides himself in the chancel, on the altar, and in the coffin of the princess. No. 220, "Fürchten lernen," is a variant of No. 4, "Von einem der auszog,

das Fürchten zu lernen." No. 221, "Sankt Peters Mutter," when Saint Peter came to heaven he found that his mother was in Purgatory and asked the Lord to allow him to release her. His prayer was granted and he was carrying her to heaven when many poor souls clung to her garment in the hope of escaping with her. In her envy she shook them off and they all fell back into Purgatory. Then Peter recognized his mother's wicked heart and let her drop too. This is a widely-spread story, see Italian versions in Crane's *Italian Popular Tales*, pp. 192, 362. No. 222, "Warum die Hunde den Katzen und die Katzen den Mäusen feind sind," a lion ennobles a faithful dog and gives him a parchment patent of nobility. The dog entrusts it for safekeeping to a cat which hides it in a hollow tree where it is gnawed to pieces by a hungry mouse. Hence the enmity of dogs and cats. No. 223, "Warum die Hunde einander beriechen," the lion at a banquet to which the other beasts were invited, notices that the pepper is missing. He sends a dog to town to fetch some; but the dog plays a trick on the lion and runs away with the pepper. After waiting a long time the lion sends other dogs in search of the culprit. Since then dogs smell each other to discover the dog with the pepper, but they have not yet found him. The two stories just mentioned are related and one of the features of the second finds an echo in Phaedrus, IV, 18, "Canes legati ad Jovem," and is repeated in Fortier's *Louisiana Folk-Tales*, p. 45. No. 224, "Der Horcher, der Läufer, der Bläser und der Starke," is a variant of No. 71, "Sechse kommen durch die Welt": No. 225, "Vom Mäuschen und vom Bratwürstchen," is a variant of No. 23, "Mäuschen und Vögelchen und Bratwurst."

The *Anmerkungen* furnish most interesting reading, especially the notes to stories of literary origin, of which there are so many in the Grimm collection. I may mention, for example, No. 144, "Das Eselein," and No. 46, "Die Rübe": in the notes to the former story the editors give the first critical text of the Latin poem *Asinarius*, based on six MSS.; in the notes to the latter story the text of the Latin *Raparius* is given from the oldest known MS. with the variants of three other MSS. The notes to some of the stories attain the proportions of extensive monographs, e. g. Nos. 126, "Ferenand getrü un Ferenand ungetrü," 129, "Die vier kunstreichen Brüder," 131, "Der Eisenhans," 152, "Das Hirten-

büblein," 158, "Das Märchen vom Schlauraffenland," 187, "Der Hase und der Igel," and 192, "Der Meisterdieb." There is a particularly interesting note on the mysterious saint "Kummer-niss" who appears in No. 157a, "Die heilige Frau Kummernis," a *Märchen* replaced from 1819 on by "Das Hirtenbüblein."

Finally I should like to call attention to the list of works cited, pp. 560-624. A glance at this list will show the enormous growth of this class of literature since the comparatively scanty literature cited by the Grimms in the editions of 1822 and 1856, and will reveal the wealth of material existing in recent Scandinavian and Slavic works.

I am sure that all scholars will hail with admiration this splendid example of profound erudition and that it will be instrumental in bringing together again those whom war has parted for a time.

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A Spanish Reader. By JOHN M. PITTARO. Boston: D. C. Heath and Company [1919]. x + 298 pp.

The object of this new reader, as stated in the preface, "is to give the beginner an active vocabulary of a practical and literary nature; to provide him with as much information about Spain and Spanish America as a book of this scope will provide; and to afford him an opportunity to talk and write about what he has read." To a large extent Mr. Pittaro has succeeded in his undertaking. The vocabulary of about 4,300 words is too large for any considerable portion of it to become the practical aid of a beginner. Also the vocabulary of some of the last selections is too difficult for first-year students.

The subject-matter may be divided, roughly, into three parts. The first part treats of *el español, nuestra escuela, la clase*, etc., and the scenes and things most familiar to the student, such as *la familia, el periódico, la división del tiempo*, etc., there being inserted here and there *refranes, adivinanzas*, and short *poesías* to be memorized. Selections of this kind continue to page 57, where new material is added in the form of short stories, by Mr. Pittaro and others, containing usually some information about

Spain and Spanish America. This part of the book gradually removes the student from his immediate surroundings, and introduces him to the entirely foreign matter beginning on page 98 and continuing to the end of the book.

In the first two parts the material is well graded. The present tense is used to page 60, and the subjunctive, except in commands, occurs for the first time on page 65. To be entirely consistent Mr. Pittaro should have explained the use of the subjunctive, to say nothing of the use of the past tenses of the indicative, for he persistently emphasizes the verb and goes to great pains to explain the use of such expressions as *entrar en*.

As already intimated, the last selections are too difficult for the rest of the book. Furthermore, their content and arrangement appear to the reviewer to violate one of the fundamental principles of pedagogy, that of concentrating the attention on one idea or set of ideas long enough to be able to retain a definite impression of them. Instead of centering his informative material and his stories on one country, Mr. Pittaro covers the Spanish-speaking world. The inevitable result is vague generalities concerning the life and customs of the various peoples studied. The opposite should be the case. The elementary reader should give fairly complete, definite information concerning some one, or at most, two countries. It may be urged that the use of variety is another fundamental pedagogical principle. The reply is that there are so many varied and different things in Spain alone, for instance, that may be studied, that they cannot all be put into one reader. But they would have the unity of dealing with one country, and would give the student a more definite impression of that country. Granted Mr. Pittaro's plan of treating all the Spanish-speaking countries in his book, in which he is following the more common tendency these days, the arrangement of the selections does violence to the principle of unity. Beginning with page 98 and continuing to the end of the text, there are some twenty-six selections; of them eleven may be said to be related directly or indirectly to Spanish America, eight to Spain, and the remaining seven to either Spain or Spanish America. If we represent these three classes by A, B, and C, respectively, their order is as follows: C, A, B, B, C, C, B, B, C, B, A, C, A, A, C, B, B, C, A, B, A, A, A, A, A. The student would learn more about A or B if the selections treating the countries in A and B, respectively, were put together, rather than being inter-

mingled as indicated above. Also it would seem that class C should be eliminated, or practically so, because excellent literary selections dealing with A and B are available. In other words, the reviewer thinks that selections which present the life, customs, and history of the country or countries concerned, and which at the same time have literary qualities, should predominate in the latter part of such a reader as this.

Mr. Pittaro's plan also causes the book to be too long. More stories of the type of *Recuerdos escolares* (A), in which the reader gets a glimpse of the country where the scene is laid, and a great many less of those where the scene may be anywhere and whose content gives little or no idea of things or people Spanish or Spanish American (C), would have given us a more interesting and a more effective book.

The various *ejercicios* and *cuestionarios* following each selection are good. The emphasis in these exercises, as well as in the notes, is on the verb, although there is a fairly systematic study of other parts of the grammar. The notes are where they should be, at the bottom of the page, and treat only of grammatical difficulties. Biographical notes, etc., are placed in the vocabulary.

The forty-nine illustrations, representing scenes from all parts of the Spanish-speaking world, form an attractive feature of the book. There is a map of Spain and one of South America.

A very complete list of class-room phrases is at the beginning of the book, while a helpful list of the idioms used follows the text. The paradigms of the regular, radical-changing, and twenty-three of the more common irregular verbs will be an aid to the student.

The typography is good, and the proof-reading was well done. Few misprints have been noted. Notwithstanding the objections set forth above, Mr. Pittaro has given us an excellent book that is one step nearer the ideal reader.

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A Subject-Index to the Poems of Edmund Spenser, by CHARLES HUNTINGTON WHITMAN, Published under the auspices of The Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1918. Pp. xi, 261.

The question at once asked on seeing this book is, Why an index when we have Osgood's concordance? In the first place, the *Index* can be bought for \$3.50, while the sumptuous *Concordance* costs \$20.50, enough to make even a zealous student of Spenser pause. And the *Index* is portable, but the *Concordance* is as large as a dictionary. It is true that for study of Spenser's language the *Index* makes no pretense of competing with the *Concordance*, and that the latter has the advantage of completeness.

But though the *Index* cannot replace the *Concordance*, in its proper field it is of great value. We find a large number of headings which do not occur in the *Concordance*, such as Foreign Expressions, Architecture, Agriculture, Fine Art, Landscape Gardening, Astronomy, Musical Terms, Enchanted Objects, Church Terms, and Sports and Pastimes. It is evident that the value of the book is determined largely by the number and completeness of such headings. Professor Whitman has done this task well, and doubtless has reasons for not giving others, such as Colors, Ornaments, Liberty, Courage, Allegories, Processions, Arthurian Names, and Greek Allegorical Names. Some of the existing headings might have been extended. For example, under Lust might be the names of characters which typify the sin, such as Hellenore, and Labryde (if he be correctly interpreted as representing sensual appetite). Indeed, the practise in listing the qualities represented by various allegorical characters is apparently not uniform. We find Sans Loy under Lawlessness, and Furor under Wrath, but under Greed there is no reference to Pollente's groom—the type of greed—and Ollyphant, the representative of lust, is not referred to under Lust, nor Phedon under Anger, nor Adicia under Injustice. Indeed, Injustice does not appear as an entry.

Mr. Whitman's remark in the Preface that the allegory "has proved rather difficult to manage" perhaps explains something of this, tho he evidently has in mind the historical rather than the ethical allegory. He has listed a number of men commonly identified with various characters of the *F. Q.*, but not named in the poem, such as Lord Grey. In this matter it is perhaps well to

err on the side of liberality, tho much of the allegorical interpretation of Spenser may not be more permanent than the elder Rossetti's interpretation of *The Divine Comedy*; hence, Mr. Whitman's conservatism is commendable.

Another valuable feature of the work is that some of Spenser's errors are noted. When the poet speaks of Ixione but means Hesione, the *Index* gives both names. Why was not this done for Spenser's mistake about the marriage(?) of Theseus and Ariadne, which he makes the cause of the contest between the Centaurs and Lapithae? As is explained under Lapithae, the marriage was that of Perithous and Hippodamia. But we look under Centaurs, Theseus, Perithous, and Ariadne, without suspecting any mistake, and the name of Hippodamia does not appear as an entry. Similarly, it seems that under Philyra, whom Spenser confuses with Nais, there should be a reference to Nais. Likewise Jael, whose exploit is attributed to Debora, should have a place in the alphabetical order.

Mr. Whitman has been at some pains to trace the career of each character in the *F. Q.* This is helpful to one who wishes to be sure of the story, and can be done in the *Index* better than in the *Concordance*; the actions of the person in question are given in outline, and there are references to some passages not to be discovered through the *Concordance* because the name of the person is not used. For example, we do not learn from it that Arthur is mentioned in *F. Q.* 2. 9, yet the *Index* gives several references to this canto.

It is difficult to gather from the *Concordance* all of Spenser's references to authors. We might look for Homer under Maconian Quill, but probably few of us would look under Ascræan Bard for Hesiod. In the *Index*, references to an author are brought together under his name, and then all are collected under the heading Authors Mentioned by Spenser. Dante is unfortunately omitted from this list.

A few cross-references might be added. Spenser, like his contemporaries, identified Babel with Babylon; they should be connected in the *Index*. The confusion of the two, and a further confusion of Babylon and Nineveh, led Spenser to make Ninus the builder of "Babell towre." The *Index* makes Nimrod the builder of the Tower of Babel, though Spenser nowhere refers to this

common tradition, but always assigns the work to Ninus. His reference to "Egyptian slime" shows, as Mr. Whitman says, confusion with the bitumen of Babylon, but we may remember that Babylon was often put in Egypt, as in the *Decameron* (Nov. 99), and that the slime or mud of the Nile was celebrated, as we find in the *Index* under Nile. Spenser intends to suggest resemblance between the mud of the river, from which, we read in Diodorus, living creatures were bred by the heat of the sun, and the dust of which man was formed. The *Index* should also give cross references between Thessaly and Haemony. The article Phoenix should refer to Ashes, where there are several passages relating to the bird, and a missing reference to the *Visions of Bellay*. Apparently this should be *Bel.*¹ 6. 14 and *Bel.*² 7. 14. If Nipples, Paps, and Dugs are to appear, there should be cross-references. Under Memory we should find Anamnastes. Araxes should be listed, with a reference to Ooraxes, and Adrian Gulf should appear under Sea.

Among the Italian Expressions should be found *pavone*. It would be interesting also if all the Italian proper names could be assembled, such as Mongiball,^o Orgoglio, Parlante, and Noctante. Under Painting we expect some reference to the gates of the Bower of Bliss, with their wonderful pictures, but apparently there is no reference to them under any of the terms relating to fine art.

Under Arms, Law of, Mr. Whitman says that Cymocles and Pyrocles break this law by despoiling the body of Guyon. Spenser says that it is by striking foe undefined (2. 8. 31. 7), tho it is dishonorable for them to rob Guyon's body (stanzas 16, 25, 26). Under Chivalry there are several references to the law of arms which do not appear under that entry. Possibly we might add 3. 8. 12; 5. 3. 38. 7; 5. 11. 46; 6. 1. 26. 8. A satyr, not Therion, is the father of Satyrane. Some of the poet's references to Mount Ida are perhaps to the mountain of that name in Crete; at least he was familiar with the story that Jove was born there (7. 7. 41. 53). The interpretation of *F. Q.* 2. 9. 32. 1-4, as given under Body, Conduit-pipe, and Vessel, is probably incorrect. The round vessel is the urinary bladder, and the conduit-pipe the urethra. Compare Fletcher's *Purple Island* (3. 20). Fletcher has spoken of the intestines and "Port Esquiline" in the preceding canto.

It is to be regretted that the *Index* does not cover Spenser's prose as well as his poetry.

Many of the things I have mentioned as defects Mr. Whitman, with the knowledge he has gained during his work, probably would not have other than they are. Indeed to attempt an index that would suit every one would be to court the failure against which we are warned in the fable. And compared with the total of the work, the defects I have mentioned—with some thought of a later edition—are of little consequence. The whole is done with care and accuracy, and will be very serviceable to students of Spenser.

To look at the list of varied subjects given in the book is a stimulus to the imagination, and leads one to picture "forests and enchantments drear," stately castles, gallant knights, lovely ladies, cunning artists, saints and sages. We have before us as tho arranged in a storehouse the riches of the poet, and can hardly help turning to the poem to see how the great stones are used to build the edifice, and the statues and rich jewels disposed for its adornment.

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Samuel Butler: Author of "Erewhon." A Memoir. By HENRY FESTING JONES. London: Macmillan and Company, 1919. Two volumes.

Butler was himself a shatterer of illusions, and he seems to continue to exercise this function "on lips of other men," for this memoir shatters many of one's illusions with regard to him. Within a very narrow circle of intimate friends he seems to have been a kindly and considerate man, often singularly humane; very lovable in his friends' eyes. But whether his memory will become one of those over which lovers of literature delight to linger is another matter. For all the apparent breadth of his interests and for all the reverence that he exhibits in the presence of the few objects of his adoration—"the Authoress of the *Odysey*," Shakespeare, Giovanni Bellini, Handel,—he was essentially a narrow-minded man and, be it said, an inordinately conceited one. Generally it was sufficient for a person or a book to have won an established reputation to make Butler distrustful or scornful of the deserved fame. He did not read Milton or Balzac or Keats or

Fitzgerald's *Omar*; but that did not prevent him from damning them one and all. So long as he limits his impertinences in musical criticism to strictures upon Gounod one can bear with him though one may not agree with him; but when he turns his impudence upon Bach or Beethoven one leaves him in weary disgust. One can forgive and laugh over his famous commentary upon Wordsworth's poem "She dwelt among the untrodden ways"; but a little of that sort of thing goes a long way. In truth, his favorite method of "standing propositions upon their heads," though it is at times astonishingly clever, is often merely stupid. He is the father of those moderns who delight in paradox, "that bastard child of the half-lie" as Mr. Noyes has well phrased it. Before we are through with him we are tempted to exclaim, with an opponent of Mr. Shaw: "We are tired of seeing these blue-behind ed apes jumping about upon the trees of paradise." What casts a shade almost of pathos over Butler's impertinence is the fact, brought out by Mr. Jones with apparent complete unawareness of the light shed by it upon Butler's claims to greatness, that so many of his witty remarks were unoriginal. They were first uttered in his presence, or written in a letter to him (often by his friend Miss Savage), or discovered in some out-of-the-way book; and were then appropriated for his own use. Often he treasured some deplorably trite bit of cleverness for years before finding a fit occasion to bring it out.

He passed much of his life in questioning the motives of other men of assured reputation; and now that his own fame is established, temporarily at least, on so lofty a plane one may wonder whether he was not a self-deceiver. He made the task of compiling his biography a singularly easy one by sorting and docketing his correspondence and note-books, yet he declared that, far from being certain that these documents would ever be of general interest, he believed rather that probably after his death few people would have any curiosity about him. One may hold, on the contrary, that there is good evidence for believing that he thought that nothing concerning him would be without interest to humanity. Certainly his biographer (whose own personality is completely absorbed in that of his subject) has accepted this view, for there are few memoirs in the language that contain more trifling, insignificant, petty details than does this one. Mr. Jones's concluding

words are a refusal to admit that his book, despite its great length, is tedious. One cannot agree with him. It is inordinately strung out. The thousand pages of it might well have been condensed into a few hundred with no serious loss. It is impossible to discover just why the "general reader" or even the historian of literature can be expected to be concerned with the minute details given with regard to Mr. Jones's own history or Butler's valet and washerwomen, the management of his real estate, the precise itinerary of each of his innumerable Italian journeys, the exact number of times that Butler brushed his hair every evening, or the precise origin and development of a hundred by no means always excellent sayings and epigrams and satirical observations. A defense of this method of biography by pointing an analogy to the minutiae of the Life of Johnson does not hold for several reasons. Boswell was an artist and each detail given goes to render more vivid the portrait of his hero. Butler's personality did not warrant any such elaborate method of portraiture as that warrantably employed upon Johnson. And Boswell was a genius after his kind, while Mr. Jones is certainly not.

Mr. Conrad, justifying his *Personal Record*, has said that "Imagination, not invention, is the supreme master of art as of life." And he goes on to say that "an imaginative and exact rendering of authentic memories may serve worthily that spirit of piety toward all things human which sanctions the conception of a writer of tales." To an extraordinary degree Butler depends upon such "authentic memories." It has long been known that *The Way of All Flesh* is largely autobiographical, but Mr. Jones shows that there is hardly a situation or character or episode in the book (up to the point where Ernest makes the farcical error that lands him deservedly in prison) that is not drawn directly from Butler's own experiences or from those of people with whom he was acquainted. The amusing letters from Theobald to Ernest become painful reading when we learn that they are almost exact transcripts from the letters of Canon Butler to his son. Even the witty sayings of Miss Althea Pontifex should often be credited in justice to Butler's friend Miss Savage and not to Butler himself. This mosaic or patch-work method of working is often very ingenious; there is of course amazing cleverness shown in weaving together these shreds and patches into a whole; but is the whole artistic? Did Butler

ever, indeed, save perhaps in *Erewhon Revisited*, achieve a genuine work of art? I think not. Moreover, Butler completely lacked "that spirit of piety toward all things human" of which Mr. Conrad writes. Without that, it is safe to say, no man has ever risen to the heights of literature or conduct. He was primarily a satirist. He dabbled in literary problems as an eccentric amateur. So long as we considered that his speculations with regard to the composition and locality of the *Odyssey* were the clever whimsicalities of one who enjoyed annoying the "big wigs" of scholarship they were amusing enough. But the amount of energy expended upon the "proof" of this theory is simply shocking. So also his edition of Shakespeare's *Sonnets*, though the view therein brought out is repulsive, confused, and not even wholly original, was pardonable (perhaps) until one learned from Mr. Jones of the intense seriousness with which it was taken. Even his speculations upon evolutionary theory are by no means deserving of all the belated fame that has overtaken them. Butler deceived himself by believing that the scientists had organized "a conspiracy of silence" against him. They did no such thing. Patient careful experimenters, proceeding with neither haste nor rest from step to step, are justified in ignoring the guess-work of a brilliant amateur. It has helped Butler's fame immensely that the progress of research has brought evolutionary doctrine in some particulars into harmony with his theories; but beyond doubt the same position would have been reached had Butler never lived. His own admission of the scanty sale of his books on evolution is a measure of the lack of any great influence wielded by them. In the history of science he will probably come to have a position side by side with that of Robert Chambers.

Brushing aside the crowd of unnecessary details one sees that some four or five persons affected Butler's life markedly. These were his father, his friend Miss Savage, a certain Charles Paine Pauli, Darwin, and Mr. Jones. The history of his relations with Canon Butler is sufficiently set forth in *The Way of All Flesh*. Certainly parental control went often to unwise extremes in Victorian England, but I doubt whether Butler suffered more than did a thousand other young men mercifully spared the at times unholy gift of self-expression. And it must be remembered that we have not, and probably can never have, Canon Butler's side of

the story. Much has been said in the reviews of Mr. Jones's book of the wit, charm and general delightfulness of Miss Savage's letters. "A new personality," one critic declares, "has been added to literature." Unfortunately much of the wit in her letters had already been transferred to Butler's own books; much of the remainder is infinitely tedious reading. Butler, as is well known, often declared that Wordsworth's Lucy and Moore's young woman who owned a gazelle were the two most disagreeable women in literature. I am tempted to add Miss Savage as a third. Keen, sharp-tongued, ever ready to poke fun, often in the worst of taste, at those who did not agree with her—she encouraged in Butler some of the traits by which he has become most generally known. Butler thought that she wanted to marry him. I am not sure that she held to any such silly notion for long. But in any case the return made for her affection and for her self-effacing interest in his writings was ungallant and ungentlemanly in the extreme; witness the two sonnets written years after her death and published by Mr. Jones. On the whole Miss Savage had the upper hand of Butler. He was even more under the influence of Pauli whose personality, never well defined by Mr. Jones, throws a dark shadow over the memoir. Butler, the ironist, the satirist, the destroyer of illusions, one of those, as he prided himself on being,

"whose wit can shake
And riddle to the very core
The counterfeits that Time will break,"

was himself, by an arch-irony, completely hoodwinked by a handsome, fascinating, unprincipled man whom he met in New Zealand and to whom he made an allowance of two hundred pounds a year until Pauli's death in 1897 revealed the fact that he had shamelessly sponged upon his benefactor. Beside this tragedy the controversy with Darwin seems an unimportant matter. Butler amply revenged himself upon Darwin and even upon his own father; but the wound left by Pauli's unfaithfulness was too deep to be cauterized by satire. He left behind him only a straightforward statement of his relations with Pauli, a statement that Mr. Jones does not publish in full. With regard to Darwin it seems that Butler, though highly incensed at a slight which was exaggerated by his keen sensitiveness, was in the right. It is unnecessary to recount the affair; but the conclusion that any impartial reader will reach

is that Butler, not knowing the accident whereby Darwin's acknowledgment of Krause's use of Butler's *Life and Habit* was cut out of his preface in the proof stage, was justified in believing that the slight was intentional. It remains a problem why Darwin, instead of following the advice of his own family, accepted Huxley's counsel that Butler should be ignored. Much bad feeling might otherwise have been obviated—and Mr. Jones's memoir might have been greatly reduced in bulk. As for Mr. Jones's own influence upon his friend, reading between the lines of the memoir one comes to suspect that it was his unquestioning adoration that led Butler, despite all his protestations to the contrary, to take himself with a seriousness which, had he observed it in some famous man whom he disliked—say, Darwin or Mendelssohn or Raphael,—would have brought down the shafts of his satire.

He will be remembered neither as scientist nor artist nor, certainly, as musician, nor as literary critic, nor necessarily (for tastes change) as novelist. As a wit, yes; but primarily, let it be repeated, as a satirist. Satire, "that bastard and wandering muse," has never yet kept firm hold upon humanity's esteem and love. When a book comes to need a commentary for its proper understanding it ceases to be numbered among those whose appeal is wide and whose influence is significant. Within a short time, as literary reputations go, *Erewhon* and *The Way of All Flesh* will stand almost as much in need of exegesis as do *Hudibras* and *The Tale of a Tub*. Satire was the cloak beneath which Butler hid the tragedy of his life. He protested that he did not wish to become famous, did not desire "lionizing." He protested that his had been a happy life. Happy, with such a childhood? With such constant suspicions of the people with whom he came in contact? With such broodings upon the neglect of his writings? With the ever-present sense of a conspiracy against him? With such readiness not only to uncloak hypocrisy but to find sham in what is genuine and honest? Happy! The tragedy of Samuel Butler is revealed in the cry that comes from him: "I do not deny that I have been ill-used. I have been used abominably."

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CORRESPONDENCE

THE SOURCE OF A PASTORAL ECLOGUE ATTRIBUTED TO FRANCISCO DE FIGUEROA

A pastoral eclogue consisting of twenty-three *estancias*, ascribed to Francisco de Figueroa in a manuscript of the Real Biblioteca, was first published by Sedano in his *Parnaso español*.¹ The authority of a single manuscript, or even of several manuscripts, is not sufficient, without further evidence, to decide the authorship of Spanish poems of the sixteenth century, and besides, Sedano's inaccuracies are notorious.²

The poetical names of Tirsi, Damon, and Fili, which appear in this composition, occur so frequently in pastoral verses of the sixteenth century that they cannot settle definitely the question of authorship.

On a cliff overlooking the Tagus, the shepherd Tirsi laments the absence of his beloved Fili. Her indifference to his love leads him to yearn for death as a release from his anguish. She is ever present in his dreams, and his awaking brings only heart-breaking disillusion. Unable to bear any longer his grief, he stabs himself to the heart. His friend, Damon, who has heard his laments, tenderly weeps over the blood-stained body of Tirsi, reproaches him for having concealed his secret from him, prepares his body for burial, and writes an epitaph for his grave.

The first sixteen *estancias* seem to be original. The last seven *estancias*, which describe Tirsi's death and Damon's grief, are a graceful translation of the latter part of the second eclogue of Antonio Tebaldeo, a well-known Italian poet, whose verses were first published in the year 1499, and who died in 1537. Except for the fact that the names of the shepherds are reversed, the Spanish text follows closely the Italian original.

By a curious coincidence, it was this same second eclogue of Antonio Tebaldeo that served as the source of Juan del Encina's *Égloga de tres pastores*.³ A comparison of Encina's play with this

¹ Madrid, 1770, iv, 82. It is also included in Don Ramón Fernández's edition of the *Poesías de Francisco de Figueroa*, Madrid, 1785, pp. 31-37.

² This composition is attributed to Francisco de Figueroa in a manuscript described by Gallardo, *Ensayo*, III, cols. 239-240. Señor Menéndez Pidal, in an article entitled *Observaciones sobre las poesías de Francisco de Figueroa*, published in the *Boletín de la Real Academia Española*, II (1915), 303, regards the question of authorship as unsettled.

³ J. P. W. Crawford, *The Spanish Pastoral Drama*, Philadelphia, 1915, pp. 34-40.

pastoral eclogue dealing in part with the same material offers an interesting illustration of the difference in the methods employed by the poets of the old and new school in Spain of the sixteenth century.

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ON THE *March of the Lion*

Through the courtesy of J. Paul de Castro, Esq., of London, I have at last secured a copy of the long missing *March of the Lion* to which I refer in my edition of Henry Fielding's *Covent-Garden Journal*, I, 59. It is the foulest pamphlet I have ever read, and I am therefore reluctant to rescue it from oblivion; but I do wish to put on record one or two facts that I have found interesting.

Among the numerous dainty paragraphs devoted to Fielding is one which refers to his "distant chattering teeth." Even his worst enemies did not deny Fielding the possession of a few teeth however distant, and one should not take too literally Smollett's and Hogarth's testimony (see my edition of the *Journal*, I, 4, n. 3.) concerning Fielding in the days of his decline.

Another interesting paragraph satirizes at length the Fool, the Author of the *Daily Gazetteer*. Politically Fielding and the Fool had long been enemies, and in 1752 the latter was still actively hostile. (See the *Journal*, No. 15, page 3, column 3). From the *March of the Lion* we learn that the Fool was a Scotchman, and from the *Pasquinade* (1753), page 21, line 195, *note*, we learn that he was "laborious Shiells . . . sometime ago Amanuensis to Mr. Johnson . . ." Sam Johnson's R. Shiels, one of the Scotchmen who helped compile the *Dictionary*! Of Shiel's predecessor and successor in the editorial chair I know nothing, nothing about his own career as a journalist; but I am gratified to discover that in 1752-3 the Fool was not, as I suspected, Tobias Smollett, but a less renowned fellow countryman.

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A REFERENCE TO "HUON" IN BEN JONSON

The first act of Ben Jonson's *Magnetic Lady* ends with a dialogue between Mr. Damplay and "a Boy of the House" in the course of which the Boy, speaking very probably for the author himself, attacks the absurdity of romantic plots, and proceeds to outline the following incidents as characteristic:

. . . So if a Child could be borne, in a *Play*, and grow up to a man; i' the first Scene, before he went off the Stage: and then after to come

forth a Squire, and bee made a Knight: and that Knight to travell between the Acts, and doe wonders i' the holy land or else where; kill Paynims wild Boores, dun Cowes, and other Monsters; beget him a reputation, and marry an Emperours Daughter: for his Mrs. Convert her Fathers Countrey; and at last come home, lame and all to be laden with miracles.

The killing of the "wild Boores, dun Cowes, and other Monsters" as Peck has pointed out in the *Yale Studies* is a reference to *Guy of Warwick*;¹ but, neither he nor any earlier editor that I have consulted,² notes the reference to *Huon of Bordeaux* implicit in the latter part of the speech.

For a knight to "beget him a reputation" may well apply to Huon's early exploits on the way to Babylon. There Huon wins the love of Esclarmonde, the daughter of the "Admiral," that is, the emperor.³ He kills the Admiral, and slays all his subjects that will not become Christians,⁴ and after many adventures, is duly married by the Pope.⁵ At last, he returns to Bordeaux with four of the Admiral's black teeth and some hair taken from his beard—the trophies which Charlemagne had commanded him to bring—all magically hidden in the side of his faithful companion. Oberon, King of Fairyland, saves him miraculously from the evil plots of Gerard;⁶ and thus the hero gloriously finishes his mission.

The romance was easily accessible to Ben Jonson. Lord Berners had translated it about 1522, and Wynkyn de Worde had printed his version about 1534.⁷ Fletcher has shown that Spenser probably used it in *The Faerie Queene*;⁸ and the popularity of such literature, especially among the commons of London, must have kept the story alive well down into the Seventeenth Century. Ben Jonson's ridicule of the romances is part of the same movement as *The Knight of The Burning Pestle* and Shelton's translation of *Don Quixote*, the rise of the critical spirit and the decline of the literature of adventure and imagination.

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¹ Peck, H. W., ed.: Ben Jonson's *Magnetic Lady* (*Yale Studies in English*), New York, 1914, 136.

² The editions of Whalley in 1756; of Gifford, in 1816; and of Cunningham in 1875.

³ *The Boke of Duke Huon of Burdeaux*, ed. Lee, London, 1882-87. O. E. T. S., Extra Series, 40, 41, 43, 50, Ch. xxxviii, p. 119 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Ch. xlvi, p. 152.

⁵ *Ibid.*, Ch. lxii, p. 217.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Ch. lxxxiii, p. 258 ff.

⁷ *Ibid.*, title-page.

⁸ *Journ. of Eng. and Ger. Phil.*, II, 203 ff.

SOME INTERPRETATIONS OF MILTON

After a recent study of Milton's minor poems I find myself questioning the accepted interpretations of certain notable passages.

Ruskin's injunction (*Sesame and Lilies*), to watch every accent and expression, put ourselves always in the author's place, annihilate our own personality and seek to enter his, "so as to be able assuredly to say 'Thus Milton thought' not 'Thus I thought in mis-reading Milton'" is most apt and necessary. And yet I suspect that Ruskin violates his own rule in dealing with the very passage that seems to have induced its formulation, as well as elsewhere.

I believe he misses the mark in his treatment of the expression "Blind mouths" (*Lycidas* 110). "These two monosyllables," he says, "express the precisely accurate contraries of right character in the two great offices of the Church—those of bishop and pastor. A 'Bishop' means 'a person who sees.' A 'Pastor' means 'a person who feeds.' The most unbishoply character a man can have is therefore to be Blind. The most unpastoral is, instead of feeding, to want to be fed—to be a Mouth. Take the two reverses together, and you have 'blind mouths.'" According to this the designation *as a whole* does not apply to either bishop or pastor—to any one, to any class. We must divide the adjective from its noun, and, however awkward, apply them separately. Fortunately such a procedure is neither reasonable nor necessary.

It would be eminently like Milton to use an original of the phrase found in an ancient author and we have it precisely in the geographer Strabo, 183, who applies the term *τυφλόσ-τομος* to the mouth of a river choked with mud or sand. If this be the origin of the phrase, the idea of greediness read into it by Ruskin and his successors must be abandoned. The notion of shallowness, of impeded utterance, of lack of spontaneity governs the meaning, which looks forward rather than backward in the passage for its relationship.

2. The second misinterpretation, as prevalent as the first, is of the lines in *Comus* (93, 94):

The star that bids the shepherd fold
Now the top of heaven doth hold.

All the editions to which I have access say, "the evening star," or more specifically "Venus," or "Hesperus." The patent objection is that the evening star (or planet) does not at folding time appear at "the top of heaven," a specification which cannot be so easily dismissed as many assume. Does not an exacter explanation fit this passage better? In May, the critical month for flocks, the constellation *Leo* is in the zenith shortly after sunset, while Aries

(is this significant?) is sinking in the west. As the lion, according to Homer (*Il.* x, 485, and often), is the great menace to flocks, the appearance of the constellation is a warning to shepherds. It is much more than the hand on a dial; it is a celestial reminder of a deadly peril to innocence that lurks in the darkness.

3. The third widely accepted error that I wish to notice is in line 53 *On the Death of a Fair Infant*. Recent editions print it thus:

Or wert thou [Mercy] that sweet smiling youth?

The bracketed word was "suggested in 1750 by John Heskin to fill the obvious lacuna." Masson says, "There can be no doubt that Mercy was meant." Notwithstanding this high authority I am not convinced. It is true that Mercy is throned between Justice and Truth in *The Hymn on the Nativity*, ll. 141-146, but here are three separate or alternate characters who need not all be the same as where they constitute one picture. "Smiling" is scarcely a fit epithet of Mercy, or the masculine "youth" a fit appositive. The infant's sex does not forbid a comparison to "young Hyacinth" (4th stanza).

Leaving negations, may I suggest that Milton had in mind the boy Ganymede, who on account of his beauty was snatched from earth by Jove's eagle to succeed Hebe (Youth) as the cup-bearer of the Olympians (*Hom. Il.* xx, 232), and whose name (γάμος μέδομαι) signifies Joy or Gladness? Such a reference would be exceedingly obvious, Miltonic, and in harmony with the mention of Aquilo, l. 8. The lacuna was probably not an accident but resulted either from the difficulty of finding an exact equivalent of Ganymede that would satisfy the metre and the ear, or from a purpose by the omission to emphasize the second alternative.

4. *Lycidas*, ll. 30, 31. *Oft till the star*, etc. Under the accepted interpretation "any star that so rose" will do. But Milton's known exactness is not satisfied with so easy an explanation that neglects the "westering wheel" as a mark of identification. To conceive of any star, a mere point of light, as a wheel would strain imagination, especially when such a conception is unnecessary. The words, I think, point to Arcturus, the brightest star in the constellation Bootes, the Waggoner, driver of the Wain (Ursa Major) (*Homer, Il.*, xviii, 487-9, and Milton, *Eleg. Quinta*, 35, 36). In the latitude of London the Wain does not set, but on the margin of the sky the wheel farther from the pole, sweeping around westward, seems down a slope from the wheel nearer the pole. "Westering," therefore, does not mean "passing to the west," as lexicographers instruct us, but *circling the west*. This way of marking time in the night is one of extreme Arcadian simplicity and coincides with that in *Il Penseroso*, l. 87.

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DANTE AND GUINIZELLI IN CHAUCER'S *Troilus*

And Troilus shal dwellen forth in pine,
 Til Lachesis his thred no lenger twine,
(T. C., v, 6, 7.)

may be a reminiscence of

E quando Lachesis non ha più lino,
 Solvesi dalla carne.
(Purg., xxv, 79; cf. also xxi, 25-7.)

Probable echoes of the *Purgatorio* have often been pointed out in *Troilus*.¹

At the beginning of Book III of the *Troilus* Venus is invoked (verse 5),

In gentil hertes ay redy to repaire.

This is almost word for word the opening line in the most celebrated poem by Dante's predecessor Guido Guinizelli, the fifth canzone, on the nature of love (*Scelta di Curiosità*, vol. 185),

Al cor gentil ripara sempre amore.

Chaucer may have been attracted to Guinizelli by the glorifying of him as Dante's "padre mio" in the *Purgatorio* (xxvi, 92, 97 ff.; xi, 97). The reminiscence is not certain. The idea and context are near those of Boccaccio in the *Filostrato* (iii, 74),

figliuola di Giove,
 Benigna donna d'ogni gentil core.

"Gentil herte," "cuer gentil," "gentil core" are a part of the regular fashionable vocabulary of love from the thirteenth century on.

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BRIEF MENTION

An Anglo-Saxon Reader, edited with notes and glossary. By Alfred J. Wyatt (Cambridge, University Press, 1919). An editor of a new Anglo-Saxon Reader is primarily concerned with the selection of his texts. Professor Wyatt reports serious effort in this matter, namely, "a review of the whole corpus of Anglo-Saxon literature with very distinct aims: to ascertain whether there was any suitable material that had not been drawn upon in earlier works of the same character; to attain to a greater variety of contents than was to be found in some of the books then [when

¹ Skeat, ii, 468; *Anglia*, xiii, 184; *Mod. Philol.*, iii, 367; xiv, 135-7; Miss Hammond, *Bibl. Manual*, 82-3; Toynbee, *Dante in English Literature*, i, 2, 3. Boccaccio's *Teseide* (x, 32) shows the frequent confusion of Lachesis with Atropos:

Tolgan gl'Iddii, Arcita, amico caro,
 Che Lachesis il fil poco tirato
 Ancora tronchi.

the selection was being made, 'the winter months of 1914-15' in use; to exclude, so far as possible, everything that was not intrinsically interesting; and finally to represent as many sides as we [late Lieutenant Bernard Pitt was then a collaborator in the work] could of the life of our forefathers." It will now be asked, what new material has been selected, material that is not offered in the several Readers in use?

In making a comparison of this Reader with Sweet's (S and S²), with Bright's (B), and with Cook's (C), for the purpose of answering the question asked, it is to be kept in mind that minor details of variation and difference are due to Professor Wyatt's occasional reduction of a whole to merely a part, to his slight extensions or abbreviations of an approved selection, and his avoidance of repetition by a different selection from the same work. Allowance for these features reduces the answer sought to the statement that the new Reader does not offer much that is new. Thus, with C there is an extract from the *Apollonius of Tyre*; an extract from Ælfric's *Colloquy*; Alfred's Preface to the *Boethius*; "The Passing of Chad"; and a selection from the *Judith*.

In like manner there are agreements with S: an extract from the *Laws, Charters* (also S²), *Leechdoms, Gnomie Verses, Riddles, Judith* (also C), *Beowulf* (a short passage also in C), *The Later Genesis*, and *The Dream of the Rood*. From works not represented in the three Readers named, there are extracts from *Solomon and Saturn* (3½ pages); Gregory's *Dialogues* (4 pages); *The Benedictine Rule* (4 pages); the Preface to Alfred's *Blooms* (complete, 1½ pages); a section from the records of the *Chronicle* relating to the Danes (pp. 69-80), which is an extension backward from Sweet's section xvii; *Juliana* (1 page); *St. Guthlac* (2 pages); and the short poems *Deor, The Husband's Message*, and *Waldere* (together, 5 pages).

Looking now at the selections that make up a large portion of the book, one finds that this is less a supplementary Reader than a reproduction, with minor variations, of "earlier works of the same character." The first division, "Early West Saxon Prose," is begun with *Chron.* 755 and continued with entries relating to the wars of Alfred, and is therefore in essential agreement with S and B. In the second section, from the *Orosius*, a short passage entitled "Central Europe" precedes the "Voyages of Ohthere and Wulfstan" (S. B); and the section is closed with two passages, "Cyrus" and "Cleopatra." The third division consists of Alfred's Preface to the *Cura Pastoralis* (S. B), a chapter from that work, and Alfred's brief "Conclusion." The extracts from the *Bede* embrace, after a short "Preface," "The Conversion of Edwin" (B), with the disadvantage of the omission of two paragraphs at the beginning and one at the end. Then follow "The Passing of Chad" (noticed above), and *Caedmon* (S. B); and there is added "Bede's Conclusion" (1½ pages). Four pages

from the *Boethius* make up another section. Wulfstan is represented by the *Sermo Lupi*, which in fuller form is S xvi. Finally, as to the prose pieces, there is given *The Harrowing of Hell*, in close agreement with B, but shortened, with disadvantage, by the omission of B 130, 16—131, 12. The pieces in verse that remain to be mentioned contribute further to the points of resemblance and the parts of identity which keep this book in such close relation with the books it has been planned to supplement, according to the "distinct aims" of the editor. In the last division of the book one again finds *The Wanderer*, *The Battle of Brunnanburh*, *The Battle of Maldon*; and a short passage from *The Phoenix*.

Professor Wyatt very properly indulges in "no silent alterations of the readings of the mss.," but asks for indulgence in "the solitary exception" of printing, "for convenience," always *ond*, "whether the mss. have *ond* or *and*." This is obviously a procedure that is not to be approved. He also states that he has not marked the distinction between "accented" and "unaccented" *ne*. The real point, which is ignored, is the difference in meaning between 'not' and 'nor.' Special attention is, somewhat apologetically, called to the "innovation" of printing as one word certain analytic sequences, such as *ðā ðā*; *ðæs ðe*; *ƿærtō ēacen*; *mið ƿi ƿe*; *swā swā*; *swā ƿēah*; *swā hwæt swā*; *swā some swā*; *nā ƿæt ān ƿæt*, etc., etc. The innovation consists in carrying this practice beyond the restrained limits observed by those editors who have shown some favor to this mistaken view of calligraphy, to say nothing of its grammatical inappropriateness. Professor Wyatt is too keen a grammarian not to perceive that his excess in this matter demands an apology, and here it is: "It is true that *āðeroððe* or *nalas-ðætānðæt* is not a joy forever"; but this is a feeble excuse for the obscuration, especially for the beginner, of the laws of sentence-accentuation. He knows 'aswellas' any one how analytic the language was in these matters, and how few forms of the type of 'inasmuch as' and 'insofar as' have in the course of centuries been admitted to the association of *whatsoever*, *nevertheless*, etc.

The preceding observation leads one to notice that the entries in the Glossary are not analyzed in the usual and helpful way. The use of the hyphen to show the composition of the words is a device too instructive to be abandoned. Nor has the editor concerned himself with devices to indicate the derivative formation, or the etymology and cognate relationship of words. These negations constitute a deterrent blank in a Glossary. Moreover, in the Glossary the special regimen of verbs is not indicated except in some instances. This creates a demand for more in the way of syntactical notes than is given. And an occasional note on syntax is not well pointed. Thus *ƿe . . . him* (*ƿe ic him*) is brought into connection with Abbott's construction of a passage in *Hen. V* (*Shakespearean Grammar* § 248). More directly to the point would be the observation that the relative particle *ƿe* (and some-

times *þæt*, which later becomes common) precedes the personal pronoun to make it relative, as *þe hit* = 'which' in *Maldon* 190 (Wyatt, p. 281). With the collocation under discussion compare, for example, *Elene* 162, *þe þis his* = 'whose this,' as correctly noted by Professor Cook. The subject is well set forth in *The English Relative Pronouns, A Critical Essay*, by Ernst Albin Kock (Lund, 1897). The idiom has proved fruitful of surprising contortions in popular parlance, as Professor Wyatt indicates; but it is doubly surprising that the idiom is still overheard also in America. The late Professor A. E. Egge (State College of Washington, Pullman, Wash.) reported to me privately a number of instances he had heard and literally recorded. They are of this character: "The woman who lately died *that* they contested *her* will"; "There are two members of the senior class *that* their essays have not been submitted"; "There was a woman at the meeting *that* her husband would not come."

In another note on the *Wanderer* (l. 81), Professor Wyatt has ignored the 'suggestion' offered in *MLN.* XIII, 176 f., and introduces an interpretation that is too fanciful and contradictory to the spirit of the poem for serious consideration. He holds it probable that *fugel* refers to "some mythical bird," supporting his conjecture in this manner: "Craigie points out that there is an example of a bird carrying off a man on one of the Celtic stones at Meikle in E. Perthshire." In connection with the note on XVI, 35, Professor Edgerton's discussion of the dvandva compounds would have proved helpful to the editor (see *Zs. f. vergl. Sprachforschung*, N. F. 43).

The bibliographical summaries in the Notes are usually all that is required, but the interest in a piece is not always well imparted. Thus, for example, the names of Zangemeister and Braune are suppressed in connection with *The Later Genesis*. J. W. B.

The English Poets, edited by Thomas Humphry Ward (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1918), volume five, is a book that links our generation with the time nearly forty years ago when the original work in four volumes appeared. To the fourth volume an appendix was added in 1894, containing selections from Tennyson, Browning, and Arnold. For no very apparent reason that additional material has now been transferred to the beginning of this new volume and takes up precious space that might have been devoted to critical estimates and examples of the work of several poets, all dead since the original work was issued, who, though not in any sense great, have left behind them poems that are worthy of place in this standard and delightful anthology. Robert Buchanan, for the *Ballad of Judas Iscariot*; "Fiona Macleod" for such things as *An Old Tale of Three* and *The Burden of the Tide*; Watts-Dunton for the sonnets in memory of Jowett; John

Payne for the perhaps-flashy but unforgettable *Rime of Redemption* and *Lautrec*; and Lee-Hamilton (the most unaccountable omission) for many of his sonnets. The group of contributors whom Mr. Ward gathered around him in the eighties set a standard of prestige and ability difficult to match; but the editor has been remarkably happy in his selection of new associates. In many cases the man qualified pre-eminently to speak of a certain poet has been chosen: Colvin writes on Stevenson, Gosse on Swinburne, Hardy on William Barnes, Mackail on Morris. Among the most noteworthy essays are those by Mr. Drinkwater introducing various minor writers; in these studies there is a strong grasp of the fundamental laws of poetry and an ability to make use of these lesser but in some ways excellent poets to illustrate by their shortcomings those qualities that make for failure in the art, and by their occasional successes the qualities of precision of outline, of exactness of transcription, of ability to express a well-defined idea in clear and vivid words, that are of the stuff of which great verse is made. Another very satisfying study is that of George Meredith by Mr. John Bailey, in which recognition of the mass of impedimenta that encumbers Meredith's poetical work does not hinder well-reasoned praise of his great tho not ever-present merits. The section devoted to Humorous Verse is treated by Mr. C. L. Graves, who supplies individual introductions to each writer and also a little introduction to the whole section that is a model of compactness and good taste. Canon Beeching's study of R. W. Dixon is inadequate and unsympathetic; an essay upon Dixon with no mention of *Mano* will not do. Even more unsatisfactory is the meagre notice of Francis Thompson by the general editor. Mr. Aldous Huxley deals admirably with Dowson and Middleton, but fails to get to the heart of Davidson's claim to remembrance among the more considerable poets of recent years. Concerning taste it is sometimes useful to dispute; and the taste involved in the selection of parts of this anthology is certainly disputable. The examples from Meredith are particularly meagre and not all of his very best; among De Tabley's poems we do not find the *Hymn to Aphrodite*, or *Napoleon the Great*, or the great *Ode* which begins "Sire of the rising day." The Henley selection, too, is curious; the *Song of the Sword* is not there, nor "Some starlit garden grey with dew," nor "Where forlorn sunsets flare and fade." And what shall be said of a selection from Thompson that includes neither *To the Dead Cardinal* nor *In No Strange Land*? What of representing Davidson by but two poems while Stephen Phillips has eight, Lang nine, and Stevenson actually twenty-six? But such errors in proportion are bound to occur in a work done in collaboration by a large number of men; they do not seriously interfere with the merits of a volume that is already, because of its relation to those which preceded it, a classic in its way.

S. C. C.

Gertrud Wacker, *Über das Verhältnis von Dialekt und Schriftsprache im Altfranzösischen, Beiträge zur Gesch. der Rom. Spr. u. Lit.*, XI, 1916. The means for determining the dialect of Old French texts are few and uncertain. That many of them must be used with even greater caution than has been customary in the past is apparent from this study by Gertrud Wacker. The orthodox method of procedure in editing an Old French text has been to collect all the examples of unusual forms essential to its structure, track each to the district with which it seems to be most often identified, and then assign the text under consideration to some hypothetical region adjoining as many of these districts as possible. That such border lands, especially the frontier between the Ile de France and Picardy, have somehow been disconcertingly fertile in the production of poets was pointed out by Morf in Herrig's *Archiv*, CXXXII, pp. 256 ff. Miss Wacker, by questioning the validity of many of the criteria used in localizing Old French texts, succeeds in undermining the reputation of these mythical marches.

Taking some fifty-two works whose origins can be determined with a fair degree of accuracy, she tabulates the examples in each of them of certain forms generally held to be criteria for judging the dialect of Old French texts, and at the same time she states in every case the number of examples of the opposite phenomenon (*i. e.* of the normal form) found in the text considered. She shows, for instance, that various phenomena of Picard origin—*iee>ie*, the pronouns *mi*, *ti*, *vo*, *no*, such forms of the infinitive as *veir*, *seir*, and the rimes *ance : anche*, *esse : esche*, etc.—not only are absent from texts reliably classed as Picard, but are present in works known to have emanated from other districts. On the other hand, it is apparent from her table that altho a confusion of the rimes in *ē* and *ā* is characteristic of Ile de France writers, poets definitely assigned to Picardy also confuse them. She concludes that, while various dialects were developing in different parts of France, typical forms of some of them made their way, for political and literary reasons, into the written language of the time, and that this written language, which existed in France from the first half of the twelfth century, in its beginnings possessed many so-called Norman characteristics to which during its second period, dating from the thirteenth century, a number of Picard traits were gradually added. She contends therefore that the presence or absence of certain dialectal peculiarities in the language of a given writer can furnish no reliable data for determining the provenance of that writer.

The study is clearly written, its materials are logically presented, and its conclusions constitute a significant contribution to a problem that has long puzzled students of Old French texts. G. F.

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LA CHANSON PROVENÇALE DU PÈLERIN DE SAINT-ROCH

Nous n'entreprendrons pas de retracer ici ce que fut l'épidémie de peste qui désola Avignon de 1721 à 1722. Moins "célèbre" que celle de 1580-81—la "grande peste" de Bouche et autres historiens, bien qu'eût déjà été appelée de ce nom celle de 1347-48, qui enleva Laure à Pétrarque¹—elle a été décrite, d'abord par P. Charpenne, dans son *Histoire des réunions temporaires d'Avignon et du Comtat Venaissin à la France*, parue, en deux volumes, à Paris en 1886, puis par M. Paul Gaffarel et le Marquis de Duranty, dans leur gros ouvrage sur *La Peste de 1720 à Marseille et en France* (Paris, 1911), alors que l'ancien chapelain de Saint-Louis des Français à Rome, M. G. Fraikin—auteur d'une assez médiocre publication sur les *Nonciatures de France sous Clément VII*, dont le premier volume vit le jour dans la *Collection des Archives Religieuses de l'Histoire de France* qu'avaient entreprise les éditeurs Picard et Gabalda à Paris—a donné, en 1912, dans les *Annales de Provence*, p. 153-165, trois documents extraits des *Archives du Vatican*: *La Peste en Provence sous la Régence*, (*Mémoire de purifier les Eglises dans les Villes qui ont été attaqués (sic) de la Contagion; Mémoire sur la désinfection générale des maisons, meubles et effets qui ont servi et où il y a eu des pestifères; Composition et doze des parfums, avec la manière de parfumer*): véritable traité, comme l'on voit, d'hygiène . . . telle qu'on l'en-

¹ Cf. Baluze, *Vitae paparum Aveniensium, etc.* (Parisii, 1693), I, 274; Bouche, *Essai sur l'histoire de Provence*, II (Marseille, 1785), 111, ainsi que Fornery, *Histoire, etc.*, II, 227-28, et, sur la peste de 1629, 295.

tendait à l'époque de Grégoire, où c'était "*per la priero*" que l'on combattait le plus efficacement la peste. . . .

Notre but est moins ambitieux et plus limité. Nous avons pensé, en effet, qu'il importait de tirer de l'oubli un document "poétique" d'un intérêt certain, qui, depuis sa publication, en deux successives éditions—dont la seconde est enrichie d'additions—chez Ch. Girond à Avignon, en 1722, n'a fait l'objet d'aucune étude et semble bien n'avoir été utilisée par personne, malgré les renseignements, si typiques, qu'il apporte à l'historien de la peste d'Avignon. Jusqu'ici, les seules mentions qui en aient été faites—et elles se réduisent, à notre connaissance, à deux—sont des transcriptions, plus ou moins arrangées, du *Dictionnaire Historique, Biographique et Bibliographique du département du Vaucluse*, de C.-F.-H. Barjavel (Carpentras, 1841)—nous avons eu l'occasion, précédemment, de parler de ce Barjavel: cf. notre travail sur *G. Libri et la Bibliothèque de Carpentras* (Bordeaux, 1911, extrait du *Bulletin Italien*, p. 12, note 1)—où, p. 145, note 1, du t. II, à l'article *Manne, L.-F.*, est citée, sans nom d'auteur, et avec une inexactitude chronologique qui prouve que ce garant n'en parle que par ouï-dire, la "chanson patoise du *Pèlerin de Saint-Roch*, relative à la peste qui affligea Avignon en 1720" (*sic*). Ce passage est transcrit par P. Charpenne au t. I, p. 320, note, de l'ouvrage ci-dessus mentionné avec cet enrichissement(?): que la chanson est attribuée à un mystérieux "cadet Grégoire," sans plus. Enfin, MM. P. Gaffarel et Duranty se borneront, à leur tour, à reproduire Charpenne, dont ils tairont la source, à la p. 599 de *La Peste de 1720*, en affirmant, de leur propre autorité sans nul doute, que notre chanson, dont ils font une composition anonyme ("*On composa même à ce sujet une chanson provençale*," écrivent-ils), "eut beaucoup de succès."

Et c'est ainsi que l'érudite Conservateur du *Musée Calvet* à Avignon, M. J. Girard, put—quelques semaines avant que la guerre vînt nous arracher à nos chères études, pendant 5 années!—nous écrire qu'il ne croyait pas que notre chanson "ait jamais fait l'objet d'une étude, ou ait été utilement employée par quelque auteur" et que le zélé historien des choses de Provence, notre collègue de la faculté d'Aix, M. V.-R. Bourrilly nous confirma, à la même époque: "Je ne sais rien sur la bibliographie d'un '*Pèlerin de St. Roch*' . . ." Et, en fait, c'est en vain que l'on

rechercherait—non pas même l'énoncé du titre et la description bibliographique de la *Chanson Provençale du Pèlerin de Saint Roch*, plaquette in -4° de v ff. n. ch. et 16 pp., *deuxième édition* “revûe, corrigée et augmentée de quelques couplets, de quelques Nottes (*sic*) et de plusieurs petits Ouvrages en Vers adressez (*sic*) à l'Auteur,” in -4° de XVIII et 16 pp.—mais la simple mention de son auteur, J.-M. Grégoire, Directeur du *Petit Lazaret* avignonnais, dans les ouvrages biographiques sur le Vaucluse, ou dans ceux relatifs à l'imprimerie dans ce département—telles les savantes *Notes sur des imprimeurs du Comtat Venaissin et de la Principauté d'Orange*, par M. Pellechet—ou, à propos de copies manuscrites, dans les si riches *Tables des Catalogues des Manuscrits d'Avignon et de Carpentras*, ou, *last not least*, au *Catalogue des ouvrages imprimés de notre Bibliothèque Nationale*. Quant à sa notation musicale, s'il existait, parmi les lecteurs de cette *Revue*, quelqu'un qui se sentît animé du désir d'orner les strophes qui vont suivre des charmes du chant, nous le renverrions à l'air vieillot de *Tout Pèlerin qui fait voyage*, qui est celui sur lequel elles se chantaient alors, si tant est qu'elles le furent jamais, en leur tragique bonhomie.

Nous avons déclaré plus haut que nous n'entendions pas refaire l'histoire de la peste d'Avignon en 1721-1722. Encore faut-il que les allusions, aujourd'hui obscures, que renferme notre *Chanson* soient éclaircies. Et, en entreprenant, sur les pas du bon Grégoire, cette tâche, quel tableau pourrions-nous brosser de l'horreur de ces sombres journées, où les fatals tombereaux—précurseurs des tombereaux homicides de notre Révolution—sillonnaient les rues muettes de la vieille cité papale, dans leur bizarrement funèbre appareil? Grégoire, fonctionnaire municipal, glisse prudemment sur cet aspect ignoble de l'administration de la ville et, conformément au conseil que lui adresse l'un de ses apologistes, p. xvii de la *seconde édition*, en s'adressant à sa *Chanson*:

*Pars donc, ma Fille, cours instruire
L'avidé Lecteur de nos Maux:
Mais garde-toy, pour les décrire,
De dévoiler nos Tomberaux.
Ces horreurs vivement dépeintes
Laissent, dans les esprits empreintes,
Des images à faire peur. . . .*

il ne dit que . . . ce qu'il n'était point possible de taire. Car, s'il a composé cette chanson, c'est tout simplement parce qu'il entend, de la sorte, en bon méridional, flatter la mafia alors au pouvoir, faire sa cour à quiconque détient quelque parcelle d'autorité: système dont il abuse copieusement, en vertu de ce droit sacré de tous les sportulaires, toujours grouillants et en humeur dans ces bienheureuses régions du *far niente* et de la *galéjade*. Toutefois, à en croire Peillon le cadet, dont un madrigal clôt la série des panégyriques liminaires dont fut enrichie la *seconde édition*, laquelle fut imprimée au moment où le fléau tendait à sa fin, il serait de mauvais goût, de notre part, de reprocher à J.-M. Grégoire ces adulations sans nul doute tout autres que désintéressées, puisque — ô paradoxe d'un lointain ancêtre du Tartarin national! — ses strophes eurent le don de mettre en fuite le "mal qui répand la terreur," dont notre bon La Fontaine avait dit que c'était une invention de la fureur céleste à l'endroit des humains misérables:

*Gregoire, voi (sic) l'effet de ta Muse agreable,
Qui, par ses traits naïfs et ses vives couleurs,
Nous fait un badinage aimable
De la Peste et de ses horreurs:
Cette Tysiphone cruelle,
Voyant que tu t'es joué d'elle,
S'en va chercher fortune ailleurs!*

Mais laissons ces traits de mœurs locales et passons à l'examen de notre texte. Pourquoi, d'abord, ce titre de *Chanson du Pèlerin de Saint Roch*? C'est qu'hors des murailles d'Avignon, l'hospice des pestiférés érigeait, dans l'enclos Saint-Roch, la chapelle consacrée à ce thaumaturge montpelliérain, légendaire intercesseur auprès de la clémence divine dans les épidémies. Lorsque, avec le progrès de la contagion, le nombre des malades se fut accru, l'on établit de nouvelles infirmeries dans les couvents des Minimes, des Capucins et des Récollets, et ce détail va nous permettre d'expliquer, tout à l'heure, certaine obscure allusion au "voisinage" du Chevalier Lyli. Grégoire relate sommairement, au début de sa complainte, les précautions nécessaires pour se garantir contre la peste, quand le devoir—ou la nécessité—obligeait les riches bourgeois à sortir de leurs demeures barricadées, et comment, aussi, la cité et le Comtat ayant, à grands frais et durant de longs mois, fait garder les bords et passages de la Durance,—pour empêcher la contagion d'arriver,

comme naguère, par la Provence—le zèle des officiers généraux ne put empêcher qu'elle n'y pénétrât . . . avec les contrebandiers, qui, naturellement, s'arrangeaient avec les vigilants des frontières pour passer quand même. Et le premier qui constata la présence du fléau fut l'habile maître-chirurgien en Avignon, Manne fils, ce qui lui attira la haine furieuse de la plèbe, incrédule parce que sa liberté se trouvait compromise, mais ce qui n'empêcha nullement ce galant homme de se sacrifier, lui et sa famille, au service des pestiférés. Sa femme, en effet, ainsi que la sœur du trésorier Cucurne, fut l'une des premières victimes, dans les pénibles et hasardeux offices rendus aux malades à Saint-Roch. Après trois mois d'exercice, le médecin Soubes, docteur agrégé, succombait. Manne eut la chance d'échapper aux atteintes du fléau, ainsi que son actif collaborateur, Gautier, autre docteur agrégé.

Nous avons suffisamment caractérisé plus haut la méthode de Grégoire pour que l'on conçoive que si, tout en se louant du courage montré par les chirurgiens, il n'a pu refuser un couplet au motif secret de leur zèle de morticoles, ce devait être que la chose était, de patente et manifeste, devenue scandaleuse, au détriment—non de la populace, qui ne comptait pas—, mais des gens du Tiers, sacrifiés pour la Noblesse, laquelle faisait garder par des sentinelles les demeures où, dans un isolement absolu, étaient traités ses membres atteints de la peste. Que si, cependant, le Directeur du *Petit Lazaret* ne pouvait qu'effleurer cette délicate matière, quelle éloquence, par contre, se dégage des représentations graphiques du peintre Lauze, qui, spécialiste en appareils lugubres, fixait sur la toile le spectacle terrifiant du tombereau à la fatale clochette, quand celui-ci, arrêté devant une porte marquée de la sinistre croix blanche—qui, après la désinfection des “Parfumeurs,” se muera en croix rouge—met en fuite quelque passant épouvanté! Toutefois, s'il est une catégorie de la société avignonnaise à laquelle Grégoire refuse sa pitié intéressée, ce sont les Israélites, à l'endroit desquels il se laisse aller à une macabre satire, en rappelant, à ce propos, la comique dénomination que portaient les tailleurs, celle de “croque-prunes,” parce que ce fruit, ne salissant pas les mains, était celui que mangeaient de préférence, à la saison, ces artisans, tout en vaquant à leur travail. Ainsi, d'ailleurs, expliquerons-nous l'apostrophe dirigée au comte de Ciceri, seigneur de la Tour de Camp et Viguier d'Avignon, qui

avait les Israélites dans sa juridiction et dont les ordres sévères, naturellement non observés, furent cause que la "Juiverie" resta l'un des quartiers d'Avignon qui souffrirent le plus durement de l'épidémie. Comment en eût-il été d'autre sorte, si l'on songe à ces petites baraques, dont parlera notre auteur, que l'on avait établies au long des grands fossés s'étendant de la Porte St. Michel à la Porte Limbert et si légères qu'elles n'étaient faites que de tables de vers à soie: niches basses et étroites qu'avait imaginées le bourgeois Tessier, créé Commissaire-Général pour la Campagne, et dont l'inutilité n'apparut que lorsque la Mort les eut muées en autant de foyers d'infection!

Du long défilé, que la *Chanson* déroulera, de noms inconnus, nous retiendrons les patronymiques notables, à des titres divers, à cette époque, à Avignon. Voyons d'abord la police. Elle était confiée à l'apothicaire Calvet, autre Commissaire-général pour la Campagne. Les Notaires veillaient aux portes, aussi bien sur les étrangers et les gens de l'Etat qui s'y présentaient, que sur les denrées et marchandises qu'on y faisait entrer. Comme Grégoire logeait à l'Isle Ville-franche—pour reproduire l'orthographe de son temps—qui resta l'un des lieux les moins ravagés, il n'a pas manqué de brûler son encens en l'honneur de M. de Carmejeane, lieutenant de cavalerie du régiment du comte de Cayeux, venu tout exprès servir sa patrie en qualité de Commissaire de l'Isle. Il va de soi que Messire Charles-Noël de Galeans de Castelanne, marquis de Salerne, seigneurs des Issards² et autres lieux, ait une part prépondérante des louanges que prodigue le sportulaire rimeur. C'était le Premier Consul. A ce titre, la *Chanson* lui est humblement dédiée. Le reste des éloges tombe de droit sur Joseph Louvet, Consul pour la seconde fois, et quelques bribes éparses iront, fort à propos, atteindre Messire Joseph-Gaspard Imonier, notaire. Mais, au fait, qui peut bien être ce "*Crouzé Cacalauso*," dont la vieillesse est invoquée en une fin de strophe assez obscure? Evidemment, il s'agit de Crozet, docteur en droit, mort, à 93 ans, dans l'intervalle des deux éditions et qui était — suivant l'usage méridional — baptisé de ce sobriquet animal pour le distinguer d'autres Crozet, bien qu'on l'appelât aussi *Caqueloze*, parce qu'il

² Château à quelques kilomètres d'Avignon, sur la commune des Angles (Gard), célèbre depuis comme résidence du grand critique légitimiste A. de Pontmartin, auquel un monument a été érigé peu avant la guerre.

avait francisé lui-même ainsi le vocable provençal signifiant *escargot*. François Follard, docteur en droit et agrégé, homme d'une corpulence et d'une santé qui l'amenaient à brusquer les précautions courantes, était ce que l'on avait appelé d'abord, en Avignon, *Juge des Messieurs les Consuls* et qui, en 1721, portait le titre d'assesseur : charge à laquelle incombaient toutes les harangues prononcées au nom du Corps consulaire. C'était lui qui, dans les Conseils et les Assemblées, portait le premier la parole et faisait le premier les propositions d'affaires publiques. Quant au *Primicier*, c'était tout simplement le recteur de l'Université, qui, entre autres attributions éminemment utiles de sa charge, avait celle d'offrir, le jour de la Fête-Dieu, un grand déjeuner à Messieurs du Corps des Docteurs, après que ceux-ci, en robes de cérémonie, avaient assisté, dévotieusement, à la pieuse procession. Le *Primicier* avait libre entrée aux Assemblées et Conseils et s'y présentait en compagnie de quatre Députés de son Corps, pour y veiller à la bonne gestion des deniers publics. C'était, à l'époque de la peste, Elzéar-Joseph de Guinrandy qui remplissait cet office, auquel il avait été appelé étant absent d'Avignon. Honorablement connu par ses dons d'éloquence et de poésie, il est l'un des "*Siey persounage*" que rencontrera ce courtisan de Grégoire, avec les Consuls et le Prévôt du Bureau de Santé et, notre auteur ayant adopté le personnage d'un pèlerin—lequel, selon la tradition, portait une sorte de bouteille, ou gourde, attachée à l'extrémité du bourdon—nous le verrons en profiter pour, sous prétexte de boire à leur santé, conférer à sa chanson l'aspect vieillot des plaintes vécues,—ce en quoi il réussit assez bien, grâce à la bonhomie naturelle de l'idiome provençal, fidèle reflet de la race,—et, ayant l'air de reprendre haleine, ajouter à son récit un trait charmant de vraisemblance.

Parmi les ecclésiastiques que Grégoire appelle à la barre de sa complaisante Clio, nous mentionnerons l'abbé Elzéar des Achars de la Baume, prévôt de la cathédrale, que son titre de préposé à la Métropole faisait premier député du clergé au Corps de Ville et que l'on vit quelques fois à la tête de l' "*équipage*." Le "*bon Sauvadou*," dont le neveu, un sieur de Salvador, a adressé à l'auteur une épigramme latine, était l'abbé de Salvador, supérieur de la communauté ecclésiastique dite *Notre-Dame de Sainte-Garde*, spécialiste des missions, tant dans le Comtat qu'en Provence et qui,

pendant l'épidémie, exerça son ministère en pleine ville, aux portes des infirmeries, comme en rase campagne, ainsi qu'aux Courbeaux à l'occasion des fêtes de Noël. Le "*digne suze dei Caroulisto*" était l'abbé de Guillen, docteur en Sorbonne et Supérieur du Séminaire de St. Charles de la Croix. En sa qualité de Commissaire aux quartiers les plus infectés, celui, en particulier, de la Triperie, il distribuait des secours aux portes des infirmeries et l'on peut aisément s'imaginer quel affreux désordre devait, en ces temps de médecine barbare et de chirurgie sanglante, régner en de tels lieux. Plusieurs fois, il se mit aussi à la tête des tombereaux, qui purgeaient la cité des morts et des malades, pêle-mêle! Quant au "*cher Massillan*" qui, au dire de Grégoire, suivit ce vaillant exemple, c'était un chanoine de l'Eglise Métropole, Commissaire-Général de la paroisse Saint-Didier et député du clergé au Corps de Ville, l'abbé de Massilien.

Passons à la noblesse. Grégoire rend hommage à un vieillard de cet Ordre, qui, malgré son grand âge et ses emplois, servit généreusement sa patrie en cette passe critique: M. de la Royère, Commissaire-Général de Notre-Dame la Principale, sa paroisse. Il en vante un autre qui, bien que dans la force de l'âge, s'exposa, tant aux infirmeries qu'à la tête de l' "*équipage*": M. Jacques de Cambis, marquis d'Orsan et de Lagnes et Commissaire-Général de la paroisse de Saint-Genest. Incidemment, Grégoire parle, après avoir consommé son los sur l'autel des privilégiés, de deux roturiers: Gastaldi et Normandeau. La digression n'était que juste, car ces deux docteurs agrégés remplissaient, l'un et l'autre, des rôles d'importance dans cet Avignon papalin dont l'imprimeur mécréant de Sa Sainteté, Théodore Aubanel, nous a, par des rimes païennes en l'honneur des belles filles d'Eve qui ornaient de leur beauté la vieille cité, fait oublier que c'était une Rome en miniature qu'il fallait y rechercher, si l'on voulait en bien comprendre l'étrange physionomie historique. Gastaldi, professeur en l'Université, était l'une des colonnes du Bureau de Santé. Normandeau présidait à l'office de Directeur-Général des "*Parfums*": dignes symboles d'un ordre de choses rétrograde, où se complaisait cette enclave du Vicaire du Christ en la Provence sensuelle et férue d'un passé mort. Les bureaucrates avaient, d'ailleurs, la vie dure en Avignon. Grégoire nous parle d'un "*moussu Henrice*," dont il souhaite au Secrétaire de Ville, Pinta, son successeur, d'imiter la

longévité. Or ce personnage, un certain Henricy, était mort presque nonagénaire, après cinquante-huit ans d'exercice de sa charge !

Nous n'avons rien dit encore de celui qui incarnait le Pape en sa bonne ville, ce vice-légat qu'on appelait "*noste Prince*." C'était, à l'époque, Monseigneur Reynier, des comtes d'Elcy. Il poussa le dévouement jusqu'à parcourir les rues, à cheval, et sacrifia, dans son zèle apostolique, sa vaisselle plate pour que mangeassent les malheureux. L'archevêque, suivant ce digne exemple, fit d'évangéliques homélies. C'était un Italien de Turin, des marquis de Cavaillac, Francesco-Maurizio de Gonterii, en fonctions depuis 1706. C'est, sans doute, parce qu'il avait chargé Grégoire de quêter pour les innocents que celui-ci a composé, lors de la seconde édition, la strophe des "enfants à la mamelle," que la peste—détail notable—semblait respecter particulièrement. Ajoutons que, grâce aux rigueurs de la quarantaine, qui immobilisaient en la cité une infinité de notables—lesquels, sans cette mesure, eussent pris la poudre d'escampette et, sous prétexte d'échapper à la contagion, l'eussent répandue par toute la France—les dons en argent et linge pour les infirmeries furent assez nombreux. Grégoire mentionne, en lui donnant son titre d'Auditeur-Général de la Légation, l'abbé Don Severino Missini. Cet homme énergique fut, précisément, celui qui contribua le plus à ce que la dite quarantaine fût strictement observée, ce dont il faut lui savoir gré, infiniment. Il est un autre fonctionnaire qui prit tout autant au sérieux son rôle de défenseur de la santé publique. C'était l'abbé Ilary, Avocat-Général et Procureur Fiscal. Le "*fuggés, enfan!*" que pousse Grégoire à son aspect—et où "*enfan*" s'applique aux gens du peuple, conformément à l'usage—est, à ce point de vue, d'une éloquence particulièrement vive, en son laconisme même.

Il nous reste, enfin, à consacrer quelques lignes à l'autorité militaire. Le "*cher commandan*," chef de la troupe au nom de Sa Sainteté, était le comte de Vézelay, oncle des cardinaux Albany, Commissaire-Général de Saint-Agricol, et dont les rondes par la ville, à la tête de gens armés, ne semblent pas l'avoir rendu moins populaire dans sa paroisse. Laulés, lui, était un Irlandais qui resta douze années au service direct du Saint Siège—il fut, croyons-nous, castellan de Sinigaglia—et dont le frère, lieutenant-général des armées du roi d'Espagne, était alors Ambassadeur de Sa

Majesté Catholique en France. Si jamais il nous est donné de publier notre *Histoire du Complot Séparatiste Breton dit "de Pontcallec,"* l'on verra qu'il joua un rôle dans cet obscur prolongement de la conspiration de Cellamare, qu'aucun historien, français ni étranger, n'a encore étudié sérieusement, et qui met sous un jour si singulier la politique de Philippe V à l'endroit de la Maison de France, d'une part, et l'esprit de séparatisme anti-français des nobles bretons, de l'autre. Laulés était, en 1721-22, major de la garnison d'Avignon. Le Chevalier Lyli, lieutenant de Chevaux-Légers et alors leur commandant à Avignon, serait un curieux sujet d'étude, que, peut-être, entreprendrons-nous, quelque jour. Originaire d'Orvieto, cet esprit charmant, qui mit fidèlement en italien la traduction française d'Horace par Dacier, avait la malchance d'avoir sa maison, l'une des demeures avignonnaises les plus commodes et de meilleur goût qui fussent, entre deux infirmeries, celle des Minimes et celle des Capucins, ce qui explique l'allusion de notre chanson à son mauvais "voisinage." Citons aussi, parmi d'autres Italiens depuis longtemps domiciliés à Avignon et mentionnés par Grégoire, le gentilhomme milanais Mariani Alfier, qui fit dûment la ronde.

Il était naturel que la *Chanson du Pèlerin de Saint Roch* se terminât sur une invocation à Innocent XIII, douzième pape d'une famille qui avait donné tant de cardinaux à l'Eglise romaine. Le Souverain d'Avignon, pour ne pas démeriter de son titre auguste et sacré de Vicaire du Christ ici-bas, avait, en la solennité de la Conception Immaculée de la Très Sainte Vierge et malgré le froid rigoureux qui sévissait, ce jour-là, sur la Ville Eternelle, assisté, à pied, à la procession expiatoire destinée à apaiser le courroux du Très-Haut à l'endroit de son fief bien-aimé. Non content de cet acte magnanime, Innocent ordonna en outre, dans tous les Etats de l'Eglise, des prières en faveur d'Avignon affligé. Et, détail que n'a pas négligé notre Grégoire, il avait envoyé à son fief du "*bel argen,*" sonnante et rébuchant. Mais si les vers de Grégoire eurent le don de chasser la peste d'Avignon, les souhaits de longue vie que lui adressa, songeant surtout à lui-même, le rimeur aulique, n'eurent point celui d'éloigner de la tiare la sinistre faucheuse d'hommes et les "*cinquante ans ben conta*" devaient, tout juste, se réduire à deux, grâce, peut-être, aux P. de la Compagnie. . . .

Ay bournà mon Pelerinage
 dins Avignon,
 Ren que me donne de courage
 que mon bourdon:
 tou beou soulé fau mon camin,
 bonno methodo
 per évita tou lou venin
 d'aqueou lay mau que rodo.

Rodou, cour, sauto, se fai cregne,
 de tou cousta,
 voudrieu trouva quauque entresegne
 per l'évita,
 fau may d'éta d'un pastre vieou
 que d'un mounarquou,
 quan la Parque a coupa son fieou
 e que Caron l'embarquo.

Es foou qui non se n'en mesfiso,
 qui non cren ren,
 per yeou vinaigre ma camiso,
 fugge ley gen,
 de lieu, moussu, parla me un pau,
 vive en hermito,
 pardon n'intre din gis d'houstau,
 res n'intre din mon gito.

Dou ten dey malheur de Prouvenço,
 nous guardavian:
 beous soudars dou bor de Durenço
 vous pagavian:
 mai non pas per estre endourmis,
 la causo es claro,
 la pesto pren parents, amis,
 souven sen dire garo.

Quan franchissen nostei barrieros,
 vengué lou mau,
 Manne à chivau, per ley carrieros,
 eridé tout hau:
*"Paure pople, te flattes pas,
 tu n'as la pesto!"*
 Lou pople aveugle à chasque pas,
 ly ourié leou fa son resto!

Plusiurs fés n'en risqué sa vido
 per trop parla,

mai d'un bourgeois de la partido
 s'ero mela:
 per mettre lei gen en reson,
 que l'insultavon,
 lei soudars de la garnison
 en tou lio l'escourtavon.

Maugra l'envejo e l'ignourenço
 que tan bouffa,
 Manne, l'y as impousa silenco,
 as triompha:
 tou lou premié as counegu
 nosto magagno,
 si pu leou t'avian cresegu,
 mens auro aurian de lagno!

L'ya pau de carriero de franquo,
 se vei que tro;
 toujou quauquo famillo manquo:
 n'es a San Rho!
 Lou paure n'es abandouna,
 souven, peccaire!
 Lou riche, lou fan rançouna,
 sen lou tira d'affaire!

Lorsqu' entende la campanetto
 doou tombareou,
 prene la poudro d'escampetto,
 m'esbigne leou,
 n'ai gis de curiousita
 de taley causo:
 non veiren tout aquo pinta
 un jour dey man de Lauzo?

Quan rescontre quauquo croux
 blanquo,
 signau de mor,
 lorsqu'un sentinello m'attanquo,
 reste d'abor:
 mai quan me dy de recula,
 vitte recule,
 file avan quan pode fila,
 vequi commo barrule.

La Jusarié se disengruno,
 toujou n'en mor!
 Commo un tailleur croquo lei pruno,
 anen taffor:

la pesto n'en fai son dessert;
 qu'accabe vitte,
 qu'emporte aqueou ragout d'infer
 e qu'em aquo nou quitte!

Pardouname, Moussu le Comte
 de Cicery,
 si dei Jusioou tene pas conte,
 e si n'ay ri:
 de vosteis ordres mau gardas,
 son responsables,
 e por aco les ai mandas
 à tous les millo diables.

Ay alluqua forço barraquo
 lon dey foussa;
 de dire aquel ouvrage raquo,
 me sieou lassa;
 l'Ingeniour es à chivau
 que lei regardo,
 pren lei gallars e lei malau
 per d'anchoje ou de fardo!

Ben qu'aco nou siège inutile,
 tombe d'accord,
 Teissié, que ren t'es difficile,
 sies pres d'abord,
 sens interest de nuech, de jour,
 à touto brido,
 n'en voles pertout au secour
 où ton ardoir te guido.

En Villo comme à la campagno,
 ren qu'à chivau,
 beoure lou souleou e l'eigagno
 sen prendre mau:
 aco n'aparten qu'à Calvé
 l'Apouticari,
 que fai autan ben son devé
 qu'à la porte un Noutari.

Bon Commissari de mon Ilo,
 fares canta:
 per vous d'houstau ni a pron de filo,
 ben en santa:

Carmejeane fasés tan ben
 vosto tournado,
 que Dieou fara qu'en pau de ten
 poudrés joindre l'armado.

Lei Magistra d'aquesto villo
 s'ajudon pron;
 per nourri lei paure à chamillo,
 mangeon sei fon!
 Gran Dieou per trouva tan d'argen
 quinto resourço!
 Foudrié lou credy doou Regen
 ou pesqua dins sa bourço!

Noste Premié per sa prestanco
 nous charme eissi;
 scaven qu'és counegut en Franço,
 à Roume aussi,
 au soulét nom de Dés-Issar
 lou vesinage
 per Avignon a mille égar
 sen dire d'avantage.

Noste Segon ben lou segundo,
 n'es jamai las,
 vigilén, fai per tout sa rondo,
 s'espargno pas:
 Louvé, sarés toujou loïa
 de pron de causo:
 Dieou veuille mai vou conserva
 que Crouzé Cacalauzo!

Imounié, voste caractero
 me reven ben,
 sage, discret, humble, sincero,
 sias dou vey ten:
 estre Conse senso brigua
 es causo raro:
 n'anes pas tan vous fatigua,
 vous voulen Conse encaro!

Frés, ben pourtan, plen de courage,
 ami de cor,
 for ben! Mai brusqua l'equipage *
 n'es un pau for!

* Nous nous abstenons de gloser notre texte, mais il nous est difficile, toutefois, de ne pas remarquer ici que si Mistral avait eu connaissance de

Foular, noste illustre Assessour,
fés gau de veire:
mai tau parei d'acié lou jour
que lou soir es de veire.

Lou Primicié toujou per orto,
pren de gran soin,
pas un Douctour per son escorte,
n'en sieou temoin:
mai quan donno de dejeuna,
bonney ventrado,
en proucession vesés ana
ley perruquo carrado.

Dei douctour la noble sequello
n'a ben comprés
que voste esprit e voste zelo
demandon rés,
Guinrandy, qu'un bonhur per nous
qu'en ten de pesto
lou Corps vous ague maugra vous
vougu mettre à sa testo.

Prevo chousy su mai de trento,
digne Prevo,
Prevo que tan de gen contento,
dedin San Rho,
L'y a de canonge retrancha
din lou Chapitre,
n'aves pas lio de vous facha,
fan merveille au poupitre!

Bel ournamen d'aquesto villo,
bon Sauvadou,
per sauva un tout commo milo,
dounarias tou:
que n'en pourtas ben voste nom,
chascun lou crido:
avés beou nou dire de non,
avés la desmentido.

Dei Confessour la longuo listo
n'en produirieou,

mai n'an agu per touto visto
d'agi per Dieou:
victimous de la carita,
vostey loüanges,
n'en sieou pas digne de canta,
lei leisse dire es Anges!

Ay rescontra siey Persounage
qu'honore for,
que dins aqués tem n'en fan rage,
morgon la mor:
voule que la pouserita
ben ley counegue:
en attenden, à sey santa,
souffrirès ben que begue.

Digne suje dei Caroulisto,
conserva vous,
n'en fagues pas groussi la listo
dei blanquei Croux;
ravi de vosto pieta,
per tout n'en parle,
e chascun di voou imita
son bon Patron San Charle.

Per conduire lou carriage,
cher Massillan,
vous n'en moustras ben de courage,
marchas d'avan;
pareisses, Canonge escondus,
troupo timido:
per un jouine Abbé confondus,
siegès de la partido.

N'en dirai plus que la Noublesso
fu e s'escon,
mai qu'es remplido de tendresso
per Avignon:
de n'en repara son honnour,
l'y a la maniero;
dirai qu'a fa son Proucurour,
Moussu de la Rouyero.

cette *Chanson*, il eût cité, dans *Lou Tresor dou Felibrige*, cette caractéristique expression, qui rend quelque chose comme: *aller au feu tête baissée* en français et qu'il n'eût pas dit, t. 1, p. 677, que l'expression *croco-pruno* ne signifiait "tailleur" qu' "en Rouergue," puisqu'elle était courante en Avignon. . . .

Brave d'Orsan, un pau tro brave,
 vonte es qu'anas?
 es ver San Rho, segur lou sçave,
 que caminas:
 per dire vrai, n'en fasés tro;
 prendres la pesto,
 tan souven vay l'aigue un bro
 que puis enfin ly resto!

Vous que sur tout çò que se passo
 donnas liçon:
 Gastaldi, venés prendre plaço
 dins ma canson:
 sias dou Bureou de la Santa
 un membre utile,
 e vous y vesés consulta.
 en medecin habile.

Nourmandeou, sias infatigable,
 sias d'argen vieou;
 mai non sias pas invulnerable,
 non plus que yeou;
 Medecin hardi, generoux,
 toujours alerto,
 un pau mens d'honte ey pouvouroux
 rien de voste perto!

Secretari de nosto villo,
 brave Pinta,
 vagués pas t'escoufa la bilo
 de tou cousta;
 mai tacho de vieoure conten,
 din toun ouffice,
 e de l'exerça pu lon ten
 que n'a fa Moussu Henrice.

Noste Prince, ben que sié sage,
 risqu'un pau tro,
 souven, guida per son courage,
 vai à San Rho:
 per d'autrei qu'en ourdouna ben
 n'y ourié de resto;
 may son gran cor n'es pas conten,
 que non brave la pesto!

N'en sçave plus çò que me pesque,
 ren me fay gau,

de la pouu que noste Archevesque
 non prengue mau:
 en vesen tan de paureta,
 tan de souffranço,
 dis: que fara ma carita,
 quan manque de finanço?

Per les enfans à la mamelo
 que son resta,
 plen d'uno bonta paternello,
 m'a deputa:
 ay l'ounour d'estre son quiston,
 de porto en porto,
 demande lange, calouron,
 pedas de toute sorto.

Sarié ben faire un soulecisme
 dey signala,
 ou, per mieou dire, un barbarisme,
 de non parla,
 de Missini, Grand Auditour,
 que tan s'ajudo,
 que, si n'usavo de rigour,
 n'en sarian qu'ouou prelado.

L'y a tro de gen per lei carrieros:
 garo d'avan!
 quauqu'un aura les estrivieros,
 fuggés, enfan!
 veissi l'houro que lou Fiscu
 fay sa tournado;
 en pron n'en pourrié cousta cau,
 vitte, porto fermado!

Conte aussi bon que Conte y ague,
 cher Commandan,
 dise de vous vonte que vague,
 es ben pourtan:
 meinagea don vosto santa,
 vous vese faire
 de causo qu'à la verita
 me fan souven mau traire.

Dins la paroisse sant Agriquo
 eme pleisi
 Oou lon voste panegiriquo
 voudrien ousy:

l'y dise: tené vous conten,
 Dieou lou conserve!
 Adieousias, dounasme de ten,
 ai de co que reserve.

Couneissen Laules per un home
 qu'és de la man,
 pren pas lou mau per un phantome,
 l'y vai d'avant:
 lou vesen souven à chivau
 per lou combattre,
 en valour a pau de rivau,
 car fai lou diable à quatre.

Poudrieou-t'y garda lou silenço!
 Nani, nani:
 sarié me faire violenço,
 Mariani!
 Fau que prone que sias ama
 dins nosto Villo,
 e qu'ey gen que non son ferma,
 l'y fasés faire gilo.

Moussu Lily, recommandable
 per son esprit,
 se presento d'un air affable,
 toujours agit:
 plen de vertu, de pieta,
 e de courage.
 n'en mostro sa tranquillita
 maugra son vesinage.

Que res me fague uno querello
 de lou sauta:
 quinto sarié la kyriello,
 te tou bouta!
 Vesés, per tan d'eloge, hélas!
 que me mourfonde. . . .
 d'Hereule aguet beson Atlas
 per pourta tout lou monde!

Que vese yeou? Pauuro, que vivo
 qu'au n'en sies tu!

"Sieou Soubes," d'une voix plaintivo
 m'a respondu:
 "en tens de pesto ai exerça
 "l'art d'Hypocrato;
 "maugra mon art sieou trespassa,
 "que si l'y fiso es mato!"

Vesen clar que la Medecino
 ser plus de ren:
 meriten la bonta divino
 en viven ben;
 en fin lou fleou faren cessa
 per la priero:
 mai, per estre vite exouça,
 la fau courte e sincero'

Observatour de quaranteno,
 qu'avés de tou,
 dou paure soulagea la peno,
 regarda lou:
 non mor que per la cruauta
 dou riche avare;
 exerça vosto carita
 sur un segon Lazare!

Paure Avignon, aquesto pesto
 vai t'esquina!
 N'en poudras plus leva la testo,
 tan sies sauna!
 La caisso de ton Tresourié
 a fon curado!
 Si non fondiés l'argentarié,
 n'ourié que d'aragnado!

Digne successeur de San Pierre,
 l'imitas ben,
 quan nous mandas sens ana quere
 de bel argen:
 Dieou vous rende la carita,
 e que Gregoire
 d'eissi cinquante ans ben conta
 vous suive dins sa gloire!

CAMILLE PITOLLET.

Paris.

BALLAD AND DANCE

The last decade has done much toward clearing up hazy notions regarding the origins of the popular ballad. In this work an important part has been played by Professor Louise Pound, who in a series of able articles dispersed among various American philological journals, has contributed greatly toward bringing the subject out into clear daylight. In her latest contribution to the subject, however, that in the September issue of the *PMLA*, in questioning the relation of the ballad-form to dancing-custom, Miss Pound takes a position which, in my opinion, is not defensible. The views presented in her paper challenge full discussion, and I should like to offer, from the notes that I have been able to assemble on this subject in the last few years, a few arguments in support of the prevalent opinion that the distinctive features of the popular ballad reflect features of medieval dancing.

Regarding the history of the word 'ballad' as evidence in point, Miss Pound makes a clear case. Let me add that the history of the word 'carol' offers an interesting analogy. Originally the name of a circle-dance, the name 'carol' became shifted to the song connected with the dance, and then, by generalization, to joyous songs in general, and then, by specialization in turn, to the joyous songs of the Christmas season. Although in one or two instances the form of popular Christmas carols seems to be connected with older dancing custom, it would be obviously impossible to connect the Christmas carol in general, more usually of hymnal or pagan festival origin, with the medieval *carole*-dance. In the same way the word 'ballad,' originally meaning a song for dance accompaniment, by the sixteenth century, while still¹ sometimes used in its earlier meaning, had become generalized so as to apply to songs of most varied type. Only in the

¹ *Servant*. O master, if you did not but hear the pedler at the door, you would never dance again after a tabor and pipe; no, the bagpipe could not move you; he sings several tunes faster than you'll tell money; he utters them as he had eaten ballads, and al men's ears grew to his tunes.—*Winter's Tale*, III, sc. 3.

eighteenth century, as Miss Pound has pointed out, did it become, somewhat arbitrarily, restricted to use as the name for one form of traditional narrative song.

In her consideration of the songs used as accompaniment to the medieval ring-dance in England called the '*carole*,' Miss Pound has shown that these were prevailingly lyrical rather than narrative in character. To the evidence cited by Miss Pound may well be added that of the "foolish song" sung for Touchstone by the two pages in *As You Like It*, for which the popular type of carol-songs used for dance-accompaniment seem to have offered a pattern. The "ditty" *It was a lover and his lass*, with its refrains, its reference to "the only pretty ring time," and its application to itself of the name "carol" may then be cited as evidence regarding the nature of the popular songs accompanying the carol-dance in the latest stage, and indicates a lyrical form.

Not only the songs of the medieval ring-dances, but those accompanying Children's ring-games surviving in our times, in which, rather than in the Child ballads, Miss Pound sees the relics of the older dances with song-accompaniment, she points out, have in them, in general, little of the narrative element.

Thus far one can hardly dissent from the views expressed by Miss Pound. It should be noted, however, that the conclusions reached, are negative in character. The usually accepted explanation of ballad-creation is discarded, but there is offered no alternative. Let us see, then, if something cannot be said in support of the prevalent theory.

In the first place, to dissociate the popular ballad in its origin from the old dancing custom, is to do away with the most plausible explanation for those qualities that distinguish the ballads of the Child canon from other forms of popular song. The objectivity, so marked a quality of the Child ballad, finds a satisfactory explanation in the conditions of choral origin. The elemental quality of the emotions dealt with, likewise, is of the kind suited for expression in choral dance. The ballad common-places also, the well-worn phraseology, the oft-used ornamental details of opening verses and of conclusions, indicate choral improvisation rather than more deliberate invention. The 'incremental repetition' so much stressed by Professor Gummere, although by no means an exclusive property of the popular ballad, nevertheless affording as it does, opportunity for lingering over certain situations, suits the char-

acter of the dancing ring. Above all, the refrains, persisting in so many ballad versions, even in versions recorded from the singing of soloists, afford indication which may not be disregarded, that at one time a chorus had its share in the song.

Such *à priori* considerations, briefly stated, afford sufficient reason for not lightly discarding the only plausible explanation available for the much-discussed features of the popular ballad. Let us now review the known facts regarding the use of narrative in the medieval choral dance. Did narrative form no part of the choral songs? Granted the prevalence of lyric themes, are there no instances where the subject matter was narrative?

The widely-circulated story of the Dancers of Kolbigk may be cited as evidence in point. To this diverting tale of the twelve young people who by curse were condemned to dance perpetually because of their sacrilege in disturbing the service in the churchyard on Christmas night, we are indebted for many concrete details which help form a picture of the *carole* dance. Most important for the present purpose is the Latin version of one of the stanzas of the song accompaniment and of the refrain:

Equitabat Bevo per silvam,
Ducebat secum Merswyndam formosam.
Quid stamus, cur non imus?

There is to be noted not only the refrain and the use of a stanza-form typical of the popular ballad, but the narrative character of the subject-matter. The story-setting, to be sure, is not English, but it is told by Robert of Brunne, an English writer, who finds in the details nothing to comment on as other than typical use.

Unmistakable references to the use of narrative as theme for dance song in England are none too numerous. The exploits of Hereward,² we are told, "were sung by the women and maidens in their dance," and from the twelfth century has been recorded what is probably the burden or chorus of a song of Cnut³ "sung in these days by people in their dances." Much later, in the sixteenth century "Complaynt of Scotland," we have an account of the merry-making of shepherds with tales and songs and ring-

² Gummere, *The Popular Ballad*, p. 49.

³ See article by Miss Pound (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxxiv, 162-5) in which the validity of this instance is brought into question.

dancing. The subjects of the dance songs are prevailingly lyrical, but at least one, *Ihonne ermistrangis dance*, and possibly a second, the dance of *Robene hude*, may have handled narrative subjects in ballad fashion.⁴

Furthermore in the art poetry of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries we have indirect evidence of the existence of popular models in the form of narrative song with refrain. Just as in Shakespere's *It was a lover and his lass*, we have reflected the form and spirit of the lyrical accompaniment to the popular carol dance, have we not a reflection of the popular narrative dance form in that art carol of mystical beauty with the refrain, "The faucon hath borne my make away"?⁵ Is not a traditional popular narrative choral song, also, to be assumed as the pattern for the art song by William Cornish in two-line stanzas beginning:⁶

The knight knocked at the castle gate;
The lady marvelled who was thereat.

with the lyrical refrain:

You and I and Amyas
Amyas and you and I,
To the greenwood must we go, alas!
You and I, my life, and Amyas?

The early evidence of narrative dance songs in England, it must be admitted, is none too abundant. In France so far as present knowledge⁷ goes, songs of this type did not exist before the end of the fifteenth century. It is to Scandinavian countries that one must turn for most convincing evidence.

In most Scandinavian countries the prevalent use of narrative songs for dance-accompaniment in the later middle ages is admitted by everyone, Miss Pound included. A not unlikely hypothesis⁸ is that the *Carole* dance-custom was imported from France, possibly by the way of England, into Scandinavian countries and there connected with narrative themes. The marked similarity between the Danish *Folkeviser*, admittedly once used as dance

⁴ Cf. Miss Pound's discussion of these dance songs in her article, pages 396-7.

⁵ Chambers and Sidgwick, *Early English Lyrics*, p. 145.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁷ A. Beattie, *PMLA.*, XXIX, p. 493. Quoted from G. Paris.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 492.

accompaniment, and the English Child ballads, both in narrative themes and in metrical form, is such that it is hard to see how one can hesitate to accept the known explanations of the one as applicable to the other.

One may be disposed to agree with Miss Pound that "As to origins, the Danish ballads do not help the communalists," but for the association of the ballad-form with the dance, the evidence of the Danish ballads is incontrovertible. The statement that the dancing to these Danish ballads was that of "the high born," is misleading. According to Olrik⁹ 'the producers of these songs were the Danish nobility, *but* not a small number of noble families who later built the lordly castles; rather a nobility distributed over thousands of farmsteads, who later sank back into the rank of peasants.'

Once prevalent, not only in Denmark but also in Norway, these dances to narrative songs went out of fashion in Denmark in the sixteenth century.¹⁰ Among the isolated Scandinavian population of the Faroe Islands, however, they have persisted down to our own time. Miss Pound, in a footnote, quotes the remark of Gummere that "the ballad genesis is more plainly proved for the Faroes than any other modern people." In spite of the importance evidently to be attached to the evidence of the Faroe dances, her handling here is entirely inadequate. In a footnote appears the statement that: "The whole matter of Faroe folk song was cleared satisfactorily by Thuren in his *Folke Saangen paa Færøerne*, 1908." In spite of this reference, she makes no use of the invaluable information offered by this remarkable book. In fact, on page 390 appears the statement that "the Faroe fisherman pieces are sung to hymn tunes or to familiar airs, not to invented melodies, or to traditional melodies — not at least to melodies traditional from ancient times," whereas in fact about one-half of Thuren's book is devoted to the recording and discussion of the native music of the Faroe Island songs. One of his conclusions is that¹¹ "it is not unreasonable to suppose that the Faroe system of melody developed on the islands." He traces the development from "Recitativ" to the gapped five-tone, or Pentatonic scales and

⁹ A. Olrik, *Danske Folkeviser i Udvalg*, 3d ed. Copenhagen, 1913, p. 20.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

¹¹ Hjalmar Thuren, *Folkesangen paa Færøerne*, København, 1908, p. 226.

remarks that the transition from Recitativ to the Pentatonic forms is so natural, and the tone groups used are so simple, that one may well consider himself in the presence of the same phase of development that is frequently met with in the history of primitive song.

Thuren, in his book, establishes the identity between the Faroe dances, with their dance leader, their sinuous curves, and their distinctive dance movement, and the medieval *carole* dance as we know it from detailed description of it under its later name, *branle*, in sixteenth-century books on dancing. Here then, transported, to be sure, to a new environment, but as so often in the case of transported customs, preserving its original character better than in the home of its creation, we have surviving the popular dancing custom which is believed to have given its impress to the form of the popular ballad.

The contrast between Faroe and Danish versions of the same ballad is interesting. In the Danish songs, which have been divorced from dancing, Thuren points out the shortening of the refrain. He also points out the development of the verse melodies since the form of the verse is no longer held in fixed rhythm by the accompanying dance. This comparison offers interesting suggestions regarding what we must assume to have taken place in England when the songs were separated from the dance.

In the Faroe dances the narrative subjects are not usually new stories, but well-known stories of great variety. Among them are included the old story of Sigurd Fafnersbane, that of the Faroe national hero, Sigmund Bretteson, tales of Roland, of Tristram, of Olufa, the daughter of Pippin, a great variety of isolated romantic tales, songs imported from Denmark and stories of church celebrities, of St. James, of St. Nicholas, even of the Virgin Mary.

The dancers enter into the entertainment with zest. They show their interest in the subject of the narrative by accompanying gesture, and in the refrain give full expression to the feelings, joyous or sad, aroused by the story. Contrary to what one might suppose, the stories handled in this way are not short ones. Here, if one will reflect, are the conditions under which an active person would best enjoy a story. To the island fisherman, the enjoyment of the narrative would be enhanced because of the opportunity afforded for active expression of the feeling aroused by the story.

Tending at the present time to die out in the Faroe Islands,

these dances are receiving artificial support and recently have been re-introduced into Norway, a work for which credit is due to the zealous effort of Hulda Garborg. In the summer of 1913 I personally had the pleasure of seeing some of these dances as performed by the young people of Ulvik in Norway. From this experience dates my first vivid realization of the connection between the song-dance and the ballad-form. Fru Garborg has been also active in introducing these narrative song dances into Sweden and Denmark and reports¹² that from under her instruction Fräulein Gertrud Meyer has recently introduced these dances into Germany and an American woman (unnamed) has introduced them into America.

If the medieval ring-dance was once accompanied by narrative songs, it is remarkable if among the ring-games of the children, the song accompaniments of which, as has been shown above, are prevailingly lyrical, there are to be found no traces of narrative songs. As a matter of fact such traces do exist. Miss Pound herself cites from W. W. Newell a reference to the use of *Barbara Allen* in 'play party' games in the early part of the nineteenth century in New England. Professor Child, as well as Gilchrist and Broadwood, are cited by her in evidence that *The Maid Freed from the Gallows* "has known game-song usage." Further she cites from Nebraska a version of *The Two Sisters* 'that has been used as a dance-song.' To these instances of ballad words combined with dance, let me add other instances of a similar kind. Professor C. A. Smith¹³ cites an account of a highly diverting dramatic version of *The Maid Freed from the Gallows* among southern negroes. S. Baring-Gould¹⁴ says of a Cornish version of *The Elfin Knight*, "This used to be sung as a sort of game in farm-houses between a young man who went outside the room and a girl who sat on the settle or a chair and a sort of chorus of farm lads and lasses." *Andrew Lammie* "used in former times to be presented in dramatic shape at rustic weddings in Aberdeenshire."¹⁵ The Swedish version of *Willie's Lyke-Wake* is said to be often represented as a drama by young people in country-

¹² Hulda Garborg. *Songdansen i Nordlandi*, Christiania, 1913.

¹³ *Musical Quarterly*, II, 12.

¹⁴ Cited by C. R. Baskerville, *Mod. Phil.*, XIV, 498, from Child, IV, 439.

¹⁵ Chambers, quoted by Gummere, *The Popular Ballad*, p. 107.

places.”¹⁶ Of the story of *Our Goodman* we are told that it is sung in several parts of France as a little drama. *Dugald Quin* as Professor Gummere¹⁷ has pointed out, is very near to choral song. Another little ballad drama is the little Orkney Island *Play of the Lathie Odivere*¹⁸ of which the ballad original has not survived.

Among ballads outside the Child collection, ballads for which no connection with the choral dance can be claimed, there are a number that were presented in the form of song-plays, *e. g.*, *Rowland's Godsonne* and *Attowel's jigge* in the Shirburn collection. This type of play in the sixteenth century was known as a ‘jig.’ *Attowel's jigge*, it is interesting to know, was one of the operettas, or *Singspiele*, that formed an important element in the repertory of the Elizabethan player companies that travelled in Germany. Is it not likely that in artificial creations of this sort we have reflected features of the song-dance of popular origin?

Miss Pound, commenting on the instances that she cites, says,—“There is evidence from recent times that in a few cases well-known Child pieces have been vitalized into dance songs.” She admits also that in the case of Mrs. Brown's *The Bonnie Birdie* or *The Maid and the Palmer* the refrains “might connect them with the dance.” Is it not more plausible to suppose that in the case of ballads in our times associated with dance or play-game we have to do with older ballad qualities, which in versions of solitary singers have lain dominant, but which come again to life when the ballad is restored to choral associations?

It must be admitted that among the ballads of the Child collection are represented quite different degrees of closeness of relations to the dance. Whereas in ballads like *Babylon* and *The Maid Freed from the Gallows* one feels the choral band not far away, in other instances, as in the case of the border ballads, we probably have to do with songs of another tradition, which have only been modified in external form under the influence of the songs used by the dancing ring. The continuity in tradition of heroic songs of days antedating the *carole* dance may be shown in many countries. In Germany Heusler¹⁹ cites the younger *Hilde-*

¹⁶ Gummere, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

¹⁷ *Do.*, 164.

¹⁸ Baskerville, *op. cit.*, 492.

¹⁹ Heusler, *Lied und Epos*, Dortmund, 1905, p. 4.

brandslied and the *Ermanrich's Tod* in comparison with the OHG. *Hildebrandslied* and the Eddic *Hamðismál* as showing 'how alliterative heroic songs of the eighth century have been preserved in the late middle ages with fundamental change in style and in versification but with so little change in outline and such agreement in details, that they may be said in the course of the intervening six or eight centuries, never to have ceased to exist as poems.' Evidence of a similar kind is supplied by Olrik²⁰ who shows how the concluding scene of the Danish heroic poem, the *Bjarkemål*, appears with modified form but unchanged content, in Faroe folk-song. In the same way in England there was evidently a continuous tradition in heroic poetry. The ballads of *Otterburn* and *Chevy Chase*, while dealing with events of later times, yet present not only situations and ideals, but even alliterative formulas surviving from the days before the Conquest. To quote a single instance, the Northumberland squire in *Chevy Chase* says:

But whylle I may my weppone welde,
I wylle not fayle both hart and hande,

just as four hundred years earlier, in the *Battle of Maldon*, the Old English poet tells us that the English warriors—

fæstlice wið ða fynd weredon þa hwile þe hi wæpna wealdan moston.

The influence of the ballad-form, however, may be seen by a comparison of different versions of these ballads. Take for instance the different versions of *The Battle of Otterburn*. In the manuscript version, A, features of older heroic songs are abundant, notably the alliterative lines. In the versions recorded later from Scotch oral tradition, the alliterative lines have been almost entirely superseded by lines in the well-known ballad style. If, as is probably the case, these ballads never served as song accompaniment to a dancing ring, or to put it another way, if these songs never found dramatic interpretation in the gestures and attitudes of a dancing chorus, in any event their external form has been modified under the influence of songs which, if prevailing opinion is correct, have taken the impress of the dancing ring.

This brief paper, it is hoped, offers good reasons for dissenting from the conclusion reached by Miss Pound in her latest contribu-

²⁰ A. Olrik, *Danmark's Heltedigtning*, Copenhagen, 1903, pp. 85-6.

tion to ballad literature. In attempting to dissociate the popular ballad from dance-origins, she is not only doing away with the one available plausible explanation of ballad-form, but she is disregarding evidence of a most definite kind.

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A LEGAL ASPECT OF BROWNING'S *THE RING AND THE BOOK*¹

Viewed by a lawyer, *The Ring and the Book* includes a twofold plot: the one aspect devoted to Pompilia and Caponsacchi; the other to Guido, his pecuniary motive, and its ultimate projection into a criminal act. But it is not Guido as a protagonist in a tragic drama involving duties and liabilities; it is Guido as he is brought to life, and laid bare, heart and soul, by the searching genius of the Pope, — for whose remarkable portrait Browning found practically no material in the Old Yellow Book. Delving in the dry documents, he gleaned two opposing versions: the first for Guido, prompting the monologue Half-Rome; the second for Pompilia, suggesting Other Half-Rome. *Tertium Quid* becomes a convenient compromise. But where, Browning must have asked himself, lay the truth? To rely upon the callous and pedantic lawyers, who sought to grope through a maze of precedent and technicality, was in no wise to be considered. Some spokesman of the veritable equities must be depicted, some superior intelligence that should penetrate through factional prejudice, through barriers of convention, and through persons and societies—into facts. It was this need that inspired the Pope, who is, in a real sense, Browning's mouthpiece — the Robert Browning, as one critic has indicated, "who sat upon the Papal throne."

The Pope's judicial method is worthy of intensive study. To appreciate his triumph in the case at bar, one can do no better than to consult the closing paragraph of a manuscript volume of old

¹ For suggestive material I acknowledge my indebtedness to Charles W. Hodell's *The Old Yellow Book*; and to the following articles, also by Professor Hodell: *A Literary Mosaic* (*PMLA.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 510), *Browning's Old Yellow Book* (*Atlantic*, Vol. 101, p. 407), and Browning's "*Old Yellow Book*" (*The Nation*, Vol. 85, p. 299).

trials discovered in the Royal Casanatense Library at Rome in 1900, eleven years after Browning's death, and thirty-one years after the publication of *The Ring and the Book*. This manuscript, containing the fullest known version of the Franceschini case, and amplifying the Yellow Book in certain details, may, however, for the purposes of this discussion, be looked upon as an accurate resumé of the premises within Browning's reach. Its concluding words thus array the equities:

"Some defended the Comparini, because they had suffered abuse, others the Franceschini as it was a matter of honor. But, on looking at the matter dispassionately, they were adjudged to be equally guilty, except that Pompilia, who was entirely ignorant of the truth, was without blame; for she had consented to the marriage at the command of her mother without the knowledge of her father, and had fled from her husband for fear of death with which he had often unjustly threatened her.

"From trickery arose the union of these two houses, from the Franceschini in frauds regarding property they did not possess, from the Comparini by the pretended birth, or by this very pretense if the birth were real. The trick arose from greed of gain in Pietro to secure the trust moneys for himself, and in the Franceschini to minister to their own ease; so all was done contrary to laws both human and divine. Hence a bad beginning was followed with a wretched ending, as has been told above."

This language, had it been read by Browning, might have yielded the comforting thought that the contemporary estimate of the case did not, after all, exclude compassion for the wronged victims. He might, even, have adjudged it a tolerable approximation to a statement of the actual rights and injuries. For it is far from the meanderings of Battista and Arcangeli; and although it leaves the situation in the mists of compromise, it is, as an attempt to dispose of the conflicting pleas, worth higher respect than the artificial and balanced decision of *Tertium Quid*. Representing, no doubt, the farthest point reached by the seventeenth-century public toward a just and scientific conclusion, it condemns itself, nevertheless, by that tendency, common among onlookers in criminal cases, to raise immaterial issues between the defendant and his victims. The writer of this manuscript sagaciously recognizes the ambition of the Franceschini "to minister to their own ease" as a contributing element; but he impairs the judicial value of his utterance by the prominence he gives to "Pietro's greed of gain."

He feels the temptation, not altogether unlike *Tertium Quid*, to steer "half-way between."

One finds both stimulus and relief when he turns from these impertinencies to the firmly reasoned decision of the Pope. Convinced that nothing is relevant except Guido's design, he addresses himself, at once, to the situation of the man before his marriage. Of noble birth, he lacks money.

So Guido, born with appetite, lacks food:
Is poor, who yet could deftly play-off wealth;
Straitened, whose limbs are restless till at large.
He, as he eyes each outlet of the cirque
And narrow penfold for probation, pines
After the good things just outside its grate.

The condition here described relates, obviously, to a time long before Guido's introduction to the Comparini, in the days when he set about to choose a profession, not a wife; but the Pope, excellent judge that he is, knows that he can spell out the defendant's mind only on the condition that he trace his career from the point where pecuniary motive began to betray itself. Unlike *Tertium Quid* and the two attorneys, he clings to his single plan. Guido, he next discovers, discerned the advantage of a connection with the Church. Himself the pre-eminent churchman, and the official to whom Guido, because of common kinship to the Church, has appealed, the Pope cannot but recognize the temptation of corrupt men, here and there, to take shelter in ecclesiastical office. The occasional frailties of religious life, both clerical and monastic, presented many themes to Browning's genius — one recalls *The Bishop Orders his Tomb* and *Soliloquy of a Spanish Cloister* — but here the idea finds peculiarly vigorous expression. The Pope penetrates Guido's ordination with a sure and direct eye:

Got his arm frocked which, bare, the law would bruise.

.
Why was the choice o' the man to niche himself
Perversely 'neath the tower where Time's own tongue
Thus undertakes to sermonize the world?
Why, but because the solemn is safe too,
The belfry proves a fortress of a sort,
Has other uses than to teach the hour:
Turns sunscreen, paravent and ombrifuge
To whoso seeks a shelter in its pale.

Browning has here, as in subsequent parts of the Pope's monologue, drawn his information from the Book, but the alchemy of his imagination transforms mere fragments of fact into a plausible account of Guido's history before he met with the Comparini. In a manuscript contemporaneous version of the case found in London by an acquaintance of Browning, and transferred to him for use in the poem, the opening words are:

"Guido Franceschini, a nobleman of Arezzo in Tuscany, had stayed for some time here in Rome in the service of a person of some eminence. He decided to take a wife with dowry enough to be of advantage to his house. When he had revealed his desire to a certain hairdresser near the Piazza Colonna, she proposed to him the Signora Francesca Pompilia, thirteen years of age, the daughter of a certain Pietro Comparini and Violante Peruzzi. For beside the promised dowry she was heir to the reversionary interest in bonds and other properties worth about 12,000 scudi."

The manuscript then relates Guido's and his brother Paolo's visit to Violante, their boast of a considerable income, their hoodwinking of Violante and her resulting consent, Pietro's attempt to block the marriage, and Violante's secret execution of her promise to Guido. These facts warrant the judicial inference that Guido, in taking orders, sought a selfish end; the Pope is now ready to pass judgment on the marriage itself, and on its connection with Guido's crime:

He purposes this marriage, I remark,
For no one motive that should prompt thereto—
Farthest, by consequence, from ends alleged
Appropriate to the action;

Not one permissible impulse moves the man,
From the mere liking of the eye and ear,
To the true longing of the heart that loves,
No trace of these: but all to instigate,
Is what sinks man past level of the brute
Whose appetite if brutish is a truth,
All is the lust for money: to get gold,—
Why, lie, rob, if it must be, murder.

This is the essence of the matter—Guido's "lust for money." The Pope, in a word, has laid bare the primary motive, which he legitimately associates with the defendant's character. Given a bad man and a bad design, it remains to inquire into the man's opportunity to carry his design into action. Had Browning been a

lawyer of long training, he could not have caused the Pope to proceed along a simpler and more logical way. The exposure of Guido's mind makes plain enough what he conceived his opportunity to be:

He foresaw, made a picture in his mind,—
Of father and mother stunned and echoless
To the blow, as they lie staring at fate's jaws,
Their folly danced into, till the woe fell.

Guido's project, in short, was to dispatch the Comparini, and to feast upon his wife's reputed wealth. With no assurance from the literal *tradenda* of his source, Browning gathers his evidence from the scrupulous description of the uneasy household at Arezzo, no less than from the glaring facts of Guido's character and purpose. But at this point the disclosure that Pompilia is not the child of Pietro and Violante brings Guido's "scheme to naught." Apparently, his pecuniary motive is, after all, to have no bearing on his ultimate deed. Browning, however, having seen the kernel of the evidence, holds fast to his theory; and the Pope, with his steady grip on fact, moves relentlessly on. Guido, he finds, wishing to ruin Pompilia and the Comparini, and so leave "himself in luck and liberty," contrives to goad his wife into "plain revolt." Through forged letters and the help of the servant Margherita, Caponsacchi and Pompilia are brought together. There follows, after the flight to Castelnuovo, Guido's invocation of the law, with the ensuing decree that Pompilia be secluded in a convent, and that Caponsacchi be sent to *Civita Vecchia* for three years. To Guido no immediate course is open except retirement and patience.

The Pope now picks up a thread of which Battista and Arcangeli never once dreamed, of which the Book, indeed, takes no account. In the birth of Gaetano, the son of Pompilia and Guido, the latter sees the occasion to strike his blow. Analyzing Guido's intent, Innocent imagines the very words he might have uttered. He hears him discourse on Pompilia's succession to her parents' property; on her baby's acquisition of her rights; finally, on his own prospective enjoyment of the interest of Gaetano.

Their rights determined on a head
I could but hate, not harm, since from each hair
Dangled a hope for me: now—chance and change!
No right was in their child but passes plain

To that child's child and through such child to me.
 I am a father now,—come what, come will,
 I represent my child; he comes between—
 Cuts sudden off the sunshine of this life
 From those three: why, the gold is in his curls!

How faithfully Browning adhered to his independent conception of Guido's guilt becomes evident in this passage. Beginning his despicable career with the object of accumulating the property of others, Guido so cherished his motive that no impulse of his life was wholly free from it. It became his master. His choice of a calling, his marriage, his cruelty to Pompilia and her parents, his plot to drive Pompilia to Caponsacchi's protection, and his crossed attempt to make himself, through a triple murder, the heir of his own son—all of these acts were inextricably interwoven with his quest of gain. The relations of Pompilia and Caponsacchi, which befogged the issues in the Book, acquire their valid proportions in the Pope's monologue, where they are interpreted through mere *obiter dicta*. So clear, indeed, is Browning that Guido's essential and persisting motive was love of money that he abandons in its entirety the features of *causa honoris* dragged into the case by the lawyers, and refers Gaetano's birth and its effects, not to the Pompilia-Caponsacchi aspect of the plot, but to that aspect associated chiefly with Guido himself.

The element in *The Ring and the Book* which interests and impresses the lawyer most is, therefore, Browning's unerring insight, as sympathetic as it is poignant, into the heart of the Franceschini case. Battista, Arcangeli, and *Tertium Quid* yield to the Pope. Law—the law, that is to say, which contrives only to establish decrees, and not to interpret and enforce rights—yields to fact. For law in its gist is fact itself, and laws are nothing more than the rules which human experience has formulated for the guidance of conduct and the protection of society. These rules lawyers know; or they know where and how to find them. But in the science of the truly skilful lawyer they are only measuring units, which can assist him the better in analyzing fact—a labor exacting not mere intelligence, but intelligence charged with sympathy. That composite quality, which the complete lawyer possesses, resides inherently in the poet, who, transcending the lawyer, always includes him. Browning's poetic art, as exhibited in *The Ring and the Book*, is thus in close affinity with the element vital to

jurisprudence; and Browning is the greater poet for the contact. It is surely with a sense of this double aspect of his work that, recounting his conversion of Book into poem, he asks:

Lovers of dead truth, did ye fare the worse?
Lovers of live truth, found ye false my tale?

HARRY GLICKSMAN.

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MULIER EST HOMINIS CONFUSIO

In his elaborate reply to Dame Pertelote, who had argued that dreams are purely the result of disordered humors, Chauntecleer has his authorities well in hand. But his sharpest shaft is the one with which he concludes the discussion:

Mulier est hominis confusio.

This phrase is found, as Tyrwhitt long ago pointed out, in a definition of woman which is incorporated in the *Speculum Historiale* (Lib. XI. cap. 71).¹

Quid est mulier. Hominis confusio. insaturabilis bestia. continua sollicitudo. indesinens pugna. viri continentis naufragium. humanum mancipium.

This definition of woman occurs in a long series of questions and answers which Vincent de Beauvais borrows, as he tells us, from the *Gesta Secundi Philosophi*. This treatise, which more frequently appears with the title, *Altercatio Hadriani Augusti et Secundi philosophi*, was widely known in the Middle Ages.² In a number

¹ I cite the text from the edition of Antonius Koburger, Nuremberg, 1483. In this edition the general Table of Contents stands as 'Liber I.' Later editions ignore the Table of Contents in numbering the several Books. In these, therefore, our passage will be found in Lib. X, cap. 71.

² For references to numerous texts of this treatise see R. Reicke, *Philologus*, XVIII, 525-527. Reicke prints the complete text according to a Königsberg ms. of the 13th or 14th centuries (pp. 527-534). For a collation of a 14th century ms. at Mailingen see G. Schepps, *Philologus*, XXXVII, 562-567. The text of three 15th century MSS. at Munich is printed by Johannes Bachmann, *Philologus*, XLVI, 388-399. Bachmann also discusses (pp. 385-387) the view advanced by E. Revillout that the *Bios Σεκούνδου φιλοσόφου* owes its origin in turn to a version in some Oriental language.

of texts the name of Epictetus has displaced that of Secundus; but the Greek *Bíos Σεκούνδου φιλοσόφου*, which is recognized as the source of the Latin versions, makes it certain that Secundus was the original reading.

The story of Secundus and his colloquy with Hadrian (which includes the definition of woman) was taken over from the *Altercatio* by many other medieval compilers besides Vincent de Beauvais—among them Walter Burley of Oxford in his *Liber de vita et moribus philosophorum*,³ the interpolator of Roger de Hoveden's Chronicle,⁴ and the author of the *Dialogus Creaturarum*.⁵

Moreover the 'Mulier' passage is frequently found detached from its context as an isolated bit of monastic wisdom. That this satirical characterization of woman enjoyed wide circulation is clear from its occurrence in this detached form in the following manuscripts at Oxford. No doubt the list could be vastly extended by an examination of manuscripts in other libraries.

BODLEIAN LIBRARY

MS. Bodley 57 (written about 1300).

[fol. 20^b]. *Proprietates mulieris.*

Quid est mulier? Humana confusio. Insatiabilis bestia. continua sollicitudo. indesinens punga. Cotidianum dampnum. domus tempestatis. castitatis impedimentum. incontinentis uiri naufragium. adulterij uas. preciosum prelium. animal pessimum. pondus grauissimum. aspis insanabilis. humanum mancipium.

MS. Wood 20 (xv cent.).

[fol. 37^a]. *Quid est mulier? hominis confusio. Insatiabilis bestia. continuata sollicitudo. Indeficiens punga.*⁶ da[m]p-

which is represented by the surviving texts in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Syriac. Since the article in *Philologus* Bachmann has published a monograph on Secundus (*Die Philosophie des Neupythagoreers Secundus*, Berlin, 1888) with an Appendix (Anhang III) containing the Latin text of the *Altercatio*. This monograph, I regret to say, I have not seen; for the reference to it I am indebted to Walther Suchier, *L'Enfant Sage* (Gesellschaft für romanische Lit., Bd. xxiv), p. 8.

³ Conveniently accessible in the modern edition by Hermann Knust (Litterarischer Verein in Stuttgart, No. 177), Tübingen, 1886. The Secundus material stands on pp. 372-386.

⁴ *Chronica Mag. Rogeri de Houedone*, ed. Wm. Stubbs, Rolls Ser., iv, 154.

⁵ For 'Mulier' see 'Dialogus 121' (ed. Graesse, p. 276).

⁶ The scribe evidently 'overhopped' at this point.

num. domus tempestatis. castitatis impedimentum. viri et continencie Naufragium. vas adulterij. preciosum prelium. animal pessimum. pondus grauissimum. aspis insanabilis. Humanum mancipium.

MS. Digby 196 (xv cent.).

[fol. 159^b]. Quid est mulier? hominis confusio. Insaciabilis bestia. continua sollicitudo. Indeficiens pugna. cotidianum dampnum. domus tempestatis. solacionis impedimentum. viri continentis naufragium. Adulterij vas. perniciosum prelium. pondus grauissimum. Aspes insanabilis. humanum mancipium. Animal pessimum.

Comendacio mulieris.

OXFORD COLLEGES

St. John's Coll. MS. 147 (xv cent.).⁷

[fol. 264^b]. Quid est Mulier? Hominis confusio. Insaturabilis bestia. Continua sollicitudo. Indeficiens Pungna. Cotidianum dampnum. Domum tempestatis uel temptacionis. Salutis impedimentum. Viri incontinentis naufragium. Adulterij uas. Discerpens prelium. Animal Pessimum. Pondus grauissimum. Aspis insanabilis. Humanum Mancipium.

Secundus Philosophum.

Trinity Coll. MS. 71 (xv cent.).

[fol. 1^b]. Quid est Mulier quod Chateyne Cosma.

Mulier est hominis confusio / Insaturabilis bestia / Pungna frequens. dampnum cotidianum ⁶ naufragium / Vacuacio bur-sarum / diminucio munerum / doctrine impedimentum. per-turbacio vnorum longabardorum ⁸ / Infamia generosorum / Anime corruptela / Honestatis infamia / Animal pessimum. tempestas domus. cotidianum bellum / dulce venenum / lan-guor suavis / chatena cordis / inexpugnabile cal[lum].⁹ Amica diaboli / capud peccati / expulsio paradisi / pondus grauissimum cuius []⁹ principium.

I am unable to identify "Chateyne Cosma," who is cited as the author of the Trinity College version, but he evidently amused himself by freely altering and expanding the definition. The phrase "*dulce venenum*," one of his additions, occurs in a diatribe

⁷ This book was the property of ——— Grove, monk of Westminster, and this passage is written in his hand.

⁸ Above this word the scribe has written *religiosorum*.

⁹ Ms. defective through the tearing away of a corner of the leaf.

on woman in the poem '*De Contemptu Mundi*' by Bernardus Morlanensis.¹⁰

With the exception of the Trinity College version, however, these Oxford texts agree very closely with those printed by Reicke and Bachmann. In one or two particulars the Oxford readings are distinctly preferable: e. g. '*castitatis impedimentum*' instead of '*sollicitudinis impedimentum*,' and '*aspis insanabilis*' instead of '*aspis insaciabilis*.'

Whatever his exact source, this was essentially the definition of woman which Chaucer had in mind when he made Chauntecleer conclude his discussion by repeating with solemn emphasis:

Mulier est hominis confusio.

This is the phrase, it should be noted, with which the definition invariably begins. This observation gives even sharper edge to Chauntecleer's sarcasm, for the citation of this opening phrase was bound to suggest the context as well. "You know the rest," Chaucer says in effect to his readers; and the well-informed reader would easily recall the series of items in the misogynic diatribe, in which '*Hominis confusio*' was one of the mildest phrases. The recollection of the definition as a whole must have broadened the intelligent reader's smile at the translation which Chauntecleer vouchsafed to the simple Pertelote:

Womman is mannes ioye and al his blis.

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REVIEWS

Petite syntaxe de l'ancien français, par LUCIEN FOULET. Paris: Champion, 1919. x + 282 pp. (Les Classiques français du Moyen Âge, 21.)

It is not a simple problem to present in the compass of a book limited in size by its inclusion in this series a comprehensive view of even the elements of Old-French syntax. Manifestly some for-

¹⁰ *Anglo-Lat. Satirical Poets of the XII cent.*, ed. T. Wright, Rolls Ser., II, 57.

mula of exclusions must be established. That established by Mr. Foulet embraces the following points: 1) Rather than a complete framework he aims to bring out the principal differences of the Old French from the modern French. His comparative study thus excludes a consideration of the Latin, as well as any detailed consideration of the intervening stages in the passage from Old French to the modern status; 2) Within the Old French, he restricts himself to the thirteenth century, supplemented by a certain amount of material from Chrétien de Troyes; 3) Even within this period, he disclaims completeness and omits the sporadic variations from the common usage; 4) In the main, he simply presents the phenomena without seeking to indicate their cause, a proceeding almost inevitably imposed by his elimination of the Latin.

An absolute exclusion of the Latin is the renunciation of a valuable accessory to a treatise even of the present type. Mr. Foulet is led to adopt it, he tells us, by his desire to center attention on the Old-French language as the medium of expression of the life and the thought of its day rather than as a mere link between the antique and the modern. That to succeed in this justifiable aim involves so absolute an elimination of every allusion, even remote, to the historical background of French construction, or that this procedure is wholly consistent with continual comparison with modern French, are matters regarding which a difference of opinion is permissible. Certainly there result, as Mr. Foulet himself is the first to recognize, serious inconveniences, and possibly also an undesirable orientation of the beginner, for whom the book is primarily intended.

The Syntax is based upon, and the illustrations are drawn from, the thirteenth-century texts in the series of the *Classiques français du Moyen Age*, with the addition, for the sake of comparison, of one twelfth-century text, *Perceval le Galois*. It might be anticipated that a study based upon this restricted range of material, while serviceable to the readers of the *Classiques* series and enlightening to tyros in Old French, would offer little to those whose acquaintance with the language extends over a more comprehensive field. It may be said at once that this is not the case. There are many penetrating remarks that stimulate thought and throw new light on old problems, and there are reclassifications of material that lead to generalizations of distinct value, such as—to cite only

one example among a number — the treatment of the indefinite article.¹ Not the least of the merits of the book is the demonstration that fields accounted as already harvested can yield more than scattered gleanings to the scholar whose mind is alert and whose eye is attentive.

Thruout the whole of the treatise there is a tendency to emphasize the freedom from rigid laws of Old-French construction. This emphasis leads up to the concluding chapter, entitled "Le principe du moindre effort," where an excellent presentation is made of the contrast between the old and the modern syntax in the rigidity of application of a purely formal logic, coupled with a statement of the consequent advantages and disadvantages for each of the two epochs. The stress upon medieval liberty of structure repeatedly takes a form that perhaps too strongly suggests a dominating absence of system in the older syntactical procedure. In the first place, a comparison of Old French with the usage in the modern French, if it is to afford a proper basis for generalizations, might well include the modern dialects, and such an inclusion would sensibly diminish the markedness of the contrast. Further, the diversity of Old-French construction offers, it is true, a complicated problem, but one in which we should be on our guard against too lightly abandoning attempts to classify the phenomena. The discussion of *tutoiement*² represents to a particularly noticeable degree a form of statement not uncommon in the book. The whole emphasis is laid on the confusion of *tutoiement* and *voussment*. We are, to be sure, dealing with a period when the folk confusion of the two pronouns strongly suggests the cockney's struggles with his *h*. When Mr. Foulet calls especial attention to the wholesale intermingling of *tu* and *vous* in *Courtois d'Arras* and the *Jeu de la Feuillée*, is it not natural to suspect in this trait a conscious representation of the vulgar speech?³ It is true that he adds concerning *tutoiement* that the "bizarreries" abound in twelfth- and thirteenth-century texts, but this statement demands, if not restriction, at least far more specification. In almost every instance a distinction can be drawn between Chrétien's use of the

¹ §§ 70 ff.

² § 204.

³ In another connection (§ 243; cf. also § 386) he refers to the popular drama as necessarily mirroring the popular speech.

one or the other pronoun.⁴ If not all the chivalric epics evidence an equal care, they approximate more nearly Chrétien's usage than that of the *Courtois d'Arras*, and even the *chansons de geste*, referred to also by Foulet, are far removed from a complete confusion of the forms.

A marked deviation from this occasional tendency to minimize the existence of system behind Old French differing phenomena is to be found in the author's study of word order, which concerns itself with the combinations of subject, verb, and complement. The texts utilized have lent themselves admirably to his detailed, penetrating classification, which is a distinct contribution to our knowledge of this important theme. Here at least there is recognized a conformity to rule which may be felt to constitute a qualification of the summarizing statement⁵ regarding the old language that: "Primesautière et bon enfant, elle est en général satisfaite dès qu'elle se fait comprendre. Le reste relève d'une rhétorique qui ne l'intéresse guère."

A deviation from the generally accepted views regarding Old-French syntax lies in attributing to the influence of a preceding preposition the tonic form assumed by a personal pronoun when it directly precedes an infinitive on which it depends.⁶ Since 1875, when Tobler gave a substantial list of examples⁷ in which, without being preceded by a preposition, the infinitive shows an accompanying tonic pronoun, no successful effort has been made to controvert the generalization which he deduced, and the establishment of a conflicting rule calls for more substantiation than is offered by the mere absence of this construction from a limited group of texts. It is equally dubious to interpret⁸ the *l* of *del* in *Del bien celer molt te chasti* as the pronoun and not the article. There is no evidence that we are in such a case dealing with a pronoun any more than in the numerous examples of the type *Car tant ert bele de biauté adrecie Que dou veoir estoit grant melodie*,⁹ or in: *Quant vint au prendre le congié*.¹⁰ In this connection, it may be remarked that it is too sweeping an assertion to state that the Picard *le* for

⁴ See Cohn, *ASNS.*, 106 (1901), p. 436, and *ZFSL.*, 24 (1902), 2, p. 25, n. 5.

⁵ § 408.

⁶ § 136.

⁷ *GGA.*, 1875, Part 2, p. 1070.

⁸ § 138.

⁹ *Enf. Og.*, 1469.

¹⁰ *Fl. et Bl.*, 1168.

la, feminine article, does not contract with a preceding preposition.¹¹

There are other discussions in the book where the phraseology bears witness to the limitations imposed by a rigid adherence to the basal texts. Thus the explanation suggested¹² for the tonic form of the pronoun in the type *ce poise moi* is that it originated in cases where the pronoun stood at a verse-end and that it was originally a makeshift riming device—an explanation which would hardly have been offered if the author had kept more prominently in his view the earlier texts. One does not need to go farther afield than the *Alexis*¹³ of the *Classiques français* to locate examples in which date and position in the line fail to confirm the hypothesis. It is again this restriction in scope which leads to the statement that the negative infinitive with imperative value occurs for the singular only.¹⁴

In the discussion of case breakdown, a disproportionate emphasis is perhaps laid upon the numerical preponderance of oblique forms as an element in the disappearance of the nominative. I should be disposed to accord less weight to the statistics offered than to other elements, such as short circuiting, post-position, uncertainty produced by the confusions arising with logical subjects with *entre* . . . *et*, *fors*, and the like.¹⁵ The question is, however, one of emphasis, and it is useful to have before us the ratios shown in this set of thirteenth-century texts.

I shall not attempt a discussion of the many questions of detail suggested by this stimulating and original study.¹⁶ Since the book

¹¹ § 60; for examples of construction see Tobler, *Versbau*³, p. 34, n. 2.

¹² § 132.

¹³ *Co peiset mei que ma fin tant demoret*, 460; *Co peiset mei que podridat en terre*, 477; *Co peiset els, mais altre ne puet, estre*, 580. Cf. *Che poise moi pur Mahomet mon Dé*, Huon de Bord., 5922.

¹⁴ § 227. Darmesteter (IV, §447) says the same thing. Cf., however, *Si lor dit en riant: Ne nous nomer vos mie, franc chevalier vaillant*, Aie d'Avignon, 2045; *Berniers les voit, ces prent a araisnier: Dont estes vos signor? Nel me noier*, Raoul de Cam., 7085.

¹⁵ A re-study of the causes of case reduction, by the late G. G. Laubscher, will shortly appear in the *Elliott Monographs*.

¹⁶ Not only beginners, but more advanced students as well, stand in need of more elucidation of the *con que*, conjunction, cited in § 340.—A number of interesting features of the book, not touched upon in this review, are treated by Sneyders de Vogel, *Neophilologus*, 1920, pp. 274-78.

is, by the author's own statement, an elementary treatise, we shall all find it worth while to class ourselves as beginners and profit by its exposition. This does not mean that the beginner with fewer winter's snows upon his head will find it beyond his ken. The exposition is clear, the arrangement is orderly, and no previous preparation is taken for granted save an acquaintance with the French of today. The restraint which the author has imposed upon himself does not, however, prevent our seeing that he has stored up, in the study which lies behind the printed text, a body of scientific data and analysis which we can ill afford to dispense with. He has already, in one instance, supplemented a succinct statement in his *Petite Syntaxe* by a detailed discussion elsewhere,¹⁷ and we hope that this is but the first of a series of similar tenor, for which the many hints the manual affords have keenly stimulated our appetites.

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Goethe's Lyric Poems in English Translation prior to 1860, by
LUCRETIA VAN TUYL SIMMONS. [Univ. of Wisconsin Studies
in Language and Literature, No. 6.] Madison, 1919. 202 pp.

Miss Simmons' book has been preceded by a number of bibliographies and essays, tracing, from various points of view, the influence of German literature, and particularly of Goethe, in both England and America. This study, however, "is restricted to Goethe's shorter poems and can lay no claims to originality, except that it is the first systematic attempt to collect, under such a title, all of the evidence concerning his shorter poems in English translation" (p. 5). This statement shows at the same time that the term *lyric poems* in the title is to be taken in a very wide sense.

The first part of the book, the text proper (79 pp.) is divided into eight chapters, entitled, respectively: Importance of Translations; First Period of the Study of Goethe, 1795-1800; Lack of Interest for about twenty years 1800-1820; Second Period of the Study of Goethe, 1820-1860; The Work done by the British and American Magazines; Work done by the Poetical Anthologies;

¹⁷ See Foulet, *Rom.* 45 (1919), pp. 220-45 (The *quelque* construction).

Individual Volumes of Goethe's Collected Poems; Complete Sets of Goethe's Works; Summary of the Period Prior to 1860. The bulk of the book (pp. 80-202) is made up of seven Indices: A.—Bibliography of Bibliographies; B.—Goethe's Works in Sets; C.—Single Volumes of Goethe's Poems; D.—List of Anthologies and Other Books, Containing Translations from Goethe; E.—Translations of Individual Poems Prior to 1860; F.—List of Translators and Poems Translated by Each; G.—Index of Poems.

Index E (pp. 104-185), is undoubtedly the most valuable part of the work. It comprises 384 entries, for two of which, *The Erlking* and *Mignon*, as many as 47 renditions, or, rather, printings, are recorded. As Index E follows the order of the poems in the Weimar Edition, a further, alphabetical Index (G) has been added for quick reference. One is thus able to find at a glance any information desired, concerning the various poems, their relative popularity, their translators, the date and the number of the various editions, and the like. In addition, the first part contains examples of the work of the more prominent translators, accompanied by comment on their respective merits.

No fault is to be found with the general plan and structure of the work. Its usefulness, however, is to be measured by the painstaking care and accuracy with which the author has assembled and worked over her material. Those virtues, unfortunately, are not much in evidence: indeed, Miss Simmons has not even checked up erroneous statements that could have been corrected by simple reference to the writings of authors as accessible as Goethe himself and Carlyle, his foremost champion in England during the period under consideration. To illustrate:

On p. 28, Miss Simmons states that Carlyle "made many references to Goethe's shorter poems, but the most direct statement of his estimate is found in a paragraph of his introduction to the translation of Goethe's *Tales*, in the volume called *German Romance* (1827)." As a matter of fact, Carlyle's *German Romance* comprises four volumes, three being devoted to Musaeus, Fouqué, Tieck, Hoffmann, and Richter, while the fourth contains not Goethe's *Tales*, but his *Wanderjahre*. Miss Simmons, knowing that Carlyle published his translation of *Wilhelm Meister* in 1824, concludes that this embraced also the *Wanderjahre*, and thereupon assigns the poems occurring in the latter, or, rather, as many as were taken over into Vols. I-V of the Weimar Edition, to Car-

lyle's *Wilhelm Meister*, 1824. Thus the *Wanderlied* (Index E, No. 285) and the *Künstlerlied* (Index E, No. 298): these are not at all to be found in the *Meister* of 1824 (in the second instance the date is given as 1823) as Miss Simmons declares, but in Vol. IV of *German Romance* (1827), pp. 243, 250, 251, 351 and 229 f. Furthermore, the titles as given by Miss Simmons (*Wanderer's Song*, *Artist's Song*) are lacking in Carlyle.

Still greater confusion has been produced in a group of nine poems printed in the Weimar Edition (V, 24-31) under the heading "Aus Wilhelm Meister." In Index E this group is numbered 352, and in the alphabetical Index G the individual poems are listed and referred to this number, which is alleged to be in Carlyle's *Meister* of 1824, as also Boylan's of 1855. As a matter of fact, only two of the poems (*Ich armer Teufel* and *Wer nie sein Brot*) actually appeared in those editions. Two others (*Wüsste kaum genau zu sagen* and *Und so heb' ich alte Schätze*) are found in *German Romance* (IV, 34, 36), while the remaining five (*Wie ist heut mir doch zu Muthe*; *Ich sah's in* [Miss Simmons has: *mit*] *meisterlichen Händen*; *Ein Wunder ist der arme Mensch geboren*; *Bist noch so tief in Schmerz und Qual verloren*; *Bleiben, Gehen, Gehen, Bleiben*) only appeared in Goethe's later version of the *Wanderjahre*, and were thus never translated by Carlyle, who adhered to the original version, while Boylan, as far as I can discover, never actually translated the *Wanderjahre*, although such a translation was contemplated by his publishers.

It thus becomes clear that Miss Simmons never looked up these poems in the edition of Carlyle, calmly assuming that they ought to be there, as long as they were labeled "Aus Wilhelm Meister" in the *Poems* of the Weimar Edition. Nor does she seem to have had the least knowledge, or concern, about earlier and later versions, either of Goethe, or, as we shall see below, of Carlyle. This is shown by the fact that she has failed to notice certain other poems of Goethe, prefixed to the *Wanderjahre* of 1821, but not included in the later version. Carlyle translated all but two of these poems, which first appeared in *German Romance* (IV, 33 ff.), and which could have been found in any subsequent edition of Carlyle's translation. The poems in question are: *Wandersegen* (Weim. Ed. III, 160); *Prüft das Geschick dich* (VI, 119); *Was machst du an der Welt* (VI, 120); *Enweri sagt's* (VI, 121); *Mein Erbtheil wie herr-*

lich (vi, 121); *Noch ist es Tag* (vi, 119). Not one of these appears in Miss Simmons' Index G.

On the other hand, knowing that Carlyle translated *Wilhelm Meister* in 1824, Miss Simmons forthwith assumes that all the poems therein contained were likewise translated, and thus records also Philine's song (Index E, No. 199): "1824. Thos. Carlyle. *Wilhelm Meister*. Lond., Edin." On p. 29, likewise, it is stated that "Carlyle did not attempt to translate any of these shorter poems, except the songs of Mignon, Philine, and the Harper as they occur in *Wilhelm Meister*. These, it is evident, he worked over with loving care and understanding. . . ." If Miss Simmons had only looked at Carlyle's *Meister* of 1824, which she is here describing, she would have found that Carlyle had deliberately suppressed this song (*Singet nicht in Trauertönen Von der Einsamkeit der Nacht*): "Philina all at once struck up a song, with a very graceful, pleasing tune. The subject was the praise of Night; the words at least were delicate and pretty; but we are afraid our readers would not care to hear it." The later translation of the song was inserted by Carlyle in 1839. A similar distrust of his public is shown by Carlyle in *German Romance*, iv, 290, where he omits the entire story entitled *Die pilgernde Thörinn* (*Wanderjahre*, p. 420-450), including the ballad *Woher im Mantel so geschwinde*: "The quaint, fitful, and most dainty story of *The Foolish Pilgrims* [*sic*], with which our two friends now occupied their morning, we feel ourselves constrained, not unreluctantly, by certain grave calculations, to reserve for some future and better season." This promise, however, was never fulfilled.

Another striking illustration of Miss Simmons' disregard of scholarly methods is found on page 19, in her discussion of the various versions of *Mignon*. After quoting in full Beresford's version, which "stands among the best," she continues: "In this regard it is much better than Carlyle's translation (1824 in *Wilhelm Meister*) which has been most widely reprinted and is the version most generally known to English readers. His is a translation of words but not of moods, and runs thus:

Know'st thou the land, where lemon trees do bloom,
And oranges like gold in leafy gloom;
A gentle wind from deep-blue heaven blows,
The myrtle thick and high the laurel grows?
Know'st thou it then?

'Tis there, 'tis there,
O, my beloved one, I with thee would go! "

It is not necessary to reproduce the whole poem, as given by Miss Simmons, although it may be added that the second stanza has the ludicrous misprint: *And marble statutes stand and look me on*. The important point is that this is not at all Carlyle's translation of 1824, as Miss Simmons directly states, but his revised version of 1839. It may be of interest, therefore, to give in full the genuine translation of 1824, as found in Vol. I, p. 229:

Know'st thou the land where the lemon-trees bloom?
Where the gold-orange glows in the deep thicket's gloom?
Where a wind ever soft from the blue heaven blows,
And the groves are of laurel and myrtle and rose?
Know'st thou it?

Thither! O thither,
My dearest and kindest, with thee would I go.

Know'st thou the house, with its turretted walls,
Where the chambers are glancing, and vast are the halls?
Where the figures of marble look on me so mild,
As if thinking: "Why thus did they use thee, poor child?"
Know'st thou it?

Thither! O thither,
My guide and my guardian, with thee would I go.
Know'st thou the mountain, its cloud-covered arch,
Where the mules among mist o'er the wild torrent march?
In the clefts of it, dragons lie coil'd with their brood;
The rent crag rushes down, and above it the flood.
Know'st thou it?

Thither! O thither,
Our way leadeth: Father! O come let us go!

Miss Simmons' disinclination to make independent use of her materials is even surpassed by her inability to reproduce correctly any extensive quotation from her authorities. In the passage on page 10, for example, Goethe did not write: *in Dichtungen*, but: *in den Dichtungen*; not: *sich bereichert*, but: *sich selbst bereichert*; not: *von den Unzulänglichkeiten*, but: *von der Unzulänglichkeit*; not: *so ist es und bleibt es*, but: *so ist und bleibt es*. Similarly (p. 26), line 3 of *Mahomets Gesang* does not read: *Wie Sternenblick*, but: *Wie ein Sternenblick*, while line 8 should be a single word: *Jünglingfrisch*. Carlyle's text, however, has been still more mutilated: on pp. 28 f. he did not write: *grave and gay*,

but: *gay and grave*; not: *more original*, but: *more entirely original*; not: *cling to our memory*, but: *cleave to our memory*; not: *the vasty deeps*, but: *the vasty deep*; not: *from its roof resounding*, but: *from its roof rebounding*. Even greater violence is done to Carlyle's text on page 25, where a single paragraph of 16 lines is alleged to be a quotation from Vol. XXXV, p. 153 of the *Edinburgh Review*. As a matter of fact, it is Vol. LIII, and instead of a single, compact quotation, it is a jumbling together of sentences, or parts of sentences, found on pp. 153, 155, and 179, with changed punctuation and capitalization, and with the arbitrary omission of essential words (*e. g.*, Carlyle wrote: *has some such significance* instead of *has some significance*). But what shall one say of the last sentence, which in the original (p. 179) reads as follows:

The better minds of all countries begin to understand each other, and, which follows naturally, to love each other, and help each other; by whom ultimately all countries in all their proceedings are governed.

Miss Simmons' redaction is:

The better minds of all countries, by whom ultimately all countries in all their proceedings are governed, begin to understand each other, to love each other, and to help each other.

Further comment is unnecessary. Miss Simmons has collected a great mass of material, but it requires thorough revision if it is to be a really useful piece of work.

W. KURRELMEYER.

The Stonyhurst Pageants, edited, with introduction, by CARLETON BROWN, Professor of English in the University of Minnesota. [*Hesperia*, Ergänzungsreihe 7. Heft.] Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1920. 30 + 302 pp.

For students of English religious drama, the publication of *The Stonyhurst Pageants* is a stirring event. During recent years the significant additions to our knowledge of the vernacular religious drama have not been numerous. Hence one welcomes with enthusiasm Professor Brown's substantial contribution to the *corpus* of English religious plays.

The form of Professor Brown's contribution is worthy of its importance. The text of the plays is presented with a fidelity to detail that would seem to satisfy every essential demand of the investigator. The editor has done full justice to the manuscript before him. In addition to performing his primary duty to the text itself, he has constructed a generous introduction in which are found significant facts concerning the manuscript, results of very substantial research in matters of language, provenience, and sources, and literary observations of penetration and restraint.

The manuscript (A. VI. 33) belongs to the library of Stonyhurst College, in Northern Lancashire, and has probably always been owned in this county.¹ It is written in a hand of the first half of the seventeenth century. From certain scribal peculiarities Professor Brown infers that the manuscript was written by the author himself;² and from the language and the obvious use of the Douay Bible (published in 1609-10) he confidently assigns the composition to a Roman Catholic in Lancashire writing between the years 1610 and 1625.³

Although the manuscript is but a fragment, it contains the following impressive series of plays:

The 6 pagean of Iacob (Fragment of 106 lines)

The 7 pagean of Ioseph (1048 lines)

The eight pagean of Moyses (1548 lines)

The 9 pagean of Iosue (552 lines)

The ten pagean of Gedeon (310 lines)

The 11 pagean of Iephte (292 lines)

The 12 pagean of Samson (392 lines)

[The 13 pagean of Ruth (?)]

The 14 pagean of Saul (1445 lines)

The 15 pagean of David (690 lines)

The 16 Pageant of Salomon (370 lines)

The 17 pageant of Elias (815 lines)

The 18 pageant of Naaman (1136 lines)

Through losses from the manuscript, the first of these plays is incomplete at the beginning, and the last play is incomplete at the end. It is demonstrable that the leaves lost from the beginning of the manuscript are fifty-five in number, and the five "pageants" lost with these leaves may have been the following:⁴

¹ See Introduction, pp. 7-10.

² See Introduction, pp. 10-13.

³ See Introduction, pp. 13-21.

⁴ See Introduction, p. 13.

The Creation
 The Temptation and Fall
 Cain and Abel
 Noah
 Abraham

The thirteenth play, lost (along with five leaves of the manuscript) between *The 12 pagean of Samson* and *The 14 pagean of Saul*, probably dramatized the story of Ruth. How many plays followed *The 18 pageant of Naaman* we cannot tell.

The Stonyhurst plays inevitably suggest comparison with the older well-known cycles of religious plays in English. Of these cycles only four preserve Old Testament plays that can be appropriately considered here: namely Chester, York, Towneley, and Hegge (*Ludus Coventriæ*). In separate plays, or in parts of plays, these four cycles may be taken as treating compositely the following subjects associated with the Old Testament:

The Fall of Lucifer
 The Creation and Fall of Man
 Cain and Abel
 Noah
 Abraham
 Jacob
 Moses
 Balaam
 The Prophets

A mere glance reveals the fact that in range of subjects from the Old Testament the *Stonyhurst Pageants* are immensely more ambitious than are the older English cycles. This range of subject, along with a marked diffuseness within the separate plays, results in a length of some 8740 long lines for the *Stonyhurst Pageants* as preserved, and in a probable total of some 13,000 lines for the eighteen "pageants" that were certainly composed.⁵ Against this formidable total we may place 2100 shorter lines as a rough average length for the Old Testament series in the four older cycles.

From the lists given above it is apparent that the extant *Stonyhurst pageants* and the plays of the other English cycles have few subjects precisely in common. From among these few opportuni-

⁵ See Introduction, p. 13.

ties for setting up a parallel one may conveniently choose the dramatization of the story of Moses and the Exodus as accomplished in the Stonyhurst series⁶ and in the York plays.⁷ The York playwright uses 406 short lines, against the 866 long lines of the Stonyhurst author. Whereas the York play seems to me to be divisible into ten scenes,⁸ the parallel part of the Stonyhurst pageant appears to fall into some forty.⁹ The greater length of the Stonyhurst version is due primarily to the author's persistent fidelity to the Biblical text. He includes, for example, the discovering of Moses in the bulrushes, Moses' killing of the Egyptian, the rôle of Aaron, and the rôles of the midwives, all of which the York dramatist omits. Likewise the Stonyhurst author multiplies scenes where the York writer, in treating the same Biblical material, skilfully reduces the number of dramatic divisions. Thus the latter disposes of the ten plagues in five separate scenes,¹⁰ whereas the former monotonously and repetitiously distributes the matter through twenty-three scenes.¹¹ From such evidences as these one must frankly admit the diffuseness and relative ineptitude of the author of the Stonyhurst plays.

My remarks upon the scene-divisions in the play of Moses lead me to offer an observation or two upon Professor Brown's study of the dramatic divisions of the Stonyhurst plays in general. In the regrettable absence of rubrics, or stage-directions, from the manuscript, the reader must discover the scene-divisions for himself. Possibly Professor Brown would have won more readers for these remarkable new plays had he inserted brief stage-directions throughout, in square brackets, after the practice of Miss Smith in

⁶ Pageant VIII, lines 1-866.

⁷ Play XI. This play and Play VIII of the Towneley series are substantially identical in general content. The Chester and Hegge plays do not treat this precise subject.

⁸ The ten scenes end respectively with lines 84, 186, 204, 280, 288, 308, 312, 356, 384, 406.

⁹ The forty scenes end respectively with lines 40, 54, 84, 108, 118, 130, 220, 268, 294, 322, 337, 346, 360, 371, 388, 411, 423, 457, 467, 475, 489, 507, 513, 527, 539, 547, 573, 591, 611, 625, 663, 673, 713, 721, 739, 761, 795, 825, 852, 854. The passage of the Red Sea by the Israelites and the destruction of the pursuing Egyptians, represented in the York play in lines 403-406, is recounted in the Stonyhurst play by *Chorus*, lines 855-866.

¹⁰ Lines 205-356.

¹¹ Lines 372-795.

her edition of the York plays. In any case, Professor Brown has treated the matter of scene-divisions with admirable definiteness in his introduction, and has indicated the points of division for twenty-one scenes in the "Pagean of Ioseph" and for twenty-four scenes in the "Pagean of Saul."¹² I am not sure, however, that I can be content with the editor's divisions throughout. I am inclined to think, for example, that in the "Pagean of Ioseph," Scene 6 (lines 179-236), as it is circumscribed by the editor, needs to be divided again after line 188. In ending Scene 5 with line 178 the editor is unquestionably right. Toward the close of Scene 5 Putiphar withdraws in company with Ioseph, leaving behind the two merchants, Glaucus and Balbo. Line 178 (*Yt is our best, where fore begone, that we may get dispatched*) clearly marks the withdrawal of the two merchants, and hence the clearing of the stage and the ending of Scene 5. At the opening of Scene 6 (line 179) Putiphar reappears before his palace and begins a soliloquy of ten lines, the last of which (line 188) ends, "I will go backe agayne into my palace." Clearly, then, after line 188 the stage is empty and another scene is concluded. The next scene,—Scene 7 according to my conception,—opens with a conversation between Demetria and Ioseph in "my maisters orchard."¹³

I offer a trifling suggestion also concerning the editor's scene-division for the "Pagean of Saul."¹⁴ In this play, as Professor Brown says,¹⁵ "the entire action is dominated by the 'Nuncius' who makes the opening and closing speeches, and appears at the end of almost every scene to contribute information to the audience and to introduce the following scene." In only three places (after lines 330, 646, and 763) does the editor find scene-divisions that are not marked by entrances of *Nuncius*. To these three instances, which I regard as valid, I venture to add a fourth, after line 562.

¹² See Introduction, pp. 27-28.

¹³ Line 215. A division similar to that after line 188 seems to me to be demanded after line 878 of the same play.

¹⁴ See Introduction, p. 27. I do not refer to the typographical error,—as I conceive it to be,—whereby the editor seems not to provide for any scene-divisions at all beyond line 1119. I assume that Professor Brown meant to indicate scene-endings also at lines 1189, 1267, 1339, and of course, 1445. One is pleasantly surprised, by the way, at the fewness of the typographical errors in a piece of editing published in Germany under the conditions of war and armistice.

¹⁵ See Introduction, p. 27.

The scene concerned opens (line 511) with a customary utterance from *Nuncius*, after which occurs a conversation between Samuel and Saul ending with the withdrawal of the latter (line 550, "I'll streight begone"). Then occurs an exchange of speeches between God and Samuel, at the end of which Samuel certainly departs (line 562, "Now I will begone"), and God, I infer, does likewise. Thus a scene seems to end with line 562. At the opening of the next scene (line 563) Saul and Samuel re-enter.

From matters of scene-division we pass naturally enough to the question as to whether these plays were actually presented upon a stage, at so late a period as the seventeenth century. Although we have no evidence of an actual performance, the plays were probably intended for stage presentation. This probability arises, for example, from such utterances of the *Chorus* or *Nuncius* as the following: "yf that you will attentve bee a while"; "yf you will but shew attention, you with your eyes and eares shall see and heare."¹⁶ It is not to be assumed, however, that the entire cycle was performed in one day. On the other hand, from references in the closing lines of some plays and in the opening lines of others, it is clear that the author intended certain of the pageants to follow without delay upon those which precede. Hence the editor suggests the possibility that Pageants I-VII, VIII-XII, and XIII-XVIII constitute three groups for performance on three separate days.¹⁷

In discussing the literary qualities of the plays Professor Brown makes clear that the "Pageant of Naaman" stands apart from the rest of the cycle in adopting the dramatic devices of Plautus, in embroidering the Biblical narrative freely, and in introducing comic effects.¹⁸ In the other plays, in general, the author abjures humor, ignores opportunities for dramatic tension and lyrical feeling, and clogs the action with wearisome detail. The "Pageant of Iepthe" presents an exception. As the editor remarks, "Here the anguish of Jephthe and the resolution of his daughter exhorting him to perform his vow produce a real pathos, which is comparable to that in the well-known Abraham and Isaac play of the early religious drama."¹⁹ But the suggested comparison with the older religious cycles is, in general, damaging to the repute of the author of the Stonyhurst plays. If he knew such earlier plays as those

¹⁶ See Introduction, p. 30.

¹⁷ See Introduction, p. 26.

¹⁸ See Introduction, pp. 28-29.

¹⁹ Introduction, p. 22.

of Chester, of York, and of the Towneley manuscript,—and he must have known such plays,—he failed to profit substantially from their examples of concise selection, lyric freedom, hardy realism, dramatic suspense, humor, and simple pathos. Upon his work as a whole he must bear the following temperate judgment of his sympathetic editor:

“So far as we can judge the author had no other object than to present a faithful dramatization of the chief events in Old Testament history. . . . Dramatic interest is sacrificed to historical exactness, and, instead of plays in the true sense of the word, these pageants became merely chronicles in dialogue form.”²⁰

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Edmund Spenser: The Faerie Queene, Book V, The Legend of Artegall or of Justice. Edited with Introduction and Notes by ALFRED B. GOUGH, M. A. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1918.

The Oxford University Press has done well to continue its excellent editions of Spenser by entering on what may be hoped to be a series of volumes presenting with full commentaries individual portions of his works; and Mr. Gough has earned the thanks of Spenserian scholars for editing one book of the *Faerie Queene* with more detailed treatment than it has heretofore received.

His text is, without substantial change, that of 1596 as represented by the reprint of Mr. J. C. Smith. Regrettably, he did not take advantage of the limited field to produce a critical text or at least to offer the parallel readings of several copies and of the 1609 folio. The text is, however, accurate and printed in readable type. Again regrettably, both introduction and notes fuse together a variety of matters, thus made convenient for consecutive reading but not for pertinent reference. In his useful list of “Historical Events Alluded to in Book V” (1-li), he should not have omitted Cantos 3-7, and he might well have put the matter in sections: (a) the allegory; (b) relevant data concerning the poet’s life with

²⁰ Introduction, pp. 21-22. The latter part of this judgment is applied by Professor Brown especially to the pageants of Moyses, Josue, Saul, and Elias; but he will not object, I think, to a somewhat more general application.

circumstances of composition and publication; (c) aesthetic comment and criticism; (d) textual notes; (e) glossarial explanations; (f) elucidation of mythological and other allusions. The method of Grosart's separate essays here for once points in the right direction. As it is, the allegory, for example, nowhere receives clear and connected discussion in its two separate aspects, moral and historical.

Mr. Gough rightly directs attention to the timeliness of Book V, representing Britain's succor of "the Lady Belge" and her difficulties with Irish sedition. One expects, and does not find till p. 270, reference to Professor Greenlaw's article on "Spenser and British Imperialism." But the volume is addressed to general readers rather than to scholars. The references are almost wholly to secondary sources rather than to monographs, such as Professor Padelford's articles, "Talus: the Law" and "Spenser's Arraignment of the Anabaptists." Where discussion of Artegall's derivation from the chronicles occurs, reference should be made to the late Carrie A. Harper's monograph, *The Sources of the British Chronicle History in Spenser's Faerie Queene*; and in connection with Britomart, to M. E. Litchfield's *Spenser's Britomart*. Editors in England too frequently appear unaware of the critical work on Spenser which has in recent years become a prominent feature in American philological publications. When referring to annotated editions it is odd, therefore, to mention those of Child and Dodge, but to omit those of J. P. Collier and Grosart. And this neglect of accessible information works out in unfortunate statements now pretty generally discredited, as (p. vii) "rustic seclusion and love-making in the Lancashire dales" (cf. *Anglia* xxxi), the mention (p. viii) of Sidney rather than Leicester as Spenser's patron; credulous faith (pp. xiii, xxvi) in a conversation "at the cottage of his friend Ludowick Bryskett."

The edition, in short, will serve well the purposes of students rather than of scholars. Before accepting Mr. Gough's general agreement with Professor Greenlaw, readers should consult Professor H. S. V. Jones' excellent monograph, *Spenser's Defense of Lord Grey* (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 1919). It is unfortunate that this did not precede the making of Mr. Gough's book.

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NANCRÈDE AND RIVAROL

A document giving evidence of the cultural relations between France and our own country as a sequel to the Revolution and the unforgettable aid France gave us in that crucial hour of our national life has been discussed in a recent number of *M. L. N.* (January, 1920, pp. 10-18) by Professor Schinz in his article on *Un Rousseauiste en Amérique*. M. Nancrède, the "rousseauiste" in question, compiled a book of selections in French for reading which appeared in 1792 under the title: *l'Abeille Française*. The book and its compiler are both skilfully appraised by Professor Schinz, who points out particularly M. Nancrède's general orientation as shown by his preference for certain authors as well as his choice of certain subjects. There are, however, two or three points in the article which seem to call for some slight comment.

M. Nancrède printed at the end of his volume the names of the eighty-five subscribers to his little book in grateful acknowledgement, as it were, of their share in the success of his venture. Of these names Professor Schinz presents eleven with the very just comment: "C'était l'aristocratie bostonienne." It would, however, be a mistake to remain under the impression that all of the names are similar to those printed in the article. It may not be totally devoid of interest nor bare of all significance to note that among the subscribers the following names appear: James Baudoin, Esq., Nathaniel Bethune, M. Blanchet, Miss Mary Callahan, Léon Chappotin, César Dubuc, Couppe Duparc, Mme Fitzpatrice, née de Bovis, Francis Garaux, Augustin Godemar, Benjamin Larkin and Ebenezer Larkin—both generous to the extent of twelve copies each—M. de Maisoncelle de Vertille, Mamay Masson, Daniel Poignard, Rev. Louis Roussellet, James Sullivan, Esq., Paul Trapier, Benjamin Trapier. All of these were no doubt of "l'aristocratie bostonienne," but of other antecedents than Hancock, Adams, Lowell, Coolidge, etc. Indeed a fair representation of French and of Irish whose interest in French or in M. Nancrède was sufficient to induce a subscription.

In commenting upon the selections made, Professor Schinz says (p. 15) "Et quand, à la page 316, on lit une traduction (probablement par Nancrède) de Gessner, *La matinée d'automne*, on se demande pourquoi Nancrède n'a pas reproduit simplement la description du soleil levant par Rousseau lui-même." On page 182 there is a selection from Rousseau (*Emile*, livre iii) beginning: "Une belle soirée on va se promener dans un lieu favorable. . .

Le lendemain . . . on retourne au même lieu avant que le soleil se lève. On le voit s'annoncer de loin par les traits de feu . . ." and ending: "Il y a là une demi-heure d'enchantement auquel nul homme ne résiste: un spectacle si grand, si beau, si délicieux n'en laisse aucun de sang-froid." Can this be the passage which Professor Schinz had in mind? If so, Nancrède scarcely merits the implied reproof.

As a text-book compiler Joseph Nancrède was apparently not oblivious to the fact that a learner's interest in language work is frequently retained, if not actually stimulated, by coming across a passage now and then dealing with familiar things, or touching local matters, for he has inserted three passages from Brissot's *Voyages*: one entitled *Boston*, another, *Commencement ou anniversaire à Cambridge* and finally, *Consomption chez les Américains*. It should be added that these selections are placed all fairly near together.

Before presenting his analysis of the work, Professor Schinz says of the Introduction: "Les pages consacrées à une rapide revue des causes historiques qui donnent à la langue française son importance dans le monde civilisé, trahissent un homme qui peut avoir du style." An extract is then given to support this statement, a passage showing, indeed, evidence of style, but the style is that of another and a greater than Nancrède, as is clear if we compare the text of the introduction with that of Rivarol's famous essay on *l'Universalité de la langue française*. Nancrède has borrowed both form and matter, the very phraseology, practically the same order of points in the argument, with here and there a modification by the omission of a part or the whole of a paragraph, or by a change in verb or tense. The changes are for the most part slight and immaterial. Nancrède has simply condensed the essay. In the main, the sense, the movement, the style remain unchanged. The following citation will serve as an illustration of Nancrède's method: Nancrède—"et l'on peut dire que lorsqu'on arrive chez un peuple et qu'on y trouve la langue Française, on doit se croire chez un peuple poli." Rivarol—"Aristippe ayant fait naufrage, aborda dans une île inconnue, et voyant des figures de géométrie tracées sur le rivage, s'écria que les dieux ne l'avaient pas conduit chez des barbares. Quand on arrive chez un peuple et qu'on y trouve la langue française on peut se croire chez un peuple poli."

There is but one variation of consequence, I think, namely where Nancrède prints: "Bayle plaça le doute aux pieds de la vérité et Bossuet la mit aux pieds des rois"; and Rivarol reads: "Bayle plaça le doute aux pieds de la vérité, et Bossuet tonna sur la tête des rois."

There can be no doubt of Nancrède's indebtedness to the author of the essay. It would be interesting, however, to know whether

Nancrède used the first edition of the *Discours* (Berlin, Georges Jacques Decker, 1784), or the second, which appeared early in 1785 (Paris, Prault et Bailly) "par les soins de Rivarol lui-même," according to M. André Le Breton in *Rivarol, sa vie, ses oeuvres, son talent* (Paris, 1895, p. 357). This edition, says M. Le Breton, "présente d'assez grandes différences de texte avec la première." We might then know the exact extent of Nancrède's changes; but his debt to Rivarol would still remain.

A certain piquancy is added to the situation by the fact that among the reading selections there is one from Voltaire entitled *Plagiat*. "Le véritable plagiat," the passage reads, "est de donner pour vôtres les ouvrages d'autrui, de coudre dans vos rapsodies de longs passages d'un bon livre avec quelques petits changements. Mais le lecteur éclairé voyant un morceau de drap d'or sur un habit de bure, reconnaît bientôt le voleur maladroit."

Nancrède may not have been a "voleur maladroit"; that would be far too harsh a term, but he surely knew the gentle art of "quelques petits changements."

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"GO TO HALIFAX"

The scornful invitation to "go to Halifax" seems to have grown out of the unsavory reputation the Nova Scotian city bore in colonial times, a reputation to which the father of Queen Victoria made no little contribution in his younger days. In his *Satire on Halifax, in Nova Scotia*, John Maylem, a graduate of Harvard, writing probably in the second decade after the founding of the city (1749), has the following:

The dregs of Thames and Liffy's sable stream,
Danubian rubbish and the Rhine's my theme,
Of them I sing, the rebel vagrant rout,
Base emigrants that Europe speweth out,
Their country's bane, such traitorous scoundrel crews,
Torn from the gaols, the gallows, and the stews,
From Europe's plains to Nova Scotia's woods,
Transported over the great Atlantic's floods;
In shoals they come, and fugitive invade
The horrid gloom of Halifax's shade.
Oh, Halifax! the worst of God's creation,
Possesst of the worst scoundrels of the nation:
Whores, rogues, and thieves, the dregs and scum of vice,
Bred up in villany, theft, rags, and lice—
Proud upstarts here, tho' starved from whence they came;
Just such a scoundrel pack first peopled Rome;
Send them to hell and then they'll be at home.

Wabash College.

HORACE W. O'CONNOR.

The Knight of the Burning Pestle AND *Wily Beguiled*

Among the most interesting features of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* are the references and allusions made to other plays of the day. No one, I think, has pointed out a parallel between it and *Wily Beguiled* which is almost close enough to warrant the statement that *Wily* was one of the sources used by Beaumont and Fletcher. This parallel is between scenes xiv and xvi of *Wily* and I, ii, and II, iv and v, of *The Knight*. The similarities run as follows:

(1) In *Wily* the heroine, Lelia, has given her love to a poor scholar, Sophos, but her father, despising the scholar's poverty, has sworn to marry her to a rich farmer's son.

In *The Knight* the heroine, Luce, has given her love to the poor prentice, but her father has determined that she shall marry the richer Humphry.

(2) In both plays the heroines reach their favored lovers by pretending to elope with the less fortunate.

(3) In both plays the elopement is thru a forest, on the other side of which both heroines claim to have a friend whose home is to be their destination.

(4) In both the elopement thru the forest is during the night.

(5) In *Wily* the nurse tells Lelia that her brother swears

That he will venture all,
Both fame and bloud, and limme and life,
But *Lelia* shall be *Sophos* wedded wife.

(Malone Soc. Reprint, ll. 1732 ff.)

Before setting out with his supposed love, Humphry says,

I am resolv'd to ventur life and lim
For one so yong, so faire, so kind, so trim. (I, ii, 128)

(6) In both plays, after the heroine has led him to the place in the forest where her favored lover is waiting, the rejected lover receives a severe beating.

(7) The exclamations of Churms and Humphry when deprived of their supposed loves, are much the same:

Churms. You wrong me much to rob me of my loue. (Line 2109)

Humph. If it be so, my friend, you use me fine:
What do you think I am? (II, iv, 22-23)

(8) In both cases the beating is spoken of as a payment.

(9) Both girls scoff at their rejected suitors.

In *Wily*:

Lelia. [To Churms] . . .
I must confesse I would haue chosen you,
But that I nere beheld your legs till now:
Trust me I neuer lookt so low before.

Churms. I know you use to looke aloft.
Lelia. Yet not so high as your crowne.
Churms. What if you had?
Lelia. Faith I should ha spied but a Calues head. (IL. 2123 ff.)

In The Knight:

Luce. Alas, poor Humphrie,
 Get thee some wholesome broth, with sage and comfrie;
 A little oile of roses and a feather
 To noint thy backe withall.
 Fare-well, my pretty nump; I am verie sorrie
 I cannot beare thee companie. (II, iv, 31-34; 36-37)

(10) In *Wily Robin Goodfellow*, Churms' accomplice, is dressed in a calf-skin and receives a severe beating. In *The Knight*, attempting to act as Humphry's champion, Raph is beaten by Jasper, who, as he administers the beating, exclaims:

With that he stood upright in his stirrups,
 And gave the Knight of the Calve-skinne such a knocke,
 That he forsooke his horse and downe he fell. . . .
 (II, v, 35-37)

(11) Robin, after his beating, takes his leave with:

The diuel himself was neuer coniu'r'd so; (L. 2075)

while Humphry, under similar circumstances, says:

The diuel's dam was ne're so bang'd in hell. (II, iv, 38)

Wily Beguiled, though presumably acted some years before, was first printed in 1606. Professor Thorndike has made it appear probable that *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* was first produced in 1607. In view of the number and the diversity of the similarities between the two plays, we should, I think, be justified in assuming that *Wily Beguiled* suggested certain parts of *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*.

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BORROWING BY ANATOLE FRANCE

In Anatole France's *L'Anneau d'Améthyste* (ed. Calmann-Lévy, pp. 186-7) M. Bergeret, attempting to reach a book placed high on the upper shelf of his library, is led to meditate upon the importance of the thumb and fingers:

"... les hommes ne seraient point artistes s'ils avaient quatre pieds et point de mains.

"—C'est à la main, se dit-il, que les hommes doivent d'être constructeurs de machines, peintres, scribes et généralement manipulateurs de toutes substances. S'ils n'avaient point un pouce opposé aux autres

doigts, ils se trouveraient aussi empêchés que je suis en ce moment, et ils n'auraient pas changé la figure de la terre. C'est la forme de la main qui, sans doute, a assuré à l'homme l'empire du monde.

"Mais, presque tout aussitôt, M. Bergeret songea que les singes, qui ont quatre mains, n'ont point pour cela créé les arts ni amenagé la terre à leur usage. Et il biffa de son esprit la théorie qu'il venait d'y esquisser."

This passage may be a clever adaptation from the *De l'Esprit* of Helvétius (ed. Amsterdam and Leipsic, 1759, I, 2-4 and note), even to the after-thought about the monkey:

"Si la nature, au lieu de mains et de doigts flexibles, eût terminé nos poignets par un pied de cheval; qui doute que les hommes sans art, sans habitations, sans défense contre les animaux, . . . ne fussent encore errants dans les forêts comme des troupeaux fugitifs? . . .

"Mais, dira-t-on, pourquoi les singes, dont les pattes sont, à peu près, aussi adroites que nos mains, ne font-ils pas des progrès égaux aux progrès de l'homme? C'est qu'ils lui restent inférieurs à beaucoup d'égards. . . ."

Helvétius continues in an endeavor to show that the case of the monkey does not invalidate his theory of the importance of hands. The twist given to his considerations is typical of France's usual method of employing old opinions.

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FEDERICO HANSSSEN

The following list of the published works of Dr. Federico (Friedrich) Hanssen is supplementary to the one given in *MLN*. xxxv, 183-184. Most of these additional titles I owe to the kindness of Professor C. Carroll Marden and Professor Karl Pietsch.

La colocación del verbo en el Poema del Cid. In *Bulletin hispanique*, xiv, 47-59.

Los infinitivos leoneses del Poema de Alejandro. In *Bulletin hispanique*, xii, 135-139.

A leaflet in regard to the review in *Romania*, xxvi, 462-465. Santiago de Chile, 1897.

Notizen. Valparaíso, G. Helfmann, 1898. (1. An answer to Porebowicz. 2. Biographical and bibliographical notes. 3. "Zum Metrum des Cid.")

Reviews of Menéndez Pidal's edition of the *Cantar de Mio Cid*, in *Revue de dialectologie romane*, I, 452-469; and in *Bulletin de la Revue de dialectologie romane*, iv, 133-138.

Sobre la conjugación de Gonzalo de Berceo. In the *Anales de la Universidad*. Santiago de Chile, 1895.

Sobre un compendio de gramática castellana anteclásica. In the *Anales*. Santiago de Chile, 1908.

Suplemento a la Conjugación de Berceo. In the *Anales*. Santiago de Chile, 1895.

Ueber die portugiesischen Minnesänger. In *Verhandlungen des deutschen wissenschaftlichen Vereins in Santiago*, iv. Valparaíso, 1899.

Zur lateinischen und romanischen Metrik. In *Verhandlungen*, iv. Valparaíso, 1901.

E. C. HILLS.

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ITALIAN CRITICAL TREATISES OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

I have not discovered any bibliographical report of critical writings of the sixteenth century in Italy that is approximately complete, and therefore submit the following list as being as nearly complete as I can make it.

1522. Campiano, N. B., *In artem poeticam Primordia*. Venetiis.
1527. Vida, M. H., *De arte poetica*. Cremona.
1529. Trissino, G. G., *De arte poetica*, I-IV. Vicenza.
1531. Parrhasius, J., *In Q. Horatii Flacci Artem Poeticam Commentaria*. Napoli. (Paris, 1533.)
1535. Dolce, L., Translation of Horace's *Ars poetica*. Venezia.
1536. Daniello, B., *Della poetica*. Vinegia.
1536. Paccius (Pazzi), A., *Aristotelis Poetica*. Venetiis. (Reprinted with slight changes at Bale, 1537, and Paris, 1538.)
1539. Tolomei, C., *Versi e regole della nuova poesia toscana*. Roma.
1540. Scaliger, J. C., *De causis linguae latinae*. Lugduni.
1541. Equicola, M., *Introduttione al comporre in ogni sorta di rima*. Milano. (Venezia, 1555.)
1542. Speroni, S., *Dialogo delle lingue*.
1545. Tomitano, B., *Ragionamenti della lingua Thoscana*.
1546. Philippus, F., Edition of Horace's *Ars poetica*.
1547. Vettori, P., *Commentarii in librum Demetrii Phaleraei de elocutione*. (Firenze, 1562.)
1548. Robortelli, F., *In librum Aristotelis de Arte poetica Explicationes*. Florentiae.
1549. Segni, B., *Rettorica et Poetica d'Aristotile*. Firenze.
1549. Fornari, S., *Sposizione sopra l'Orlando Furioso*.
1549. Landi, C., *Libro primo della poetica*. Piacenza.
1550. Giraldis, L. G., *De poetis nostrorum temporum*.
1550. Madius, V., et Lombardus, B., *In Aristotelis librum de Poetica Explanationes*. Venetiis.
1550. Madius (Maggi), V., *In Q. Horatii Flacci de Arte poetica Interpretatio*. Venetiis.
1551. Muzio, G., *Dell'arte poetica*. Vinegia.
1552. Grifoli, I., *In Artem poeticam Horatii Interpretatio*.
1553. Varchi, B., *Lezzioni della poetica*. Firenze.
1553. De Nores, I., *In epistolam Q. Horatii Flacci de Arte poetica Interpretatio*. Venetiis.
1554. Giraldis Cinthio, G. B., *Discorsi*. Vinegia.
1554. Pigna, G. B., *I Romanzi*. Vinegia.
1554. Lionardi, A., *Dialogi della inventione poetica*. Venezia.
1554. Luisino, F., *In librum Q. Horatii Flacci de Arte poetica Commentarius*. Venetiis.
1554. Robortelli, F., *Longino*. Basilea.
1555. Capriano, G. P., *Della vera poetica*. Vinegia.
1555. Conte di San Martino, *Le Osservazioni grammaticali e poetiche della lingua italiana*. Roma.
1555. Fabricius, G., *Opera Q. Horatii Flacci*. Basileae.
1555. Fracastoro, H., *Naugerius sive de poetica*. Venetiis.
1556. Lenzoni, C., *La difesa della lingua fiorentina et di Dante*.
1559. Ruscelli, G., *Alcune altre cose da avvertire nel Furioso*.
1559. Cavalcanti, B., *La Retorica*. Venezia.
1559. Minturno, A. S., *De poeta*. Venetiis.
1559. Ruscelli, G., *Del modo di comporre in versi*. Vinegia.
1560. Victorius (Vettori), P., *Commentarii in primum librum Aristotelis de Arte poetarum*. Florentiae.

1560. Parthenio, B., *Della imitatione poetica*. Vinegia.
1561. Scaliger, J. C., *Poetice*. Genova.
1562. Patrizio, F., *Della Retorica*.
1562. Tasso, B., *Ragionamento della poesia*. Vinegia.
1563. Trissino, G. G., *De arte poetica*, v and vi. Venezia.
1564. Minturno, A. S., *L'arte poetica*. Venezia.
1565. Fabricius, G., *De re poetica*. Antwerp.
1565. Parthenio, B., *De poetica imitatione*. Venetiis.
1565. Speroni, S., *Opere*. Venezia.
1567. Lapini, *Letitione nella quale si ragiona del fine della poesia*. Firenze.
1570. Castelvetro, L., *Poetica d'Aristotele vulgarizzata et sposta*. Vienna.
1570. Tomitano, B., *Quattro libri della lingua Thoscana, con due libri nuovamente aggiunti*.
1572. Piccolomini, A., *Annotationi nel libro della Poetica d'Aristotele*. Siena. (Vinegia, 1575.)
1572. Mazzoni, J., *Discorso*. Cesena.
1575. Verdizzotti, *Genius: de furore poetico*.
1576. Manutius, A., *Commentary on Horace's Ars poetica*. Venetiis.
1576. Gambara, L., *De perfecta poeseos ratione*. Roma.
1579. Riccoboni, A., *Poetica d'Aristotele*. Venetiis.
1579. Viperano, A., *De poetica*. Antwerp.
1580. Gilio, A., *La topica poetica*. Vinegia.
1581. Frachetta, A., *Dialogo del furor poetico*.
1581. Segni, A., *Ragionamento sopra le cose pertinenti alla poetica*. Firenze.
1583. Pellegrino, C., *Il Caraffa ovvero dell'epica poesia*.
1584. Riccoboni, A., *Poetica Aristotelis per paraphrasis explicans et nonnullas L. Castelvetri captiones refellens*. Venetiis.
1585. Bruno, G., *Eroici furori*. London.
1586. Patrici (Patrizio), F., *Della Poetica*. Ferrara.
1586. Salviati, L., *Poetica*. MS.
1586. Correa, T., *Explanaciones de arte poetica*. Roma.
1586. Patrizio, F., *Il Trimerone*. Ferrara.
1587. Mazzoni, J., *Difesa di Dante*. Cesena.
1587. Fabbrini, G., *Translation of Horace's Ars poetica, in the Opere*. Venezia.
1587. Tasso, T., *Discorso dell'arte poetica*. Venezia.
1587. De Nores, G., *Discorso*. Padova.
1588. De Nores, G., *Poetica*. Padova.
1588. Ceruto, F., *De re poetica*. Venezia.
1590. Zinano, G., *Il Sogno, overo della poesia*.
1591. Cortese, G. C., *Avvertimenti nel poetarc*. Napoli.
1591. Riccoboni, A., *Compendium Artis poeticae Aristotelis ad usum conficiendorum poematum*. Padova.
1592. Castravilla, R., *Discorso*.
1592. Riccoboni, A., *Praecepta Aristotelis cum praeceptis Horatii collata*. Padova.
1592. Mazzone da Miglionico, *Fiori della poesia*. Venezia.
1592. Michele, A., *Discorso in cui si dimostra come si possono scrivere le commedie e le tragedie in prosa*.
1592. Ingegneri, A., *Poesia rappresentativa*. Firenze.
1594. Tasso, T., *Discorso sul poema eroico*.
1594. Pontanus, J., *Pocticarum institutionum*. Ingolstadt.
1597. Buonamici, F., *Discorsi poetici in difesa di Aristotile*. Firenze.
1597. Giacomini, L., *Orazioni*.
1600. Beni, P., *Disputatio in qua ostenditur praestare comoediam atque tragediam metrorum vinculis solvere*.
1600. Summo, F., *Discorsi poetici*. Padova.

FRENCH ARMY SLANG

In *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXII, 151-156, I published a short collection of French army slang. Since that time I have been gathering similar material from printed matter of all sorts, personal letters from French soldiers and from the men themselves during my period of service abroad. In the meantime, several publications in France, notably the excellent collection of trench slang, *Le Poilu tel qu'il se parle*, by Gaston Esnault, have rendered the presentation of my material unnecessary. However, in comparing my work with these publications I find that the following words do not appear in them with the meanings which I indicate:

Azur, used preceded by the word *Pif* to designate a man with a large nose. Ex. *Eh! Pif d'azur*.—*Barbelé* (*avoir le barbelé dans le ciboulot*), sort of *cafard*.—*Bougie*, face. Ex. *T'en fais une bougie!*—*Bourrin*, prostitute.—*Braise*, mail.—*Brin*, excrement. Ex. *Bien-tôt on nous donnera à bouffer du brin*.—*Casino*, chest.—*Cassolettes*, shoes.—*Ciseaux*, sur les appareils Farman, le manche à balai (barre de direction) est remplacé par une tige qui se termine par deux boucles, d'où le nom de ciseaux. — *Contre-torpilleur*, iron field kitchen.—*Encaisser*, to fly in bad weather and be violently buffeted by the wind.—*Esgourdacher*, to listen.—*Geignot*, sort of *cafard*.—*Grenade à cuiller*, one which bursts on touching the ground.—*Grougnon*, sort of *cafard*.—*Homme à lunettes*, person who is not resourceful.—*Jojo*, light, poor wine.—*Macaron*, automobile steering gear.—*Métro*, narrow gauge railway behind the lines for transporting supplies.—*Nègre*, black smoke shell.—*Nord-Sud*, same as *Métro*.—*Parisse*, Paris.—*Placard*, chest.—*Polyte*, Boche.—*Potache*, service stripe.—*P. P. T.*, pauvres poires des tranchées.—*Rinpinpin*, sort of *cafard*.—*Saint-Gothard*, same as *Métro*.—*Simplon*, same as *Métro*.—*Soixante-quinze*, beans.—*Tinette*, automatic machine gun.—*Tricoteuse*, bayonet.

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BRIEF MENTION

Douglas's Æneid. By Lauchlan Maclean Watt, author of 'Scottish Life and Poetry' (Cambridge, At the University Press, 1920). The opening words of the brief Preface are to the point: "This is an attempt to elucidate Gawain Douglas's work, and to place it in its proper setting, as a literary document, . . . My excuse is that it has not before been done." The heads of the chapters show how the author has articulated his subject: The Man and his Fame; The Man and his Work; The Translation: its Method and Result;

Manuscripts and Readings; Language and Influences. There are three appendices of "Readings" (pp. 179-245), and an index of six pages ends the volume.

The next paragraph of the Preface concerns the selection of the Cambridge MS. "as being the most authentic" and therefore takes one to chapter iv and to the appendices. It is assumed as highly probable that Douglas had written out his translation with his own hand, and that his chaplain and secretary, Geddes, had this holograph before him and from it prepared "the first correct copy nixt after the Translation." This copy (the Cambridge MS.) "was quite evidently approved by the author himself who began to write upon its margins what he apparently intended to become a complete commentary on the poem." These marginalia (printed separately in Small, II, 279-295), which, on account of some interruption, were not continued beyond the end of the first book, are accepted as being holograph, but Small and Mr. Gregory Smith have contradicted themselves in dating the MS. "c. 1525." The notable "scheme of spelling," which is in accord with that of Douglas's letters, and its special readings prove this copy to surpass in authenticity the other two important MSS.

The Elphynstoun MS. (1527 is the date written on it) stands next "in point of date and value." Small professed to follow it, but did not observe its peculiarities, "especially in the remarkable terminations of Books V, VI, and VII, while he also interpolated certain verses, which are not in his exemplar, but taken from the Black Letter edition of 1553" (Preface). Another copy may have intervened between this and Geddes's copy. At all events, here are to be found changes that may be editorial, and eye-errors or clerical slips; and sometimes a reading from Douglas's marginalia or *Comment* is erroneously taken into the text.

The Ruthwen MS. (the basis of "the greater portion" of Ruddiman's edition of 1710) falls in value behind the preceding two, by which "we get what is nearest to Douglas's original." It is less carefully executed than these, has "several omissions," and in readings differs now from the one, now from the other, and now from both the earlier copies. There are verbal substitutions that indicate an attempt to make the text, in the judgment of the copyist, "more easy of understanding," altho the changes may "upset the rhythmic scheme" and not be "in accord with the translation."

Next in textual importance is the first printed edition, the Black-Letter Copland of 1553, notable for reflecting the anti-Popish bias of the printer; the ground for its imprinted title, "The Protestant Edition," is made especially clear by Mr. Watt's collation of passages from which the "printer-editor" has removed, by substitutions, the original appeals to the Virgin. In addition to what may be attributed to religious bias, this edition "has readings of its own, of a most miscellaneous character," which are carefully dis-

tinguished by Mr. Watt; but he leaves something to be done: "The inner history of this edition would be a most interesting study."

In accordance with his determination of the order in authenticity of the three earliest manuscripts, Mr. Watt has prepared lists of compared readings of these texts together with the variant readings of the Black Letter edition. These lists have a real value in the exact study of the translation. They are placed in appendices (pp. 179-245) under the following titles: (a) Readings dependent on the Latin text; (b) Readings in translation not dependent on text, being impletive or explicative phrases; (c) Readings from the Prologues and Appendices, dependent on common sense (cf. p. 148). The two later manuscripts, Lambeth and Bath, "being of no special value as guides to sources" (p. 147), are excluded from the collation. But at this point one may revert to the curious tangle in transmission represented by two passages, namely, six lines relating to the character of Æneas and an explanatory note of four lines on Atrides. Mr. Watt has here examined details with fine precision. With no hint "as to where he got these verses," Small admitted the lines on Æneas into the text (vol. II, p. 13, ll. 25-30), altho the only known manuscript authority for them is the late Bath. As to the note on Atrides, this is reproduced on the margin of Lambeth, but taken into the text by Elphynstoun. The early printed editions are of course shown to be involved in the transmission of these passages.

Standing between the chapter on "Manuscripts and Readings" and the helpful Appendices is a chapter on "Language and Influences," in which the outlines are drawn of the historic position of Middle Scots and of the cultural influences to which Douglas was submissive in effecting to a degree "a mosaic that never was the real language of the multitude, being in many places a literary creation, for a special purpose" (p. 74). Here the writer's method has become too excursive to give the studious reader a manageable hold on the factors in the problem, altho instructive side-lights are thrown on them. After so estimable a study as Edmund Schmidt's *Die Schottische Aeneisübersetzung von Gavin Douglas* (Dissertation, Leipzig, 1910), one cannot excuse Mr. Watt's casual manner in dealing with details relating to Douglas's style and manner of translation (the more specific subject of a preceding chapter) and with other matters falling within the range of the chapter now under consideration. That a scholarly treatise—and surely Mr. Watt has aimed at no other mark—must represent a subject in the complete light of all competent study and investigation bestowed on it is the formula of demands by which academic standards are maintained. This new academic treatise is not unassailable under the formula. For example, Mr. Watt disposes of the question of Douglas's relation to the translation by Octavian de Saint-Gelais in the declaration that what is here to be observed is "probably a coincidence rather than an influence." But Dr.

Schmidt (in the Dissertation mentioned) has a chapter devoted to a thoro examination of this question and has established a different conclusion, which is in essential agreement with the view of Dr. Otto Fest (*Ueber Surrey's Virgilübersetzung*, Palaestra, XXXIV, 1903, pp. 57-60).

So too in the discussion of "certain features of 'Middle Scots,'" one is not put on the basis of the present state of linguistic science. Mr. Gregory Smith's Introduction exemplifies the better method; but here some well understood features of the subject are set forth with a lack of precision and clearness that can hardly be excused. Thus, the orthographic accident underlying the use of the letter *z* (the corresponding story of the symbol for *th* is not referred to) is not well handled; and surely there should be an end to incorrect or incomplete descriptions of the Northern English usage of present indicative forms of the verb. Mr. Watt is in error at several points in this matter. Not distinguishing the effect of the class to which the plural subject may belong, he states that "a singular verb is found with a plural noun." An incorrect exposition also mars the brief reference to the imperative. Douglas has always been declared to be hard reading, even for Scotsmen; and he is still hard reading for the trained linguist. His language had for a while a peculiar antiquarian interest, as is shown by Mr. Watt's excerpts relating to the poet's fame thru subsequent generations; but the true linguistic values that are to be gleaned from a competent study of his language will surely—for one must make this just demand—be adequately exhibited in connection with the new edition of the poet's works in preparation for the Scottish Text Society.

It cannot be declared that the author has been notably successful, in the first half of his volume, in attempting to 'set' Douglas 'in his place.' Indeed the reading of the second and third chapters (pp. 25-123), while carrying one along in a pleasantly diversified manner, does not produce the effect of a critical essay by which the author's purpose has been adequately achieved. There is not enough here to give a fresh vitality to the subject, or to mitigate the charge of an attitude of mind more favorable to impressionistic effects than to detailed and constructive discussion. There are many appreciative passages of excellent quality and finished form, but the method of the argument is too discursive; it is not sufficiently cogent and incisive, and does not reflect the scholar's sense of complete statement,—a judgment warranted by the truth that Douglas will remain almost exclusively a scholar's concern. Dr. Schmidt's study abounds in so much detail of an instructive character that the regret must be repeated that Mr. Watt has not sifted it. Then there is the more comprehensive view of the subject, which is vindicated by the external facts that Douglas's translation (1513) was succeeded by Surrey's after about thirty years, and that Phaer began his translation in 1555,—

to say nothing of Stanyhurst's relation to the problem (see H. Schmidt's dissertation, Breslau, 1887) after another interval of thirty years (1586). The cultural connection between especially the first three of these translations has not been adequately treated by Mr. Watt. That these translations are mutually illustrative of principles governing method and purpose of the translators in their conformity to the spirit of the Renaissance has of course not been overlooked, but something has been contributed to this chapter in cultural history by the investigations of Dr. Schmidt and Dr. Fest, already cited, to which is to be added the monograph on Thomas Phaer (Heidelberg, C. Winter, 1913) by Eduard J. W. Brenner. To be mentioned in the more general bibliography is the recent *Vergil and the English Poets*, by Elizabeth Nitchie (Columbia University Press, 1919). This writer has apparently not become aware of Dr. Schmidt's dissertation; but she cites that of Dr. Fest. The theory of translation, to which Mr. Watt devotes a digression, warrants a reference to a still later volume from the same press (see *MLN.* xxxv, 380).

J. W. B.

La Revue de Littérature comparée. Friends of M. Baldensperger, now professor at the University of Strasbourg, and all who are interested in the influence exerted by one modern literature upon another, will be glad to learn that under this title he and M. Hazard of the University of Lyons are about to bring out a new quarterly journal. In the articles they publish will be discussed those questions of criticism, literary history and biography which, since the beginning of the Renaissance, have overlapped the boundaries of a single nationality. The editors will publish also original documents, bibliographical articles, reviews, notes, a chronicle of projected or recently completed investigation in the field of comparative literature. Among the articles announced are: *Alfred de Vigny et les États-Unis* and *L'Alsace et les débuts du Kantisme en France* (Baldensperger), *Goethe et Emerson* (Carré), *Notes sur les Réfugiés huguenots aux États-Unis* (Chinard), *Saint-Evremond en Hollande* (Cohen), *Byron en France après le Romantisme* (Estève), *L'invasion des littératures du Nord en Italie* (Hazard), *Nietzsche et l'opinion américaine* (H. Lichtenberger), *Les origines italiennes du Racine et Shakespeare de Stendhal* (Martino), *Saâdi en France* (Massé), *Ibsen et Dante* (Schofield). The review will be published at Paris by Édouard Champion, will begin to appear in 1921, and can be had for 40 francs a year. It is to be hoped that the editors will find in America the hearty support that is due a journal published under these excellent auspices.

H. C. L.

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